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THE FORT SUMTER FLAGS

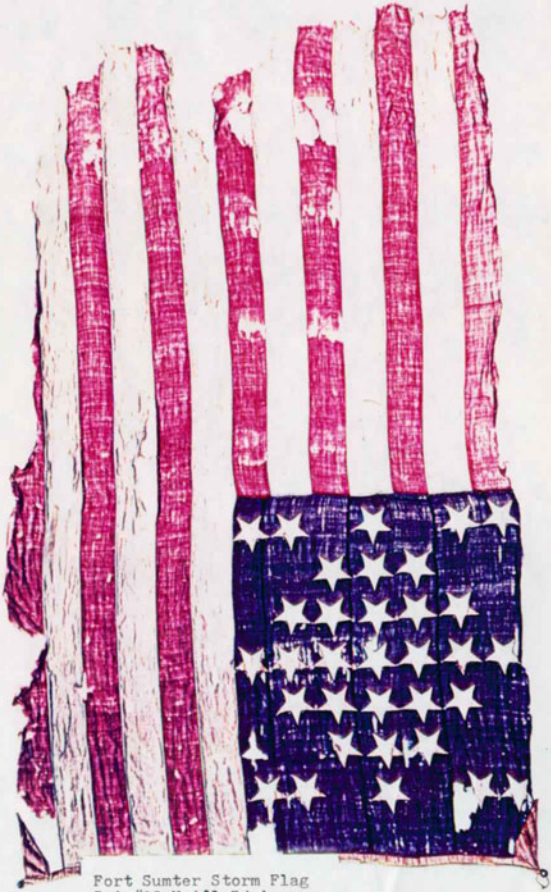
A Study in Documentation And Authentication

The Historical Report

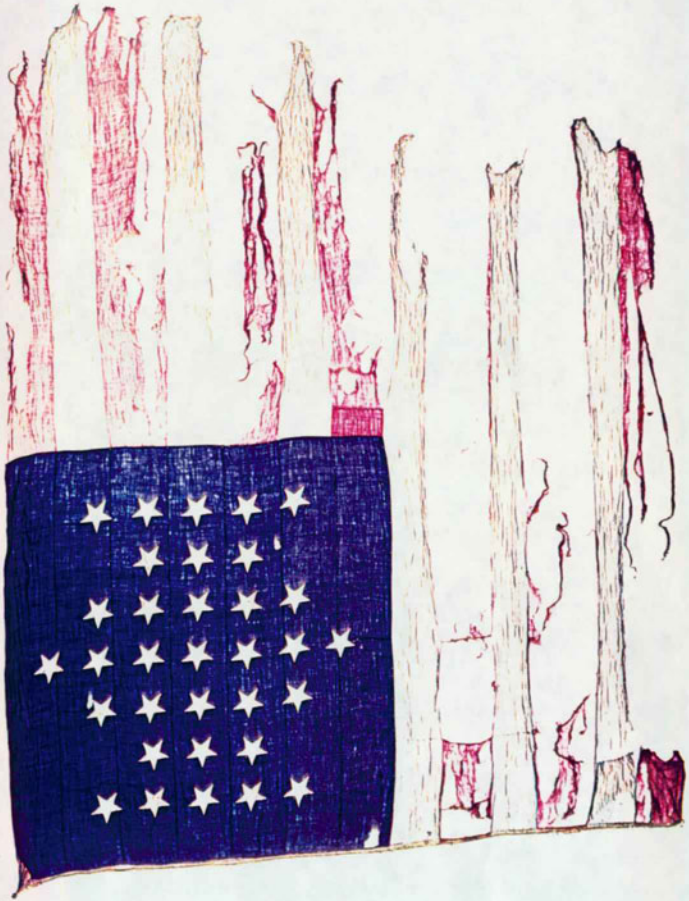
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

HARPERS FERRY CENTER



Fort Sumter Storm Flag
Cat.#09,Nat'l.Gd.Armory,
Martinsburg,W.Va.,
Sept. 1981.



Fort Sumter Garrison Flag
Cat. #08, Nat'l.Gd.Armory
Martinsburg, W,Va.,
Sept., 1981

U.S. Department of the Interior
National Park Service
Harpers Ferry Center

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ILLUSTRATIONS

by
Leslie D. Jensen
Contract Historian

March 1982

U.S. Department of the Interior
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PREFACE

This study documents and authenticates two flags owned by Fort Sumter National Monument; the Garrison Flag (Cat.#08) and the Storm Flag (Cat. #09). It concludes that both flags are original and authentic to the period, that they are in fact the two flags used by the Fort Sumter garrison in April, 1861, that it was the storm flag that flew over the fort during the bombardment, and the garrison flag that was saluted on April 14, 1861 and re-raised over Fort Sumter on April 14, 1865.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

During the several months this study was in preparation a number of people added their assistance and expertise. Without them, this study could never have reached the degree of completeness that it has.

At Fort Sumter National Monument, the entire staff was of help, opening their files and going out of their way to answer my questions. To Superintendent R. Brien Varnado, Supervising Park Ranger Charles D. Wyatt, and Park Technician Elizabeth R. Stevens I extend my thanks. I add my particular thanks to Historian David Ruth who acquainted me with the physical layout of Fort Moultrie, to Park Technician John J. Dugan who guided me through the complexities of their excellent library and pictorial archives and who took me out to Fort Sumter by the same route the garrison used on the night of December 26, 1860, and finally to Edna Pendergrast who laboriously photocopied most of the pertinent files. A knowledge of the topographical layout of any historic site is paramount to understanding its history, and without the excellent help of

the Fort Sumter staff I might still be trying to orient myself to the physical features of the site.

Also in Charleston, I extend my thanks to Dr. Charles V. Peery, who graciously opened his excellent library to me, to Julian V. Brandt, Jr. of the Washington Light Infantry, who showed me the extensive flag collection of that organization, including the Marion Artillery flag, and to the staff of the Citadel Museum, who helped locate information on Quartermaster-Sergeant William Henry Hamner.

At Carlisle, in the U.S. Army Military History Research Institute, I was met with exceptional courtesy and helpfulness by Dr. Richard Sommers, David Keough and Michael Winey, who guided me through the Norman J. Hall Papers and the extensive photograph collection of the Massachusetts Commandery of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States, known colloquially as Mass-MOLLUS.

At the National Archives, one cannot hope for a better friend or more knowledgeable

"stack rat" than the ever helpful Michael P. Musick, who led me through all the various and applicable record groups. Earl J. Coates, although officially just another researcher, was invaluable through his help and advice in tackling the various Quartermaster records. His own knowledge of the Quartermaster's Department is without peer.

At the Smithsonian, Donald E. Kloster of the Division of Military History was most gracious to allow the use of excerpts from the 1865 Quartermaster Manual, while Daniel P. Stanton both confirmed the existence of the Doubleday flag and provided information on it. Emma-Jo L. Davis of the U.S. Army Museum System was most helpful in providing leads to information on the flags while they were in the War Department, and the staffs at the Prints and Photographs Division of the Library of Congress and the Audio-Visual Branch of the National Archives were helpful in running down pictorial information.

H. Michael Madaus of the Milwaukee Public Museum , probably the nation's expert on Civil War flags, was most helpful in providing leads. A number of people provided assistance in

my attempts to locate the missing photograph from the flag raising ceremonies in 1865. Cathy Carlson of the Museum of the Confederacy spent the better part of two days with me trying to locate that institution's print, and Harris Andrews of Time-Life Books, Michael McAfee of the West Point Museum, William C. Davis of Historical Times, Inc., and William A. Frassanito all contributed their considerable talents and expertise to provide leads. The fact that no print was found, despite these experts' help, is a testimony to its rarity.

It's always helpful to a historian on limited means to have a place to head for shelter when the funds get low. To Denis and Kathy Reen and to Ken and Linda Smith-Christmas I extend my heartfelt thanks.

Finally, I would like to thank the National Park Service personnel at Harpers Ferry Center who were always willing and able to provide assistance, particularly Nan Myatt and Mike Wiltshire and most importantly Bill Brown and Fonda Thomsen.

INTRODUCTION

At 4:30 a.m., April 12, 1861, Confederate forces began the bombardment of Fort Sumter, in the harbor of Charleston, South Carolina. The small U.S. Army garrison withstood the bombardment for thirty-four hours, until, with their flag shot down, the barracks on fire and the powder magazine in danger of exploding from the flames, they agreed to an evacuation.

On April 14, the garrison evacuated the fort. As part of the terms, they were allowed to salute their flag and take it with them. South Carolina Governor Francis W. Pickens crowed:

> "...We have humbled their twenty millions. We have humbled the flag of the United States...That flag has never before been lowered before any nation on this earth. But today it has been humbled and humbled before the glorious little State of South Carolina..." [1]

The firing on Fort Sumter ended any hopes

for a peaceful solution to the secession crisis. On April 15, President Abraham Lincoln called for 75,000 volunteers to put down the rebellion. Confederate President Jefferson Davis responded with a call for 100,000 men to defend the Confederacy. Four years and 600,000 deaths later, the war ended in Union victory and the re-establishment of United States authority over the southern states.

On April 14, 1865, General Robert Anderson, who as a major had commanded the original Fort Sumter garrison, triumphantly re-raised over the shell-pounded ruins of Fort Sumter the same flag he had been forced to haul down in 1861. It was the ultimate consumation of Union victory.

Flags are by their very definition symbols, and there have been few symbols in American history as powerful as the flag of Fort Sumter. It must be remembered that for Americans of that period, this was one of the first, if not the first, specific American flag to gain a hold on the public mind, and it was to remain an important symbol for both sides.

For Confederates, this "old gridiron" was first of all a symbol of the victory of their cause in April, 1861. It signified the ejection of United States authority and the establishment of independence. More generally, it had come to symbolize the opression of the central government over the freely expressed inclinations of the people, who asked only to be left alone to conduct their own affairs in peace. That government, with the advent of war, had become bent to the purpose of destroying southern homes, families and society. Even before the war, it had no longer ruled through the will of the people, as had been intended, but instead for the purpose of massing power to itself in order to stifle individual will and cause the submission of southern society to the industrial and moneyed interests of the north. It, and the nation, it represented, had become a caricature of what the founding fathers of 1776 had intended. Thus, at all costs, this flag was to be prevented from returning to Fort Sumter except in submission to southern independence.

For northerners, the flag of Fort Sumter was a reminder of the shame of surrender, of insult to the national honor, of gallantry under

impossible conditions, and of resolve to end the war with the flag restored to its old place at Fort Sumter. In a larger sense, of course, the flag was the symbol of the nation, which was threatened with destruction by a slave-holding aristocracy whose very existence was anathema to the principles of a free and democratic society. The continuation of American democracy required both the re-establishment of national authority in the south and the destruction of the slave-holding class, who, northerners believed, maintained an iron hold on southern opinion. With the slave holders destroyed, the average southerner would happily join his northern neighbor in the promotion of freedom and democracy. However, as long as the flag of Fort Sumter remained boxed up in New York, unfree to wave from its old staff in Charleston, the national authority and the freedom of southern whites and blacks alike remained shackled to the will of southern aristocrats. When the flag was finally returned to Fort Sumter, it was a symbol not only of Union victory, but of national reunification and a renewed sense of national purpose as well.

Although there have been many flags in American history that have symbolized powerful messages, the flags themselves often did not survive or else were overshadowed by their own symbolism. Thus, the flags of the American Revolution remained largely in the mists of legend, as did those of the War of 1812. The flag of the Alamo was so enshrined in legend that when the original flag was discovered in Mexico City in 1961 it looked nothing like what the legends had purported it to be, and even the flag of Iwo Jima was so overshadowed by the photographs of its raising that the flag itself is now little known. Even the original Star-Spangled Banner was not generally known to the American public until 1912, although the song it had inspired had been in universal use for some time.

The flag of Fort Sumter stands in contrast to these other symbols. At the time the events of April,1861 were occuring, it was well known. Displayed to 100,000 people in New York, it remained in the public mind thereafter. When

word came (falsely as it turned out) that the flag had been captured in an abortive Union assault on Fort Sumter and was in Confederate hands, it created a national furor. Finally, it was not just any flag, but the original Fort Sumter flag, that was raised over the ruins of the fort in 1865. It might be argued that no other specific American flag, in a critical period of American history, had as much hold over the American public as the flag of Fort Sumter.

Yet, in modern times, the flag of Fort Sumter has been eclipsed by other symbols, most notably the original Star-Spangled Banner. Though it was well known to the Civil War public, its long periods in seclusion prevented later generations from knowing it as well. In this century, it has spent most of its time folded up in display cases in the War Department, the Pentagon or at Fort Sumter. Only a few modern Americans have had the privilege of seeing the flag spread out in its entirety. Yet, when its history and significance are considered, against the backdrop of what is generally considered the most pivotal period in this nation's history, the flag of Fort Sumter may very well rank among the most important of American symbols.

On September 8, 1981, a contract was let by the National Park Service with this author to "...research and establish the authenticity of (2) two flags belonging to Fort Sumter National Monument. The Garrison Flag (Cat. #08) and the Storm Flag (Cat.#09)..."

These flags were believed to be the ones which had been in the garrison in 1861, one or the other of which had flown during the bombardment in 1861, been saluted and had then been re-raised in 1865. The contract was to be fulfilled by writing a research monograph drawing together all historic material pertaining to the Fort Sumter flags. The monograph was to include all related photographic evidence, all unpublished archival material and all published material, primary and secondary.

As the research progressed, it became obvious that it was necessary not only to establish whether or not the two flags were actually at Fort Sumter in 1861, but also to differentiate between the roles of the two flags during the historic events. It also became obvious that in order to "establish

authenticity," it was necessary to draw not only on documentary and pictorial information, but on technical and scientific expertise as well. This monograph is the result of that contract.

METHODOLOGY

It should be noted at the outset that establishing the authenticity of an object whose primary importance centers around its historical associations is generally an exercise fraught with as much frustration as success. These objects stand in contrast to most museum objects which are considered important because of their design, their utility, the craftsmanship lavished on them or because they are representative examples of their type. With all of these objects, research centers primarily on the object itself, to determine whether its physical characteristics are consistent with the known characteristics of other objects of similar or identical type.

This same type of object research is used with the artifact with historic association, but it is only the first step of a two step process. Establishing, for example, that the two Fort Sumter flags are consistent in design and construction with other army flags of the period simple puts

them into the right time frame. It does not, by itself, establish that these particular flags are the ones actually used at Fort Sumter in 1861. To answer this second part of the question, it is necessary to delve deeply into the historical records of the events with which the objects were associated, to determine the reliability of witnesses, possible or probable damage to the objects that may show up in the surviving pieces and whether the pictorial information of the past is trustworthy. It is then necessary to call on technical and scientific experts to determine the actual causes of damage found on the objects and then to see whether it correlates with the documentary and pictorial evidence.

Although the net is spread wider in this kind of research than the traditional historian might consider, this does not necessarily insure that the catch will be bigger or better. It does, however, insure that the chances for a bigger and better catch are enhanced. It is, of course, rarely possible to establish ironclad, scientific proof of the authenticity of any object. Historical events, and more particularly,

the objects associated with them, are often documented in a maddeningly poor manner, and we must be prepared, without compromising historical integrity, to adjust whatever criteria we set up as circumstances dictate. There will always be gaps in the records or anomolies in the objects which doubters can point to as evidence that the object is something other than what is claimed.

Yet, as our knowledge of the past increases and as we delve more into the details of manufacturing techniques, we can increasingly apply both historical and scientific analyses to objects, and thereby set up criteria for authentication that can become more and more rigid. In the case of the Fort Sumter flags, it was felt that if the flags were to be considered authentic, they should favorably meet the following criteria:

1) There should be a "paper trail" of documentary evidence which indicates that the flags now in existence can be traced back through the years to Fort Sumter, and hopefully to the date they were issued.

2) There should be a series of reliable photographs or other pictorial information which indicates that the flags existing today are both the ones used at Fort Sumter and the ones to which the "paper trail" of documentary information refers.

3) Research into the manufacturing techniques for army flags of the period should result in a set of postulated specifications for storm and garrison flags, including such information as materials, measurements and construction techniques. The surviving flags should conform to these postulated specifications without significant anomolies.

4) Research into the historical backgrounds of the flags should reveal certain details of damage the flags received, their general condition at certain periods in their history, and the basic environments in which they have existed. Technical and particle analyses conducted by the National Park Service Conservation Staff and by McCrone Associates of Chicago, particle analysts, should result in positive confirmation of these details.

With these four basic principles in mind, the research was conducted. While the original research concept was to work backwards in time from the present, it was found that such a concept was both inordinately restricting and unworkable, since historic information from all periods began to surface almost immediately. Instead, it was found that a general overview of the flags' history was first necessary, then individual episodes in that history were further researched to both develop a chronological time-line and to fill the gaps in that line. In addition, considerable research in army flag manufacturing was conducted, as were searches for pictorial evidence.

In this monograph, the approach is generally forward chronologically, proceeded by an analysis of flag manufacturing techniques and the formulation of a set of postulated specifications. A section on the issue and accounting of storm and garrison flags is included both to acquaint the reader with the army accountability system and to indicate how fully the officers in charge of the flags carried out their accounting responsibilities.

The main body of this monograph is the chronological history of the Fort Sumter flags, followed by sections on spurious Fort Sumter flags, an analysis of the roles of the two flags at Fort Sumter and a recapitulation of the criteria along with analyses of how well the surviving flags measured up to that criteria.

Although four criteria were set up, there was no attempt to write the monograph by criteria sections. Such an approach would have resulted in considerable repetition and probable confusion. However, the four criteria were all met, and once in place, act very much like a four bastion fort. An attack on the credibility of one becomes an attack on the credibility of all four, and each criteria group tends to support the other three, and vice versa. If one is lucky enough to build a relatively unassailable case in all four criteria, it would seem unlikely that serious attempts could be made to overturn the overall conclusions. However, inherant weaknesses in any of the four criteria would probably tend to endanger the other three.

None of the criteria stands independent, and all are mutually supporting.

Whether this basic quadrangular model can be applied to the authentication of other objects with historic association depends on the availability of information. In the case of the Fort Sumter flags, there was rather complete, though not detailed, historical information, enough pictorial information to constitute a series, considerable technical information, and competent conservators and particle analysts to carry out the technical and scientific tests. Hopefully this study may help others in the field, both by providing a model and by massing information on flag technology which can, in turn, be used to help authenticate other flags.

PART A

MANUFACTURE, ISSUE AND ACCOUNTING OF GARRISON AND STORM FLAGS IN THE PRE-CIVIL WAR UNITED STATES ARMY

An analysis of the manufacturing system used for garrison and storm flags in the pre-Civil War Regular Army will be of use in determining the details which should be included in the postulated set of specifications for those flags. These postulated specifications will then be compared to the surviving storm and garrison flags owned by Fort Sumter National Monument to determine if they are within reasonable tolerances.

An analysis of the issue and accounting system in use at the time will help determine how and under what conditions flags were procured, how long they were expected to last, whether they were repaired while in service, how many flags a garrison might have, and what steps were taken before existing flags were removed from the supply books and new ones

procured in their place. This information can then, theoretically, be used in Part B to determine how many flags Fort Sumter had, when they were procured, their condition in April, 1861, and how they were eventually removed from the garrison's supply rolls.

1. Manufacture

In the Regular Army of 1860-61, the Quartermaster's Department provided the quarters and transportation of the army, the storage and transportation of all army supplies, army clothing, camp and garrison equipage, cavalry and artillery horses, fuel, forage, straw and stationary.[1] Garrison and storm flags were considered part of camp and garrison equipage, and the Army had long since discovered that the most economical way of providing these items was to manufacture them in its own facilities.[2]

In 1851, Quartermaster General Thomas S. Jesup described the manufacturing system for clothing, also used for flags, to a Senator:

> "...All clothing for the Army is made at the U.S. Arsenal on the Schuylkill near Philadelphia, under the direction of an officer of the Quartermaster Department, the operatives being employed and paid by the Government, the material only, being furnished by contract. This system is the result of experience, and has proved to be the best, most satisfactory and in the end most economical..."[3]

This system had originally been instituted by Congress in 1818 under the Commissary General of Purchases. At the same time Congress abandoned the contract system except for items that could not be easily or readily manufactured at the Schuylkill Arsenal.[4] The Quartermaster's Department inherited the system in 1846.[5] Although Jesup did not specifically mention flags in his description of the Arsenal's duties, it is certain that garrison and storm flags were manufactured there. In discussing a contract for the procurement of bunting for garrison and storm flags in 1867, Acting Quartermaster General D.H. Rucker wrote: "...I recommend that the flags be manufactured, as before the war, at the Schuylkill Arsenal..."[6]

The 1857 Army Regulations, which remained in force through the bombardment of Fort Sumter and until May, 1861, described two types of flags for garrison use:

> "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 from the lower edge of the fourth red stripe from the top. The storm flag is twenty feet by ten feet..." [7]

Beyond the fact that these are the Regulations under which the Fort Sumter garrison operated, there are two additional reasons why they are significant. First, they are the first regulations to dictate the garrison flag in twenty by thirty-six foot size. Previous regulations, going back to 1818, had prescribed a flag "not to exceed" twenty by forty feet. Second, the 1857 Regulations were the first to prescribe the storm flag. [8]

The "number of white stars" on the flags, was, of course, tied to the number of states in the Union. By law, a new pattern flag did not become official until the 4th of July following the admission of the new state to the Union. [9] In 1857, there were thirty-one states in the Union. On May 11, 1858, Minnesota was admitted as the thirty-second, and the 32-star flag became official on July 4th of that year. On February 14, 1859, Oregon came into the Union

as the thirty-third state, and the 33-star pattern came in use on July 4, 1859. While Kansas was admitted to the Union on January 29, 1861, prior to the Fort Sumter bombardment, the 34-star flag did not become official until July 4th, some two and a half months after the bombardment. We should therefore expect that the original Fort Sumter flags would be of the 33-star pattern.[10]

To determine details of construction, it is necessary to delve into the Schuylkill Arsenal's procurement and manufacturing system. Unfortunately, specific information from the late 1850's is lacking, and an analysis of the system as it existed through much of the nineteenth century is necessary. Where certain details seem to persist for long periods of time, both before and after 1861, we might expect those details to be found in the Fort Sumter flags. Where details appear to have been introduced after 1861 or abandoned before that date, we should not expect to find them in the surviving flags.

One major difference between the procurement of uniform material and flag material was that while uniform material was the result of government contracts with domestic mills, bunting

had to be acquired on the open market. The reason was quite simple. Until the establishment of the United States Bunting Company in Lowell, Massachusetts in 1865, there were no domestic bunting factories. All of the army's bunting was imported from England. There is no record of actual army contracts with English bunting firms, and the army instead purchased its bunting through import houses on the low bid system. Thus, the army's only control over quality lay in its refusal to purchase bunting of a quality lower than its needs. At the same time, what it did buy was clearly subject to some variation. Interestingly enough, it appears that the army was remarkably successful in obtaining bunting of a consistent type.

When the United States Bunting Company was attempting to get army contracts for the first time in 1867, samples of their products were compared with the English bunting. These samples still exist, and textile analyses were performed on them by Grace Rogers Cooper. While documentary evidence exists that both the English and the Americans produced single and double-warp bunting, the English bunting examined in 1867 was only of the single-warp

variety. The Army, in testing the American product, decided that the American double-warp was inferior to the American single-warp. All of the flags analyzed by Cooper which pre-dated 1865, including the original Star-Spangled Banner, were made of single-warp bunting. All of this indicates an Army preference for the single-warp type, and further indicates that while the original Fort Sumter flags could be made of double-warp bunting, it is far more likely that the material was single-warp. [11]

In garrison flags, there is every indication that the bunting was used full width. This provided selvedges in each seam and at the top and bottom of the flag, all of which insured extra strength. This was true not only in the red and white stripes, but in the blue of the Union as well. An 1826 description of the weaving of bunting in Sudbury, England notes: "...it is wove in strips, blue, white, red, etc. which strips are afterwards strongly sewed together, into the form needed for a specific flag..." [12] An 1818 list of materials needed to make the "Standard flag" for garrisons and arsenals included blue bunting for the field "...7 Stripes wide..." [13]

In a garrison flag as specified by the 1857 Regulations , with a twenty foot hoist and thirteen stripes, each of the stripes would be 18.4 inches wide. [14] When the standard nineteenth century seam allowance of 1/4 inch is added to each side of the stripe, the full width of the material is 18.9 inches. On a practical basis, this works out to 19-inch wide bunting. [15]

However, an 1865 list of costs for army flags predicates all costs on the basis of 18-inch bunting, even for garrison flags still noted as measuring twenty by thirty-six feet. [16] It should be noted that 18-inch bunting had evidently been standard through the first half of the nineteenth century, and in fact may date as far back as the fifteenth century. [17] Obviously, if we were to deduct the 1/4 inch from each side of the 18-inch bunting for seams, we would have only 17.5 inches in the clear. A thirteen-stripe flag would then measure only 227.5 inches or 18.9 feet on the hoist. [18] If one were to piece each stripe with an extra strip of bunting to bring the flag to the required

twenty-foot hoist, the piecing strip would be only .14 feet wide. It would be too small to add much strength, and in fact might weaken the flag. It would also require thirteen additional seams, thus rendering the flag more costly and time-consuming to make, and it might be considered unsightly as well. The extra cost and labor would hardly be justified. Therefore, when 18-inch bunting was used, the flags physically could not reach the twenty-foot hoist demanded by the Regulations. Neal Campbell, the inspector in Philadelphia, admitted as much in a set of specifications for garrison flags written in 1869: "...The size of Garrison flag, 36 feet, clear of heading and twenty feet wide or the width that 13 stripes of bunting 18 to 19 inches wide..." [19]

If the smaller height on the hoist was true for garrison flags, it probably was also true for storm flags. Since the hoist of the storm flag was one-half that of the garrison flag, the most likely manufacturing technique would have been to cut the 18-inch bunting down the middle to make the stripes. This would produce a finished flag measuring 9.25 feet on the hoist. [20] With 19-inch bunting,

and the same technique, the finished flag would measure 117.5 inches or 2.5 inches short of the regulation size.[21] Neal Campbell's specifications are the only ones which mention 19-inch bunting, and it would appear that the 18-inch material was more common. In 1869, D.W.C. Farrington of the United States Bunting Company proposed resist dyeing the stripes on the storm flag "...thus avoiding the necessity of splitting the 18-inch bunting..."[22]

Splitting the bunting produced one side of the fabric with a selvedge and the other with a raw edge. The wise course in producing a flag from these stripes would have been to try to preserve selvedge at the top and bottom of the flag and to marry a selvedge edge and a raw edge in each of the seams. Beginning at the top of the flag, a selvedge edge would be at the top, and the bottom of that first stripe, cut raw, would be seamed with the selvedge edge at the top of the next stripe. Unfortunately, this course, if followed all the way through, would result in a raw edge at the bottom of the flag. To solve this, the selvedge/raw-cut pattern would have to be reversed at some point, resulting in the joining of two raw edges in one of the

seams. This reversal of the seam pattern might create an inherant weak point in the flag. Thus, if the selvedge/ raw-cut pattern remained the same throughout, the original Fort Sumter storm flag should have a raw edge at either the top or the bottom. If both top and bottom have selvedge edges, it should be expected that one of the seams in the flag will be made up of two raw-cut edges. It might not be surprising if we should find this seam reinforced.

There is one other constructional possibility for the stripes of the Fort Sumter storm flag. It is known that 12-inch bunting was available during this period. Cooper found it in two of the flags that she examined.[23] However, for the Quartermaster's Department, 12-inch bunting would have been no real improvement. Used full width and allowing for seams, it would have produced a flag 12 feet, 6 inches on the hoist, thus overshooting the regulation size.[24] Trimming the bunting to the width required to produce a regulation size flag would have produced the same weaknesses as the split 18-inch bunting, and would have been wasteful as well, for the extra two inches cut off each stripe would have been of little use

elsewhere. Beyond that, it would have required the Quartermaster's Department to purchase two widths of bunting. It should also be noted that it would be virtually impossible for us today to tell if the stripes on a flag had been made from cut 18-inch or trimmed 12-inch bunting.

Given what we know about what was available, it would appear that the Regulations, at least insofar as flags were concerned, were intended to reflect the ideal of what the army hoped to achieve. While we might find that the surviving Fort Sumter flags met this ideal, it should not be a matter of major concern if the flags are a bit undersized.

Our knowledge of other construction details must be pieced together from somewhat scant information and from our knowledge of the general workings of the Schuylkill Arsenal. It is virtually certain that the flags were hand sewn. The army had been slow to adopt the sewing machine, and it had only six of them in the Arsenal in 1860. General Jesup noted in March, 1859, what they were used for:

> "...Machine sewing has been tried with us, and though it meets the requirements of a populous and civilized life, it has been found not to answer

> for the hard wear and tear and limited means of our frontier service. Particular attention has been paid to this subject, and we have abandoned the use of machines for coats, jackets, and trousers, etc and use them on caps and bands that are not exposed to much hard usage..." [25]

Although Jesup did not specifically mention flags, it is obvious that if machine sewing did not hold up on uniforms, it also would not have provided the desired strength in flags, which were subject, in their own way, to as much wear as clothing. None of the letters regarding the sewing machines at the Schuylkill Arsenal mention their use on flags, and it is in fact possible that the Arsenal never experimented with them in that area. [26]

The thread used to sew these flags is a matter of some speculation. An 1869 dated list of materials to be used in garrison and storm flags lists "5 spool cotton" for garrison flags and 2½ of the same for storm flags. [27] Cooper interprets this term to mean a 3/2 cotton thread on a spool. [28] The 1818 "Standard flag" specifications call for "3 Hanks of Cotton thread." [29] These two bits of evidence, fifty-one years apart, do not constitute enough material to make any kind of substantive statement, but the fact that both call for cotton

thread is interesting.

The stars for the flags were apparently made of cotton. An 1867 letter states that "bleached muslin will be necessary for the purpose of making the stars..." [30] and the 1869 list of costs includes "6 yd. Bleached Muslin" for garrison flags and three yards of the same material for storm flags. [31] The 1818 list includes "4 Yards of Cotton for Stars." [32] The 1865 Quartermaster Manual calls for the stars to measure "12 inches diameter from point to point..." However, it should be noted that the manual was written during the period of the 36-star flag. [33] Neal Campbell's 1869 specifications called for "...37 stars on both sides of field..." [34]

The other details of these flags center around the hoist, or heading. The 1818 list includes " 1½ yds. Canvas for Heading." [35] The 1865 Quartermaster Manual specifies: "...the heading to be of stout 8 ounce linen, or cotton duck, 7 inches wide, doubled to the flag and bolt rope, making it 3½ inches wide when completed and extending the whole width of the flag..."[36] Neal Campbell reiterated this when he specified "...the heading to be of 8 oz cotton duck..." and changed the heading slightly

when he added: "... the heading to be 2½" wide when on flag..." [37] The 1869 list of costs included "1 yd. Duck." [38]

The 1865 Quartermaster Manual included: "...a piece of bolt rope, made of 4 strands of 3 folds, each 21 feet 6 inches long, sewed in the heading, with 9 inches extending beyond each end of the heading and spliced, enclosing two galvanized iron thimbles, of 1 inch hole, one at each end of the heading..." [39] Neal Campbell's specifications noted "...the heading rope to be like sample enclosed..." Cooper describes this sample as "heavy flat braided hemp rope of coarse strand." [40] The 1869 cost list included "20 yd. Bolt Rope" and "2 Flag Thimbles" for garrison flags and 10 yds of bolt rope and two thimbles for storm flags.[41] The 1818 list included "22 feet of Rope" but no thimbles. [42] Neal Campbell's specifications added one other item not found elsewhere: "...two corner pieces at head of flag..." [43]

The problem with using these specifications, of course, is that one set dates from 1818 and the others from 1865,1867 and 1869. How much of this information applies to flags produced in the late 1850's or early 1860's is questionable, but the similarities between the lists indicates that

manufacturing techniques had changed very little. Based on all of this information, the following set of postulated specifications for garrison and storm flags is offered as a point of comparison with the two surviving flags:

GARRISON FLAG

Pattern: Stars and Stripes; thirteen stripes, beginning at the top with red. Union of flag 1/3 length of flag proper and extending vertically to bottom of fourth red stripe from top.

Measurements overall:

19-inch bunting: 20 X 36 feet

18-inch bunting: 18.9 X 36 feet.

Measurements of Union:

19-inch bunting: 128.8" (H) X 144"(W) [44]

18-inch bunting: 122.5" (H) X 144"(W) [45]

Material: Wool bunting, probably single warp, probably used full width.

Thread: Probably cotton, possibly 3/2.

Stars: Cotton muslin, bleached, 33 in number on each side of flag. Star pattern unknown. Star diameter: possibly 12 inches.

Heading: Either cotton or linen duck, 8 ounce, 7 inches wide, doubled around the bolt rope and attached to the flag, making it 3½ inches wide when finished, and extending the full height of the flag.

Bolt Rope: Probably hemp, 4 strands of 3 folds, 21 feet, 6 inches long, with 9 inches extending beyond each end of the heading, and spliced to enclose the thimbles. It could also be a flat braided hemp rope of two ply coarse strand.

Thimbles: Galvanized iron, one inch hole. These were first noted in the 1865 Quartermaster Manual. It is not known when they were introduced.

Other features: Flag should be completely handsewn, and might have some kind of corner reinforcement on the top and bottom next to the heading. The Union would probably be made of seven stripes of bunting, sewn horizontally to line up with the first seven stripes on the flag.

STORM FLAG

Pattern: Stars and Stripes, thirteen stripes, beginning at the top with red. Union of flag 1/3 length of flag proper and extending vertically to bottom of fourth red stripe from top.

Measurements overall:

19-inch bunting: 9.79 X 20 feet

18-inch bunting: 9.25 X 20 feet

12-inch bunting: 10 X 20 feet

Measurements of Union:

19-inch bunting: 64.25"(H) X 99.9"(W) [46]

18-inch bunting: 58.5 "(H) X 99.9"(W) [47]

In both cases, seven stripes wide are assumed. However, the Union could be made with full width 18 or 19-inch bunting and one strip of split material. Material: Wool bunting, probably single warp. If 18 or 19-inch, probably cut down middle for stripes, leaving one selvedge per stripe. The same would be true for 12-inch trimmed bunting. Seams should line up with one selvedge and one raw-cut edge in each seam, except for one seam, which will be made of two raw-cut edges. This will allow selvedge at top and bottom of flag. If there is

no reversal of seam pattern, top or bottom of flag will be either cut raw or hemmed.

Thread: Probably cotton, possibly 3/2

Stars: Cotton muslin, bleached, 33 in number, on each side of flag. Star pattern unknown. Star diameter: possibly 6 inches.

Heading: Either linen or cotton duck, 8 ounce, 7 inches wide, doubled around the bolt rope and attached to the flag, making it 3½" wide when finished, and extending the full height of the flag.

Bolt Rope: Probably hemp, 4 strands of 3 folds, 11 feet, 6 inches long, [48] with 9 inches extending beyond the heading, spliced to enclose the thimbles. It could also be a flat, braided hemp rope of two ply coarse strand.

Thimbles: Galvanized iron, one inch hole. First mentioned in the 1865 Quartermaster Manual, date of introduction unknown.

Other features: Flag should be completely handsewn, and might have some kind of corner reinforcement on the top and bottom next to the heading.

Although the 1857 Regulations give us the date when the garrison and storm flags were introduced in the form which saw service at Fort Sumter, we do not as yet have a closing date for those patterns. All indications are that the construction techniques used during the 33-star period continued through the 34,35,36 and 37-star flags. Dramatic changes, however, began to occur in 1869. In February of that year, the Quartermaster's Department began to procure flags on contract from the United States Bunting Company, and it ordered a change in the Union, "...the Stars being left white in the process of dyeing the bunting for the field, not made as has heretofore been usual by sewing pieces of white cotton cloth..." [49] By April, 1869, the United States Bunting Company was proposing resist dyeing the stripes on the storm flag, and by June they wanted to make the Union of the garrison flag of 25-inch bunting so that "...five widths of it will equal the seven widths (18 inch bunting) to which it is attached..." [50]

In July, 1876, it was proposed that the old garrison flag be generally retired and replaced at most posts with a smaller flag, the reasons

being economic.[51] The change became official in 1877. Henceforth, garrison flags would be issued only to "...very important posts, or those having large garrisons, and will be hoisted only on gala days and great occasions..." A new flag, the same size as the old storm flag, was now introduced for most garrisons and was designated the "post flag." A smaller flag, four feet two inches by eight feet was issued as the new storm flag.[52]

With these changes in mind, it can be reiterated that the design of garrison and storm flags changed with the addition of the 34th star on July 4, 1861. By 1869 the stars were being resist dyed, as were the stripes on the storm flag. By 1877 the garrison flag was no longer in general use, and the old storm flag became the "post flag." Thus, we should be able to bracket the dates of the design and construction of the original Fort Sumter flags within fairly narrow margins.

2. Issue and Accounting

Just as the Quartermaster's Department was responsible for the manufacture of garrison and storm flags, so too was it responsible for their issue and the accounting of them until they were no longer in service. This birth to death responsibility resulted in requisition forms and property returns which were required to be rendered at prescribed intervals, along with administrative keys to keep track of these records. It also resulted in rules and regulations to be followed by everyone with property in his charge which determined how and under what circumstances property might be drawn or removed from the rolls. A brief survey of this system is useful in predicting the kinds of Quartermaster accounts and their contents that should have been rendered by the Fort Sumter garrison. In addition, it is a useful tool to allow us to determine both how well the garrison did its accounting job and how complete the surviving evidence is.

According to the Regulations, supplies of clothing, camp and garrison equipage were sent by the Quartermaster General from the general

depot (Schuylkill Arsenal) to the officers of his department stationed with the troops.[53] These items were sent after an annual estimate for clothing and equipage for a particular garrison had been received.[54] The contents of each package were to be marked on it, and the receiving quartermaster was to make out a duplicate receipt for the items for the benefit of the Washington office. In the case of clothing, company commanders generally drew it twice a year for their companies. The amount of clothing to be issued was carefully regulated by a table of allowances, and the company commander was required to keep a clothing book with a record of the clothing issued to each man in his company.

The company commander, the quartermasters and anyone else with property in their charge, were required to render quarterly returns of it to the Quartermaster General. These returns contained columns for each category of issued items, including garrison and storm flags, along with sections devoted to when the items were received, who from, the number on hand as of the last return, the total

number to be accounted for, when and to whom items were issued and the total number of items remaining on hand. A copy of this form is presented in Appendix 1.[55]

If there was any damage to clothing, camp and garrison equipage, the officer accountable for the property was required by law to show that the damage was done by unavoidable accident or loss in actual service, and that due care and attention had been paid to the article. If any items were thought to be unserviceable, the commanding officer was to order an inspection of the items, with separate inventories of the items accompanying the inspection report, indicating which items could be repaired, broken up, sold or those of no use or value that could be dropped from the rolls. No officer was to drop any item from his returns until the property had been inspected, condemned and ordered to be dropped.[56]

The regulations regarding the issue and accounting of flags followed the system outlined above, with one exception. While clothing was generally procured through an annual estimate and issued every six months to the troops, requisitions for garrison and storm flags were to be sent directly to the Quartermaster General. These items were not tied

to a table of allowances and were instead issued only as circumstances required.[57] It should be noted that these items were not requisitioned direct from the Schuylkill Arsenal. Instead, like the clothing estimates, they were first sent to the Quartermaster General, who would then inform Schuylkill of the need and order it to fill the requisition.[58]

The major reason for the differentiation between flags and clothing revolved around the army's ever present need for accountability, brought about both by a sense of professionalism and by the need to constantly demonstrate to a parsimonious Congress that the army cared well for items purchased for it with public money. Flags were rarely needed at regular or predictable intervals. Regimental colors, which were also covered by this regulation, might last for years. Garrison and storm flags, depending on the location of the posts to which they were issued and their attendent weather conditions, wore out at somewhat different rates.[59] Beyond that, garrison and storm flags were expensive. In 1863, a garrison flag cost the government $43.00, its halliards $3.25, and the storm flag $17.00.[60] In contrast, a second

Lieutenant's pay at that time was $45.00 a month.[60] Thus, garrison and storm flags were regarded as items to be doled out only when needed, and then to be used judiciously and given the proper care to make them last as long as possible. When they were thoroughly worn out they were condemned by a board of officers and ordered to be dropped from the supply inventory. Only then could new flags be requisitioned.

That these regulations were followed with a good deal of consistancy can be demonstrated from surviving requisitions. Whenever an officer requisitioned a new flag, he generally used Special Requisition No. 40, which required him to complete and sign the following statement: " I certify that the above requisition is correct, and that the articles specified are absolutely required for the public service, rendered so by the following circumstances:" Here the officer was to insert "such reasons as he may think fit to give, tending to show the necessity for the supplies..."[61]

The commander of Fort Sullivan used such a form in January, 1832 to requisition a garrison flag and justified the requisition by stating: "...the flag now in use being worn out..."[62] Lieutenant Marsena A. Patrick, 1st Artillery, commanding at Fort Moultrie, requisitioned a garrison

flag in November, 1832 and noted "...one now in use being nearly worn out..." [63] His successor, Captain James W. Ripley, wrote in December of that year that Patrick had informed him of the requisition and that the only flag flying at the post "...is in tatters..." [64] Although all of these requisitions date from the 1830's, there is no reason to believe that the same system was not in use in 1860. The fact that each of these individuals indicated that their flag was worn out before they requisitioned a new one indicates that condemnation procedures had been followed and that it was not a practice to keep more than one serviceable garrison and storm flag at a post.

Garrison and storm flags generally seem to have been issued in pairs, along with the garrison flag halliards, which could be used for either flag. [65] In May, 1859, the Artillery School at Fort Monroe was sent "1 Garrison Flag, 1 " " Halliard, 1 Storm Flag." In July, pairs of garrison and storm flags were sent to Fort Ripley, Carlisle Barracks and Fort Kearny. The Department of Oregon received 15 pairs of garrison and storm flags, along with the garrison flag halliards, in October, 1859 and later that same month, Key West Barracks also received a pair. [66] Occasionally,

these flags were issued singly. The Charleston Arsenal was sent a garrison flag and halliard in January, 1860, and Ordnance Sergeant Lewis Lefferman, in charge of the vacant Fort Niagara, was sent a storm flag and garrison flag halliard in July, 1859, but was cautioned that because the fort was not garrisoned, the flag could be displayed only on extraordinary occasions.[67]

Just how long a garrison or storm flag was expected to last is hard to ascertain. Quartermaster officials in Washington were willing to allow for the varying circumstances at different posts, yet long experience must have given them a rough idea of the probable life of flags at different posts. Certainly Captain A.J. Bradford, commanding the Charleston Arsenal in 1852, must have been considered to be requisitioning flags at too hasty a rate, for he was called upon to explain to the Quartermaster General his reasons for his requisition. His explanation that because his flagpole was located on a roof where his flags were constantly snagging the roof slates was evidently satisfactory, but Captain Bradford was careful to note that "...every precaution is

observed here for the proper preservation of the flags received, that every injury they sustain is promptly repaired when practicable, and that every means are used to make them endure as long as possible..." [68]

Still, we have little that allows us to measure the life of a flag in days or months. The only hard information in this area comes from a post-war experiment carried out at Fort Point, California in 1882. By this time the garrison flag had been generally replaced by the smaller "post flag" with its resist dyed stars and stripes. The Post Quartermaster at Fort Point was issued an experimental flag for trial. It had sewn along the seams between the stripes a hard twisted cord knotted every inch for a distance of four to five feet from the fly end. It proved a failure, falling apart after only twenty-one days of service. The issue post flag was described as having flown forty-eight days without wear except for a rip across the lower stripe two feet from the staff. Obviously, this experiment is of little value in determining the service life of the flags issued to the Charleston garrison in 1860-61. Not only are the flag sizes and construction different, but Fort Point, located in San Francisco Bay,

has different weather conditions than Charleston harbor. We can only deduce the life of a flag in Charleston by an analysis of the garrison's quartermaster correspondence and the accounts of individuals who saw the flags in service.[69]

Notes to Part A

1. Regulations For The Army Of The United States, 1861 (Albany: Weed & Parsons, 1861), paragraph 959, p. 123.

2. Excellent discussions of the role of the Quartermaster Department in the manufacture of clothing, camp and garrison equipage may be found in Erna Risch, Quartermaster Support of the Army, A History of the Corps, 1775-1939 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1962), William L. Brown and Burton K. Kummerow, Supplying the Fifth U.S. Infantry at Fort Snelling, 1819-1829, A Study of the Manufacture and Supply of Regular Infantry Uniforms and Equipment,(Jessup, Maryland: Historic Reproductions, 1969) and Grace Rogers Cooper, Thirteen-Star Flags, Keys to Identification,(Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1973)

3. Cited in Frederick P. Todd, et al., American Military Equipage, 1851-1872 (Providence, R.I.: The Company of Military Historians, 1974), p. 37.

4. Brown and Kummerow, p. 5.

5. Edgar M. Howell and Donald E. Kloster, United States Army Headgear to 1854 (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1969), p. 73

6. D.H. Rucker to Alexander J. Perry, May 4, 1867, cited in Cooper, Thirteen-Star Flags, p. 19. The original source is Record Group 92, Records of the Office of the Quartermaster General, Consolidated Correspondence File, 1794-1915, National Archives, cited hereinafter as RG 92, CCF. Hereinafter, the original source will be cited wherever possible.

It should be noted that silk regimental colors were normally procured on contract, the Quartermaster's Department supplying the silk. This was done because the devices on the flags were painted on, and the Schuylkill Arsenal did not maintain a flag painter on its rolls. There are a number of letters on this subject in CCF. For example, see G.H. Crosman to William C. Irvine, December 26, 1855, respecting flags to be made on contract by Horstmann and Sons.

7. Regulations For The Army Of The United States, 1857 (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1857) Paragraph 1368, p. 436.

8. Parker to Commissary General of Purchases, September 12, 1818, enclosing specifications for "Standard flag of the United States, approved by the President for all Military Garrisons and public Arsenals," RG 92, CCF, Box 304, Folder marked "Flag of the United States, 1818;" General Regulations For The Army, (Washington: Globe Office, 1835) p. 235; General Regulations For The Army of the United States, 1841 (Washington: J. and G.S. Gideon, 1841, paragraph 455, p. 80; General Regulations For The Army Of The United States, 1847 (Washington: J. & G.S. Gideon, 1847) paragraph 848, p. 156.

9. An Act To Establish The Flag Of The United States, 1818, cited in Milo M. Quaife, Melvin J. Weig and Roy E. Appleman, The History of the United States Flag(New York: Harper and Brothers and Philadelphia: Eastern National Park and Monument Association, 1961) pp. 74-75.

10. Chart, "Chronological Table of States and Data on Authorized Flags of the United States," in Quaife, Weig and Appleman, p. 153.

11. Cooper, Thirteen-Star Flags, pp. 15-24, 32-41.

12. Taylor, Scenes of Wealth or Views & Illustrations of Trade, Manufactures, Produce and Commerce, cited in Cooper, Thirteen-Star Flags, p. 15.

13. Parker to Commissary General of Purchases, September 12, 1818, RG 92, CCF.

14. 20 feet 13 stripes = 18.4 inches.

15. 18.4 inches - .5 inches = 18.9 inches. For comments of seam allowances, see H. Charles McBarron, Jr., "Unidentified Military Coatee, Circa 1805-1817," Military Collector & Historian, XXI, 3, pp. 95-96.

16. "Cost of Army Flags," enclosure in RG 92, CCF, Box 122.

17. Cooper, Thirteen- Star Flags, p. 15.

18. 17.5 inches X 13 stripes= 227.5 inches or 18.9 feet.

19. Neal Campbell to Alexander J. Perry, March 25, 1869, RG 92, CCF.

20. 18 inches 2= 9 inches; 9 inches X 13 stripes = 117 inches; 117 inches - 6 inches for seams = 111 inches; 111 inches = 9.25 feet.

21. 19 inches 2= 9.5 inches; 9.5 inches X 13 stripes = 123.5 inches; 123.5 inches- 6 inches for seams= 117.5 inches; 120 inches is ten feet.

22. Farrington to M.C. Meigs, April, 1869, RG 92, CCF. cited in Cooper, Thirteen-Star Flags, p. 22

23. Cooper, Thirteen-Star Flags, p. 41

24. 12 inches X 13 stripes= 156 inches; 156 inches - 6 inches for seams= 150 inches or 12 feet, 6 inches.

25. cited in Grace Rogers Cooper, The Sewing Machine, Its Invention and Development (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1976), p. 59 and in Howell and Kloster, p. 63.

26. Other letters on this subject are cited in Cooper, The Sewing Machine, p. 59.

27. List of Production Costs, Garrison and Storm Flags, Feb. 8, 1869, RG 92, CCF.

28. Cooper, Thirteen-Star Flags, p. 22.

29. Parker to Commissary General of Purchases, September 12, 1818, RG 92, CCF. Cited hereinafter as Parker to CGP, RG 92, CCF.

30. Letter of Feb. 5, 1867. Cited in Cooper, Thirteen-Star Flags, p. 22. While not further cited in Cooper, it appears from the context of the discussion that the letter was from Quartermaster officials ordering supplies for flags. It was not found in the course of research for this paper but is probably located in RG 92, CCF.

31. List of Costs, Feb. 8, 1869, RG 92, CCF.

32. Parker to CGP, RG 92, CCF.

33. 1865 Quartermaster Manual, Chapter Twelfth, p. 33. This manual was never published. It had only reached the galley proof stage before it was determined that there was no need for it. Portions from it quoted here are done so through the permission of Mr. Donald E. Kloster, Division of Military History, Smithsonian Institution.

34. Campbell to Perry, March 25, 1869, RG 92, CCF, cited hereinafter as Campbell to Perry.

35. Parker to CGP, RG 92, CCF

36. 1865 QM Manual, pp. 33-34.

37. Campbell to Perry.

38. List of Costs, Feb. 8, 1869, RG 92, CCF.

39. 1865 QM Manual, p. 33

40. Campbell to Perry; Cooper, Thirteen-Star Flags, p. 22.

41. List of Costs, Feb. 8, 1869, RG 92, CCF.

42. Parker to CGP, RG 92, CCF.

43. Campbell to Perry.

44. 18.4 inches X 7 stripes = 128.8"; 1/3 of 36 feet = 12 feet or 144 inches.

45. 17.5 inches X 7 stripes = 122.5 "; 1/3 of 36 feet= 12 feet or 144 inches.

46. 19 inches - ½ inch for seams= 18.5 inches; 18.5 inches 2 = 9.25 inch stripe in clear. 9.25 inches X 7 stripes= 64.75 inches; 1/3 of 20 feet = 6.66 feet or 99.92 inches.

47. 18-inch bunting split to 9 inches, ½ inch deducted for seams= 8.5 inches per stripe; 8.5 inches X 7 stripes = 59.5 inches; 1/3 of 20 feet = 6.66 feet or 99.92 inches.

48. 1865 QM Manual, Chapter Fifteenth, p. 57.

49. Meigs to Secretary of War, Feb. 26, 1869, RG 92, CCF.

50. Cooper, Thirteen-Star Flags, pp. 22-23.

51. Charles Eberdt to J.D. Bingham, July 26, 1876, RG 92, CCF, Box 302.

52. General Order No. 6, Adjutant General's Office, 1877.

53. 1861 Regulations, Paragraph 1031, p. 133.

54. A separate section devoted to the complexities of the annual estimate is not included in the 1861 Regulations, although paragraph 952, p. 122, refers to it. The system required a detailed, exact estimate of every item needed by a unit be submitted each year. See Brown and Kummerow, p. 7.

55. 1861 Regulations,Paragraphs 1032, 1033, 1038, 1036, 1045, 1052, pp. 133-136.

56. 1861 Regulations, Paragraph 1051, p. 135 and General Orders No. 8 (June 16,1859) and 14 (June 23, 1859), War Department, Adjutant General's Office.

57. 1861 Regulations, Paragraph 1035, p. 135.

58. Examples may be found in RG 92, Entry 19 "Register of Letters Received, Quartermaster's Department," and in RG 92, Entry 1003, "Register of Letters Received Relating To Clothing And Equipage."

59. Eberdt to Bingham, July 26,1876, RG 92, CCF, Box 304.

60. Chart: "The Following Is The Official Price List of Clothing, &c.," Adjutant General's Office, January 1, 1863; Francis A. Lord, They Fought For The Union (New York: Bonanza Books, 1960) p. 123. Lord's source is apparently Revised Regulations for the Army of the United States, 1863.

61. 1861 Regulations, Form 40, p. 182.

62. Special Requisition of 1st Lt. George J. Green (?), 3rd Artillery, Jan. 22, 1832. RG 92, CCF, Box 304.

63. Requisition of Lt. M.A. Patrick, 1st Artillery, Nov. 21, 1832, RG 92, CCF, Box 304.

64. Captain James W. Ripley, 4th Artillery to Jesup, Dec. 17, 1832, RG 92, CCF, Box 304.

65. 1865 QM Manual, p. 57, listed " Halliards- for garrison and storm flags..." as being one item.

66. Jesup to Col. Charles Thomas, AQM General, Philadelphia, May 3, 1859, July 23,1859, July 26, 1859, July 29, 1859, October 3, 1859, October 17, 1859, all in RG 92, Entry 999, "Letter Book/ QM Gen Office/ Clothing."

67. Jesup to Thomas, Jan. 23, 1860, E.S. Sibley to Thomas and to Lefferman, July 8, 1859. RG 92, Entry 999.

68. Capt. James A.J. Bradford to Jesup, October 5, 1852, RG 92, CCF, Box 302.

69. Office Chief Quartermaster, Headquarters Military Division of the Pacific to Post Quartermaster, Fort Point, California, Oct. 6, 1882 and endorsement, RG 92, CCF.

PART B

THE FORT SUMTER FLAGS

1860-1861

During the eleven-month period from June, 1860 to April, 1861, the historical events transpired that made the Fort Sumter flags famous and significant.

This part deals with the events of that period on several levels. First, it narrows the discussion of the Quartermaster issue and accounting system to deal specifically with the Fort Sumter flags. It includes a section on all U.S. flags in Charleston harbor during the period in order to determine exactly how many flags the garrison had, and the fate of the other U.S. flags. It next includes a chronological discussion of the major events the Fort Sumter flags were connected with, divided into sections based upon the particular event or period. This section is included not only to fully document

the histories of the flags, but to indicate the beginning of the trail of documentary evidence (criteria 1) and to provide historical evidence of details of damage to the flags and the environmental conditions in which they existed which can be tapped for technical or particle analysis(criteria 3 and 4). Interwoven with this chronological discussion is an analysis of the contemporary pictorial evidence, presented both as a means of documenting what evidence exists, and also as a means of indicating how much of that evidence is useful (criteria 2). Finally, as an integral part of this discussion, the question of which flag was flown during the bombardment is addressed. This particular section should be consulted in reference to the final summation of that point to be included towards the end of this paper. The interconnected nature of these discussions was made necessary by the evidence itself. An attempt to divide the discussion based upon the four criteria has proven cumbersome and repetitious.

Chronologically, this part begins with the issue of the flags in June, 1860 and concludes

with their public exhibition in New York City in April, 1861. After that point, the flags began the first of two long periods in seclusion.

1. Issue of the Fort Sumter Flags

In November, 1860, just before the secession crisis broke in South Carolina, U.S. Army inspector Fitz-John Porter made an inspection of the Fort Moultrie garrison. What he found were two skeleton companies of the 1st U.S. Artillery under the command of the aging Lt. Col. John L. Gardner, soon to be replaced by Major Robert Anderson. Company "E" was commanded by Captain Abner Doubleday, assisted by First Lieutenant Jefferson C. Davis. Company "H" was under the command of Brevet Captain Truman Seymour, whose second in command was First Lieutenant Theodore Talbot. There was also an Assistant Surgeon at the post, Samuel Wiley Crawford. Three Engineer officers, Captain John G. Foster and Lieutenants George W. Snyder and Richard K. Meade, operated semi-independently of the garrison, running civilian work parties who were completing work on Forts Sumter and Moultrie. The total number of officers and men was about sixty.

In this inspection report, Second Lieutenant Norman J. Hall was listed as the Acting Assistant

Quartermaster, a job he held down along with the functions of Assistant Commissary of Subsistance and Post Adjutant. Hall had been at his job since September, when he had relieved Second Lieutenant Samuel Breck, Jr. These two men were the ones who would have produced whatever official paperwork may exist on the Fort Sumter flags. [1]

Although every quartermaster was required to submit monthly and quarterly returns of the property in his charge, for the most part the actual returns submitted by Hall and Breck no longer exist. Of the numerous forms required to be turned in, only two would have been of real interest to this study. These would have been the Requisitions, and the Quarterly Returns of Clothing, Camp and Garrison Equipage. The first would have indicated when the flags were issued, and the second would have noted the existance of the flags throughout their service life. Unfortunately, of the thousands of Returns of Clothing, Camp and Garrison Equipage turned in during the nineteenth century, only sixteen boxes currently exist in the National Archives. All of these boxes were examined, return by return, and none of the Moultrie/Sumter returns were found. In fact, very little pre- Civil War Regular Army

material was in this group.[2] Lieutenant Hall's copies of his returns, badly charred from the fires which raged in Fort Sumter during the bombardment, are in the U.S. Army Military History Research Institute. Unfortunately, neither Requisitions nor Quarterly Returns of Clothing, Camp and Garrison Equipage are among them.[3] That these returns once existed and were turned in, however, can be verified from four volumes kept in the Quartermaster General's office; the "Register of Letters Received Relating to Clothing and Equipage,"[4] the "Letter Book/QM Gen Office/Clothing,"[5] the "Register of Letters Received, QMD,"[6] and "Orders for Camp and Garrison Equipage."[7] The information from these sources is included in this paper in both tabular form (Table 1) and in the original form in Appendix 2. Although much of the information does not relate directly to flags, some of it does and the remainder serves as a check on how completely the Fort Sumter quartermasters did their jobs.

In reviewing the table, it will be noted that gaps occur in the material submitted for December, 1860 and January, March, April and May, 1861. Hall was sent by Major Anderson to Washington between January 12 and February 10, 1861.[8] His returns for December were to be sent in by January 5. However,

he may have hand-carried the returns with him to Washington, and for this reason they may not have been entered in the registers. His absence from Fort Sumter during January would have prevented him from preparing returns for that month. Since there is no evidence that the returns were submitted by anyone else, it must be assumed that Hall incorporated the January business into his February returns. The absence of returns for March, April and May is more curious, but perhaps explained by the increasing isolation of the garrison and by very little quartermaster business being conducted. Whether these returns were incorporated into later ones is unknown. The absence throughout of Forms 7 and 8 is even more curious, particularly since at least one of Hall's copies of Form 7 exists.[9] Perhaps these returns were sent in separately and noted in another register.

Both Hall and Breck, however, did submit their Quarterly Returns of Clothing, Camp and Garrison Equipage, as noted in the table under Form 51. Unfortunately, these are the returns which are missing.

Happily, we do not have to rely on the Form 51's to determine the date of issue for the Fort Sumter

flags. Because the flags had to be requisitioned directly from the Quartermaster General in Washington, records of those requisitions were kept in the Letter Book. During Hall's tenure as quartermaster he requisitioned no flags, although, as will be noted in more detail later, he did request a new garrison flag in February, 1861 which he never received.[10]

Hall's predecessor, Lieutenant Breck, did requisition " 1 Garrison Flag & Halliard, 1 Storm do" as part of the annual clothing estimate in June, 1860. Col. Charles Thomas at Schuylkill Arsenal was ordered to fill the requisition on June 15, 1860.[11]

The year before, the annual clothing estimate included no flags, and none were requisitioned between that time and June, 1860.[12] Given the Army's insistance that no flags be requisitioned until they were actually needed, it is fairly obvious that the Fort Moultrie garrison already had flags in June, 1859 and that these flags remained in service until June, 1860. At that point, a new set was requisitioned. Since no other flags were received after that point, the two received in June, 1860 had to have been the flags used at Fort Sumter.

TABLE 1- Moultrie/ Sumter Quartermaster Correspondence and Returns received by the Quartermaster General.

B: Breck H: Hall

No:	Title:	Jun 1860	Jul 1860	Aug 1860	Sep 1860	Oct 1860	Nov 1860	Dec 1860	Jan 1861	Feb 1861	Mch 1861	Apl 1861	May 1861
Monthly Returns													
1	Summary Statement	B	B	B	H	H	H			H			
2	Report of Persons & Things	B	B	B	H	H	H			H			
3	Roll of Extra Duty Men	B	B	B	H	H	H			H			
4	Report of Stores Received for Transportation	B				H	H						
5	Return of Animals	B	B	B	H	H	H			H			
6	Report of Forage	B	B	B		H	H			H			
7	Report of Fuel & Quarters Commuted												
8	Report of Pay Due												
9	Estimate for Following Month			B	B	H	H	H		H			
Quarterly Returns													
10	Account Current												
11-22	Vouchers for Form 10												
23	Return of Property (does not include flags)												
24-45	Vouchers for Form 23												
46	Duplicate of Property Return												
47-48	Account Current, Contingencies												
49-50	Expenditures, Medical Dept.												
51	Return Clothing, Camp and Garrison Equipage	B			B*			H			H		
52	Receipt Roll for Clothing												

B*- also submitted by Hall

2. U.S. Flags in Charleston Harbor, 1860-61

During the period prior to South Carolina's secession, seven U.S. flags of the garrison or storm pattern are known to have been in the hands of U.S. Army troops in Charleston harbor. All but two of these can be eliminated as candidates for use at Fort Sumter.

The Fort Moultrie garrison was responsible for four military installations in the harbor, Fort Moultrie, Fort Johnson, Castle Pinckney and Fort Sumter. In addition, the Ordnance Department operated the Charleston Arsenal independent of the Fort Moultrie garrison.

Flag # 1- Garrison flag- Fort Moultrie
Flag # 2- Storm flag- Fort Moultrie

These are the two flags discussed in Part B-1 above, issued to the Fort Moultrie garrison in June, 1860.

Flag # 3- Castle Pinckney

Castle Pinckney, located at the mouth of the Cooper River on Shutes Folly Island, perhaps 1500 yards from the Charleston wharves, was normally under the charge of Ordnance Sergeant Skillen, who lived there with his wife and teenage daughter.

Just before South Carolina seceded, Lieutenant R.K. Meade and a party of laborers were sent to Castle Pinckney to repair cisterns. Meade hoped to train the laborers to man the guns, but the workmen balked. On December 27, 1860, two companies of South Carolina militia scaled the walls and took the fort. Meade was allowed to go to Fort Sumter, the workmen were hired by the South Carolinians, and Sergeant Skillen and his family were sent north.[13] In announcing the seizure, Governor Pickens noted: "...United States flag was hauled down and the Palmetto banner run up in its place..."[14] Confirming evidence that Castle Pinckney had a flag comes from an incident related by both sides. It seems that Sergeant Skillen's daughter was found weeping by the ramparts. South Carolina officers assured her that she was in no danger. She replied: "I'm not at all afraid, I'm mad, to see our flag go down and that dirty thing take its place."[15]

What happened to the Castle Pinckney flag is unknown. There is no evidence that Meade took it with him to Fort Sumter and none that the South Carolinians kept it. More likely, Skillen was

allowed to take it north, both because he was in actual charge of the post and would have borne the flag on his returns, and also because the privilege of retaining flags was being granted to others, including the force at the Charleston Arsenal.

Flag # 4- Garrison flag- Charleston Arsenal

The Charleston Arsenal had a garrison flag, which had been ordered to it on January 23, 1860.[16] Ordnance Storekeeper F.C. Humphries reported that South Carolina militia had surrounded the arsenal on December 28, 1860, but that "...the United States flag is undisturbed..."[17] Two days later, the militia seized the arsenal. Humphries wrote: "...Having no force to make a defense, I surrendered under a protest, and demanded the privilege of saluting my flag before lowering it and of taking it with me..."[18] There is no indication that Humphries' demands were not met.

Flag # 5- Garrison flag- Fort Sumter

There is an indication, in a story told by

Abner Doubleday, that Fort Sumter may have had a garrison flag in 1859 when it was occupied by an ordnance sergeant and his family. According to the anecdote, the sergeant became very ill with yellow fever. The weather was stormy and there was only a small boat to communicate with shore. The wife had to remain with her husband because of his constant need for care, and the two children were too small to be of use in summoning medical aid. In desperation, the wife went to the top of the fort and waved a sheet back and forth as a signal and "...raised and lowered the garrison flag repeatedly..." [19] As it turned out, she was finally able to get aid, but too late to save her husband.

From this account it would appear that Fort Sumter had a garrison flag in 1859. However, the story is not independently confirmed, and the lack of requisitions for flags for either Sumter or Moultrie for any time around or after July of 1859 would indicate that if the flag existed, it was of the 32-star pattern. [20] There is no evidence of a flag flying from the fort when the work parties were there in 1860, and every evidence that Fort Sumter did not have its own flag until the two from Fort Moultrie were transferred in December, 1860. There is also some question as to whether

the flagstaff was in a functioning condition when the garrison arrived from Fort Moultrie.[21] It would appear that the Fort Sumter garrison flag, if it existed, was worn out long before the 1861 bombardment.

Flag # 6- Garrison flag- Augusta Arsenal
Flag # 7- Storm flag- Augusta Arsenal

A pair of flags passed through Charleston in November, 1860. At that time one garrison flag and halliard and one storm flag, along with the annual clothing, were shipped to the Augusta Arsenal, Augusta, Georgia, on the steamer Key Stone State, consigned to the assistant quartermaster at Charleston, Lieutenant Hall. On January 8, 1861, Lieutenant A.L. Long, assistant quartermaster at the Augusta Arsenal wrote to the Quartermaster General that the shipment had not yet arrived. He added:" ...I presume, that during these disturbed times the Quartermaster at Charleston has not been able to forward it to me..."[22]

On receiving Long's letter, the Quartermaster General ordered Col. Thomas at Schuylkill to take steps to recover the material.[23] Unfortunately, there is no record of what Thomas discovered.[24]

However, when the Augusta Arsenal surrendered

to Georgia militia on January 24, it did have a flag. Like the Charleston Arsenal flag, it was saluted by the garrison before it was lowered.[25]

There are three possible sources for this flag. First, it might have been the old flag the Arsenal was trying to replace in November. Second, it might have been the Charleston Arsenal flag, for the Charleston garrison was sent to Augusta after the Charleston Arsenal was seized. They arrived On January 10, two days after Long's complaint that his flags had not arrived.[26] Finally, the Charleston detachment might have brought along the flags originally intended for the Augusta Arsenal.

In any case, it would appear that Hall did not keep the flags. All of the contemporary newspaper accounts describing the Fort Sumter flags indicate that there were only two, not the four the garrison would have possessed had the Augusta Arsenal flags been retained. Beyond that, Hall did send in a Report of Stores Received for Transportation for November, 1860, indicating that he had sent something on to another post. Unfortunately, because the original report does not survive, we cannot be sure that it pertained to flags.[27] However, the <u>Key Stone State</u>

steamed for Charleston on November 24.[28] It would have taken a week at most to reach its destination, putting it in Charleston around the end of the month. It would not be until December 26, nearly a month later, that the Moultrie garrison would transfer to Fort Sumter. During that month all normal lines of communication were open and there was no reason why Hall could not have sent the flags on. Finally, during Hall's Washington visit in January/February, 1861, he made out the memorandum calling for a garrison flag. If he already had the Augusta Arsenal set of flags, plus the two received in June, 1860, he would hardly have needed still another garrison flag. Thus, while the actual disposition of the Augusta Arsenal flags is uncertain, it is reasonably certain that they were not retained at Fort Moultrie.

It should be noted, as a point of reference, what flags were not part of the Fort Moultrie inventory. Fort Johnson, while officially under Moultrie's charge, was not normally manned. Its barracks were considered uninhabitable and there is no evidence that it had a flag.[29]

There is no evidence that Fort Moultrie had a recruiting flag, and while that post had been regimental headquarters of the 1st Artillery, those headquarters were moved to Baltimore in December, 1858.[30] Thus, even though the regimental band, the regimental quartermaster sergeant, and until May, 1860, the regimental quartermaster were stationed at Fort Moultrie, the regimental colors had been moved to Baltimore.[31] In 1864, when the U.S. Sanitary Commission held its Metropolitan Fair in New York City, P.T. Barnum contributed for display: "...Flag of the 1st Regular Artillery. Stationed at Fort Sumter when it was bombarded by the rebels, by command of General Beauregard."[32] The label indicates that the reference is to the 1st Artillery being stationed at Fort Sumter, rather than that specific flag. Whether this flag even dated from 1861 is unknown, but if it did, it came out of the regiment's Baltimore headquarters.

During this period only mounted companies such as dragoons, cavalry and light artillery were issued guidons. The Fort Moultrie garrison, trained as heavy artillery and as infantry, had no such guidons.[33]

Thus, of the seven flags in Charleston harbor, those at Castle Pinckney and the Charleston Arsenal were lowered in surrender and carried away in December, 1860, Fort Sumter's, if it existed, was long since worn out, and the garrison did not retain the flags intended for the Augusta Arsenal. There were no flags at Fort Johnson and no regimental colors or company guidons. Thus, the only flags that could have been used during the 1861 bombardment of Fort Sumter were the two issued to the Fort Moultrie garrison in June, 1860.

3. The Evacuation of Fort Moultrie, Dec. 26-27, 1860

There is little doubt that the flags issued in June, 1860 were transferred from Fort Moultrie to Fort Sumter on the evening of December 26, 1860. Assistant Surgeon Samuel W. Crawford, in an undated latter written from Fort Sumter, noted:

> "...The night was a lovely one...as the first boats with one company, its officers and the commanding officer with our flags pushed silently off from shore..." [34]

When Crawford published his Genesis of the Civil War in 1887, he described the scene this way:

> "... Lieutenant Snyder, the engineer officer in charge at Fort Sumter in the leading boat, accompanied by Major Anderson with the flag of the garrison..." [35]

A "Baltimore gentleman," presumably a member of the Engineer construction party, who was in Fort Sumter on the 27th wrote:

> " ...It is known that the American flag brought away from Fort Moultrie was raised at Sumpter at noon on the 27th ult..." [36]

Finally, Harper's Weekly noted:

> "...It is known that, on leaving Fort Moultrie, Major Anderson brought away with him the flag which he had been in the habit of hoisting over that fort..." [37]

It should be noted that of these accounts, only one, Crawford's 1861 letter, refers to "flags." All of the others indicate one flag. However, the last two references were written as lead-in paragraphs to accounts of the flag raising in Fort Sumter on April 27, and referred specifically to the flag raised in Fort Sumter, rather than to all flags removed from Fort Moultrie. Crawford's 1887 reminiscenses seem to have been influenced by later stories referring to "the flag" of Fort Sumter and may also have been an attempt to avoid confusion in his own narrative. Certainly, in an 1863 letter believed to have been written by Crawford, he acknowledged that there were normally two flags at a fort, but went on to point out that "...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..." [38] Thus, Crawford's use of the singular was consistent with his evolving idea of one flag. However, his 1861 letter indicates there were more than one, and the quartermaster records indicate

they were a pair, garrison and storm.

When the garrison evacuated Fort Moultrie, it left behind a rear guard who were to man the parapet guns until the garrison was safely in Fort Sumter. They were then to spike the guns, destroy the carriages, cut down the flagstaff and destroy any ammunition that could not be carried to the new destination.[39]

The importance of dealing with the destruction of the Fort Moultrie flagstaff lies in assessing the accuracy of the first pictorial representation of the Moultrie/ Sumter flag, which appeared as a woodcut on the front page of Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper on January 19, 1861 (Figure 1).

In its commentary to accompany the drawing, Leslie's wrote:

> "...Before evacuating Fort Moultrie, Major Anderson ordered the flagstaff to be cut down, evidently to prevent the hoisting of the Palmetto flag upon it. Before the next dawn, the entire force- excepting Captain Foster and two men who were left on guard - had been removed to Fort Sumpter. The indignation of the Charlestonians was very great when they discovered next morning that the Stars and Stripes had been taken down from Fort Moultrie and transferred to Fort Sumpter,

> and General Clinch with the company under his command landed on Sullivan's Island from the Nina, and advanced to the walls of the apparently deserted fort. They found the gates open, and when they entered the small force left by Major Anderson withdrew. Another flagstaff was hastily rigged, and in less than an hour the Palmetto flag waved from its height..." [40]

Since it appears from internal evidence in the newspaper that the source of the sketch was also the source of the quote, it might be worthwhile to point out that the quotation is in error on several points. First Captain Foster was left in Fort Moultrie with at least four soldiers plus an Engineer work party after the rear guard was withdrawn to Sumter. Second, "General Clinch" was the name of one of the South Carolina guard boats, not an individual, and third, the South Carolinians did not occupy Fort Moultrie until after dark on the evening of the 27th, rather than that morning. [41] All of these facts were known to the garrison, so it seems unlikely that the quote originated there. [42]

In reference to the sketch, these points should be noted. Leslie's account indicated that

the flagstaff was cut down on the evening of the 26th. Surgeon Crawford also remembered it that way in 1872,[43] and in 1887,[44] as did Mrs. Anderson in 1898. However, Mrs. Anderson was not present, and it was her belief that the flagstaff was the one erected by General Moultrie during the revolution.[45] Early in this century, that portion of the family story had gone so far that one of her daughters believed that the flagstaff was the one to which Sergeant Jasper had nailed the Palmetto flag in 1776.[46] Of course these beliefs had no basis in fact, for the Fort Moultrie known to Anderson was the third fort on the site and dated from 1808.[47]

Captain Foster, who was in charge of the destruction, seemed to imply in his 1861 report that the flagstaff was cut down on the 26th, though he does not say so specifically.[48] However, in 1872, both he and Lieutenant Jefferson C. Davis maintained that while the guns were spiked during the night, the flagstaff actually was not cut down until the morning of the 27th. At that time, Davis, Crawford and a party of volunteers came back from Fort Sumter to assist Captain Foster pay off the work party, determine what supplies might still be salvaged and complete the destruction ordered

the night before. Although Surgeon Crawford vigorously dissented from this opinion in 1872,[49] in 1887 he indicated that although the flagstaff was cut down on the 26th, Major Anderson had already left with the flags.[50] In this area, at least, Foster, Davis and Crawford agreed.[51]

The woodcut shows a clean-shaven officer in a single-breasted frock coat supervising the work of destruction. There were only two clean-shaven officers in the command, Anderson and Hall. The coat, a company officers' type, should indicate that the figure is Hall.[52] However, Hall was not present in Fort Moultrie either on the evening of the 26th or the morning of the 27th. In the early afternoon of the 26th, he had been sent with a schooner loaded with the garrison's women and children to the other side of the harbor, ostensibly to land them at Fort Johnson, but in reality to wait off Sumter until signalled that the garrison had safely landed. He was then to land his charges at Fort Sumter.[53] Hall remained in Fort Sumter on the 27th. Major Anderson was in the first boat to Fort Sumter, and once there, remained. Thus, the presence of either Anderson or Hall in the woodcut is clearly inaccurate.

Beyond that, the flagstaff in the woodcut is incorrect. It is located on the same ground level as the barracks and has wood braces perhaps four feet long nailed to it at an angle about three feet from the ground. It also has cleat-like steps running up the sides. Happily, a pre-war photograph of Fort Moultrie has survived (Figure 2) along with a drawing either made from this photograph or from another taken at the same time(Figure 3). Clearly, the flagstaff has no braces at the bottom and probably has no cleat-like steps. In addition, it was located on the parapet at the top of a double row of steps, rather than at parade ground level.

Whoever the artist was, he undoubtedly saw Fort Moultrie, for the barracks building is correct, [54] but much of the rest of the work is suspect. Probably the artist was a civilian working for Leslie's. He does not appear to have been a member of the garrison or even an eyewitness to the events.

The flag depicted is of a rather small size. If it is anything at all, it is probably intended to depict the storm flag. Unfortunately, neither the stars nor any other details are rendered with sufficient clarity to allow a distinction between this flag

and any other national flag, or to tie it to either of the two surviving flags. In sum, this first depiction of the Moultrie/Sumter flag is not very useful.

4. The Fort Sumter Flag Raising, December 27, 1860

While the destruction was occuring in Fort Moultrie on December 27, Major Anderson was preparing for a noon-time flag raising in Fort Sumter. Henry B. Dawson, who wrote perhaps the most complete account of the garrison's operations up until the Star of the West incident, had this to say:

> "...The extraordinary noon-time flag raising, in Fort Sumter, on the twenty-seventh of December, to which allusion has been made, because of its notoriety rather than for any intrinsic importance which it possessed, deserves a passing notice.
>
> The garrison-flag of the post had been raised on the flagstaff of Fort Sumter, at day-break, in accordance with the time-honored custom and the recognized rules of the service; and there seems to have been no existing necessity for striking the colors, hours afterwards, either for the purpose of doing, in better style, what, for all the soldierly precision acquired by long practice, had been done, already, nor for that of asking a blessing, nunc pro nunc, at noon, on what had been done hours before, at day-break, without any such supplications.

> For some reason which has not been disclosed, however, it was resolved to lower the garrison-flag which already floated from the flag-staff of the fort and to raise it again, at noon, with ceremonies other than those which are known to the Army Regulations...About noon, therefore, Chaplain Matthias Harris went over to Fort Sumter from Moultrieville, on Sullivan's Island, where his family resided; that portion of the garrison which was within the fort, and not on post, was paraded, under arms, and the non-combatants who were there were also assembled; the garrison-flag of the post was tied, again, to the halliards of the flagstaff; the Chaplain delivered a very appropriate thanksgiving and prayer; and while the garrison presented arms and the Band played The Star-Spangled Banner, the colors were run up, and again thrown to the breeze. Three hearty cheers were given "for the flag," by the assembled party, officers and men, and three more for "our Union;" and the ceremony, which is said to have been 'a very imposing one,' was concluded..." [55]

Dawson's complaints about the "extraordinary" nature of the flag raising may be partially answered

by Sergeant James Chester's account. Chester noted that when the garrison arrived at Fort Sumter:

> "...there were no halliards to the flag-staff, and as there was more pressing work at hand for several days, some time elapsed before it became possible to display the national flag. At length, however, halliards were rigged and everything was ready for the flag..." [56]

Chester's impression that the flag raising was postponed several days after the garrison's arrival can be readily dismissed, for ample contemporary evidence indicates that it occured on December 27. [57] However, Chester may well be correct about the reason for the delay of the flag raising until noon. Captain Truman Seymour also believed that the delay was due to preparations for defense:

> "...My <u>impression</u> is that the flag was not raised until noon. <u>I do not believe Maj. A 'forbid' its being raised at reveille</u>, but that in the hurry of preparation for defence (immediate defence) it was, <u>probably</u>, found inconvenient, or <u>perhaps</u>, impossible to do so..." [58]

It would appear that Dawson's assumption that the flag was raised at reveille, and then lowered and re-raised at noon was incorrect. If Sergeant Chester was correct, the unexplained reasons that

Dawson was concerned with for raising the flag at noon are explained.As Seymour noted, it was impossible to do so, and the delay was brought about by the need to rig halliards. This would tend to confirm that the flag flown in 1859 was gone and that the flagstaff was not in a functioning condition when the garrison arrived. It should also be noted that all of the accounts referring to the transfer of the flags from Fort Moultrie to Fort Sumter carry with them the implication that Fort Sumter had no flags of its own until the Moultrie flags arrived.

The question of which of the two Moultrie flags, garrison or storm, was raised on the 27th is extremely difficult to answer. Dawson stated quite specifically that it was the garrison flag. Despite his probable error in determining the reason for the noon-time flag raising, it should be remembered that Dawson had the advantage of using many of the garrison's officers as sources, many of whom he visited personally as well as corresponded with by mail. His manuscript was proofread by many of them. Thus, Dawson may have had specific reasons for the use of the term

"garrison-flag." However, if he did, he failed to cite them. Lacking that authority, we must assume that it was an assumption on Dawson's part that led to the use of the term.[59]

When the New York Illustrated News ran its story on the arrival of the garrison in New York in April, it mentioned that the transport Baltic was flying from its main-mast the flag of Fort Sumter and from the fore-mast the flag of Fort Moultrie. It then went on to differentiate between the two by noting that the Fort Sumter flag had been "perforated with a cannon shot below the blue field" while the Moultrie flag was a "large flag."[60]

However, when Frank Leslie's ran its sketch of the flag raising ceremony (Figure 4), it showed a flag considerably smaller than the garrison flag. It measures, in proportion to the men in the sketch, about six feet on the hoist and eight or nine feet on the fly. Unlike their earlier unattributed Fort Moultrie sketch, Leslie's claimed that the flag raising sketch was the product of their "Special Artist" in Charleston, who had been present at the ceremony. It was

further claimed that this artist was producing:

> "...striking sketches of all the exciting events...in that city, its harbor and surroundings. No other publication from the North is, or has been in Charleston during this stirring time, so the public will bear in mind that Frank Leslie's ILLUSTRATED NEWSPAPER will contain the only authentic Illustrations of the Secession Movement and the important and thrilling events which arise out of it..."

Not content with merely blowing its own horn, Leslie's then took direct aim at its competition:

> "...All pictures, therefore, in other papers, pretending to illustrate events transpiring in Charleston, are necessarily and must be pronounced, BOGUS.
>
> We make this statement unwillingly, but we think it right to claim whatever merit or advantage may be derived as the fruits of our enterprise, and of that conservative position which opens the way for our artists in every section of the country..." [61]

Leslie's comments were, to say the least, somewhat strong. What would make this "conservative" paper take such a position? It is highly probable that the reason lies in the fact that Leslie's chief competitor, Harper's Weekly, had announced that same day the publication in its columns of a

number of sketches by Anderson's officers.[62] Not only were these sketches not bogus, they were at least as authentic, if not more so, than anything Leslie's "Special Artist" could produce.

Harper's Weekly had already published one group of sketches, a collage of Fort Moultrie views, on January 12. Now, on January 26, it published several interior views of Fort Sumter and one of the destroyed gun carriages at Fort Moultrie, all "...by the kindness of two officers of Major Anderson's command..." It went on to state that all of these woodcuts "...are from pictures drawn, within a day or two, by officers of Major Anderson's command..."[63] It continued to publish sketches by these officers on February 16th and 23rd. On March 2, it included a number of sketches of Confederate batteries on Cummings Point and at Fort Moultrie and Fort Johnson. These last sketches were definitely done by Captain Truman Seymour. They were published again over his signature in the Atlas to Accompany the Official Records,[64] and the originals are today in the Crawford Papers in the Library of Congress. Crawford himself seems to have been the other artist.

Dawson believed that he was responsible for the sketch of the destroyed Fort Moultrie gun carriages that appeared in Harper's Weekly,[65] and Crawford later published a number of his sketches, including Figure 5 in this paper, in his own book The Genesis of the Civil War.[66] Many of the originals are in his papers in the Library of Congress.[67]

As in the Fort Moultrie sketch, Leslie's Sumter flag raising sketch was done by someone who had at least seen the inside of Fort Sumter. The location and style of the barracks, the drainholes between the casemate arches on the second tier, and the lack of guns on the barbette tier are all features which existed in the fort at the time.[68] Once again, however, the flagstaff is inaccurate. Post-bombardment photographs (Figures 6 and 7), Crawford's sketch (Figure 5) and a sketch by one of Anderson's officers published in Harper's Weekly on January 26 (Figure 8) all indicate that the Fort Sumter flagstaff was a relatively massive affair, with braces in excess of twenty feet long attached at an angle to the main staff perhaps eighteen feet above the ground. The access steps to the topmast were made like construction treads, nailed to the surface of the staff. Leslie's flagstaff, in

contrast, is strikingly similar to the one in their Moultrie drawing. The style of both drawings is also very similar. If the same artist drew both, it was not Seymour or Crawford, or at least was not done by either of them as eyewitness sketches, for Crawford missed the Fort Sumter flag raising while seeing the Moultrie flagstaff destruction, and Seymour missed the Moultrie episode while witnessing the Sumter event. The flags in both drawings are also quite similar. In both cases, it would appear that it is the Leslie's sketches which are bogus.[69]

Harper's Weekly published its own sketch of the Fort Sumter flag raising on January 26, (Figure 9) but made no claim that it was done by an eyewitness. Once again, the architecture of the fort matches that known to have existed, the flag is reasonably small, and the flagstaff is virtually identical to Leslie's version.

Although there are inaccuracies in all of these sketches, the fact that they are woodcuts should not result in our dismissing them entirely. It appears that during the era prior to news photography, newspaper artists did make a concerted effort to produce material that was as accurate as possible. Certainly the architectural details in these sketches indicate that there was someone on the spot doing

the drawings. At the same time, the similarity of the flagstaff between the Harper's Weekly and Leslie's versions indicates that the papers were copying one another.

However, there is one thing which remains consistent throughout all of the illustrative material presented thus far, the size of the flag. While some of the Leslie's material might well be dubious, at least one of the Harper's Weekly woodcuts, Figure 8, is probably valid. So possibly is Figure 3. All of these sketches except Crawford's show an identifiable storm size flag. Whether this is an indication that it was the storm flag which was raised on the 27th, or simply that the storm flag was undergoing heavy use at this general period of time is unknown. Certainly the fact that these are sketches and not photographs should preclude any hard and fast conclusions, but the depiction of the storm flag to the almost total exclusion of the garrison flag is certainly curious.

However, given that both Leslie's sketches and the Harper's Weekly flag raising sketch are probably unreliable, and that the others, while perhaps more valid, do not relate directly to the December 27th flag raising, and given also that

both Dawson and the Illustrated News indicated that it was the garrison flag that was raised on the 27th, it would seem logical to assume, as perhaps Dawson did, that Anderson would indeed have raised his large garrison flag to announce the arrival of his garrison in Fort Sumter to the South Carolinians. There does not, however, appear to be a firm conclusion in this case.

5. The Siege Period, December 28,1860-April 11, 1861

During this period the garrison busied itself preparing for attack by the South Carolinians. Various diplomatic efforts were carried out in an attempt to negotiate an end to the Fort Sumter crisis, including some at garrison level. This period ended with the Confederate demand for the evacuation of Fort Sumter. There are only a few references to the Fort Sumter flags during this period, but most of them are significant.

That the garrison flag was still in use at this time, at least in January, 1861, is indicated by another drawing by one of the garrison's officers (Figure 10).[70] This view of the exterior of Fort Sumter at low tide shows a large stars and stripes flying from the flagstaff. Using post-bombardment photographs showing men standing on the esplanade,[71] and an average height for a man of the period of five feet, eight inches,[72] the height of the outer wall of Fort Sumter from the esplanade to the top of the parapet calculates at about thirty-one feet. Using this same measurement, the height of the flag on the hoist in the woodcut

is about twenty feet, the correct size for a garrison flag. Since this woodcut is from an eyewitness drawing, and since the architecture of the fort, both in proportions and details, compares quite favorably to post-bombardment photographs, it is believed that this is a reasonably accurate representation of the garrison flag.

It might be noted, however, that while the flag appears to measure about twenty feet on the hoist, it does not seem to be the full thirty-six feet on the fly. If it were, and if it were in a hanging position on the staff, its lower edge would be longer by five feet than the fort's outer wall. Probably optical illusion and the fact that the flag is partially flying account for this effect, but it still appears that there is not enough fabric in the flag for it to have a full thirty-six foot fly. The reduced fly corresponds favorably with the surviving garrison flag.

Because this is a woodcut made from a drawing, perhaps too much should not be made of it. On the other hand, when Crawford published this same drawing, he had an artist redraw it for him to show the storm flag in use.[73] It should also be remembered that Seymour's drawings, at least, are nearly photographic

in their fidelity to known details of the Sumter area. Whether this was one of his sketches or one of Crawford's is unknown, but Crawford obviously saw fit later to reduce the size of the flag by one/half. Why this was done, and whether it is significant is unknown, but the original sketch obviously showed a garrison size flag.

On January 9, the supply steamer Star of the West attempted to come into the harbor to Fort Sumter's relief. Fired on by the South Carolinians and not supported by Fort Sumter's guns, it turned around and went back to New York. While a number of references to the flags carried by the Star of the West exist, none of the garrison discussed their own flag during this incident. Lt. Charles R. Woods, commanding the troops on board the Star of the West, noted only that "...The American flag was flying at Fort Sumter..." [74]

From January 12 to February 10, Lieutenant Hall was absent in Washington, serving as the garrison's representative in negotiations with the South Carolinians. [75] While there, he made up a memorandum of "articles required at Fort Sumter." Colonel Lorenzo Thomas, the Assistant Adjutant General, sent a copy of the memorandum on

February 21 to Colonel Henry L. Scott, Acting Adjutant General in New York with instructions to procure the items needed and have them transferred to Captain James H. Ward of the Navy. Captain Ward was then to place the items on the vessels that were to sail to Charleston as a second relief expedition.

Lieutenant Colonel Scott replied to Thomas' letter on February 22, noting:

> "...In relation to clothing, I am unable to make out what the memorandum requires. Instead, therefore, of writing myself to Philadelphia, I beg that the necessary orders may be given from Washington to the clothing officers in Philadelphia to send to Colonel Tompkins here the clothing required by the memorandum, and the garrison flag and cords for lanyards on this same memorandum..." [76]

On February 26, Colonel Charles Thomas at Schuylkill sent to the Quartermaster General an invoice for supplies turned over that day for transfer and delivery to Colonel D.D. Tompkins, Acting Assistant Quartermaster General, New York City. As in much of this quartermaster material, the invoice itself has not survived, but the timing

of this order, and the lack of other orders for supplies for Tompkins indicates that this must have been the invoice for the garrison flag and clothing.[77]

Although the Fort Sumter garrison never received this flag, for it came on the relief expedition that waited off the bar during the bombardment, the fact that Hall asked for it is significant for two reasons. First, as has been noted, it indicates that the Augusta Arsenal flags had been sent on and that the 1859 garrison flag no longer existed. More importantly, it indicates that the garrison flag issued in June, 1860 was wearing out. Exactly how fragile it was is unknown, but given the army's insistence that new flags not be issued until the old ones were thoroughly worn out, the garrison flag was probably in, at best, marginal condition. The woodcut, with its indication of a reduced fly, may constitute evidence that the garrison flag had already been patched using portions of the fly. The fact that Hall did not ask for a storm flag in his memorandum would indicate that it was still usable.

Through most of March, the weather was fairly stormy, with high winds, rain and one snow squall. Some of this bad weather continued into April. Presumably the storm flag was flying during much of this period. [78]

As the garrison's rations depleted, Anderson realized that evacuation was inevitable unless relief arrived. On March 26, General P.G.T. Beauregard, commanding the secessionist forces, offered transportation out of the harbor for the garrison. Beauregard knew Anderson and knew the garrison's condition. He added: "On our part no objection will be raised to your retiring with your side and company arms, and to your saluting your flag on lowering it..." [79]

When the Confederates learned on April 8 of the Federal government's intention to supply Fort Sumter with provisions, by force if necessary, they cut off the garrison's mail and stepped up their efforts to get Anderson to commit to an evacuation. On April 11, Anderson replied that he would evacuate on the 15th, unless he was resupplied or received controlling instructions from his government by then. Knowing of the approaching Federal relief expedition, the Confederates demanded surrender. [80]

Major P.F. Stevens, Superintendent of the Citadel Military Academy and commander of the Confederate Point and Iron batteries on Cummings Point, related an incident that occured on April 11 that may be of great significance in the history of the Fort Sumter flags:

> "...There is one somewhat remarkable incident which I beg leave here to record. On Thursday evening our camp was thrown into considerable excitement by the report that the demand was to be made for the surrender of the fort, and when it was reported that a white flag had been sent to Sumter our batteries were watching the fort. I was standing on the traverse closing the left flank of the iron battery. Suddenly the United States flag on Fort Sumter was seen to split in two distinct parts, dividing from the front edge to the back along the lower extremity of the "Union." I remarked to the men around me "I wonder if that is emblematical?" Several remarked that it appeared ominous. For several moments the flag flew in this condition, when it was hauled down and another flag raised in its stead..." [81]

At first glance, Stevens' comment might be construed as nothing more than a typical nineteenth century attempt to add a little romantic symbolism to the final break between the Union and the Confederacy. Possibly it is, but at the same time Hall's memorandum calling for a garrison flag indicated that Fort Sumter's garrison flag was wearing out. No other witness, Union or Confederate, substantiated Stevens' account, but the incident may have occured so quickly that none of the others who wrote reports saw it, or if they did, thought it worthy of inclusion in their reports. Stevens' position as Superintendent of the Citadel and commander of the two batteries indicated that he had both prestige and ability. The fact that the incident was recorded only nine days after it happened gives it a sense of immediacy, and one would have to question why a presumably responsible individual would add a piece of romantic nonsense to an otherwise professional report, particularly when there were other witnesses who could have refuted the incident had it not happened. From Stevens' account, it

appears that he was using field glasses and could pick out damage to the fort in considerable detail during the bombardment, and thus could have seen the flag-splitting incident clearly as well. While no other confirmation of the incident occurs in the historical record, there is also nothing to refute it.

If a flag did indeed split, two questions arise. First, which flag, garrison or storm, was flying at the time and split and second, was it repaired in time for use during the bombardment ?

Major Stevens did not differentiate between the two flags that he saw, and as noted, no one else mentioned the incident. Hall's memorandum, however, would indicate that it was the garrison flag which would have been the most likely to split. There is no indication that the weather was stormy at that time, although it would become so within a few hours, and if the garrison flag was still usable, it would most likely have been flying. Of the two surviving flags, the storm flag has not ripped extensively either vertically or horizontally, although a portion of the lower stripe is detached from the heading. The garrison flag has been extensively torn and patched. It has ripped vertically along the heading from the bottom all the way up

to the union, and has been heavily patched in that area. It has also ripped horizontally along the material of the stripes at the top of stripe 8, the top of stripe 10, and the top of stripe 12. Although some of the damage on the vertical rip is far more extensive than a simple rip and involves the loss of considerable material under the union, which appears to have been cut out, it might be noted that if the flag was suffering from rot caused by the salt-ladden atmosphere of the Charleston area and from ultraviolet damage, and if the vertical rip had taken place sometime before April 11 and had been patched, the resultant pulling in of the fabric to the lead to repair the flag may have set up a strain that then caused the flag to rip horizontally on April 11. How much of the damage to this flag is the result of wear, of deterioration, of repairs and of possible battle damage is a question to be answered by the textile experts, but it is obvious that if the two flags are authentic, and if one of them did indeed split on April 11, by process of elimination it must have been the garrison flag.

If the garrison flag ripped, was it repaired prior to the bombardment? None of the Union accounts mention either the ripping or the repairing of a

flag, but it is known that Lieutenant R.K. Meade, placed on Ordnance duty on April 10, found his supply of cartridge bags too small, and cut up all the surplus blankets and extra company clothing to make the bags. On April 11, Captain Foster wrote: "...the work of making cartridge bags is slow, owing to their being only six needles in the fort..." On April 12, during the bombardment, Foster noted: "...The supply of cartridges, 700 in number, with which the engagement commenced, became so much reduced by the middle of the day, although the six needles in the fort were kept steadily employed, that the firing was forced to slacken, and to be confined to six guns..." Finally, on the evening of the 12th: "...the making of cartridge bags was continued by the men, under Lieutenant Meade's directions, until 12 o'clock, when they were ordered to stop by Major Anderson. To obtain materials for the bags all the extra clothing of the companies was cut up, and all coarse paper and hospital sheets used..." [82] Captain Doubleday was also having sandbags made up by this party, to construct a traverse on the parapet to stop the enfilade fire of a battery

unmasked in Moultrieville on April 10.[83] It would appear then, that all six needles in the fort were in constant use in the making of either cartridges or sandbags from April 10 until midnight of April 12-13. From this and from the fact that there are no references to repairing flags it would seem that the flag which split was not repaired prior to the bombardment. If this be the case, the garrison of Fort Sumter faced the dawn of April 12, 1861 with only one usable flag in its inventory, the storm flag.

6. The Bombardment, April 12-13, 1861

When the Confederates opened fire at 4:30 a.m., on April 12, the flag at Fort Sumter was already up. In writing of the shooting down of the flagstaff on April 13, Surgeon Crawford noted that the flagstaff had "...borne the flag since the demand for the surrender..." [84] presumably, that is, since the afternoon of April 11. If we consider that normally a flag would have been raised at reveille, it is curious that Crawford should indicate that the flag had been up since the afternoon of April 11, unless in fact a change in flags, possibly brought about by the ripping of the garrison flag, had been made at that time. Such as it is, Crawford's statement may constitute additional evidence of a change in flags from garrison to storm. It certainly indicates that the flag was not hauled down at retreat on April 11, but instead had been left up all night. Given the fact that the Confederate attack might come at any time, such a course of action is understandable.

Sergeant Chester also remembered that the flag was up at about 4:00 a.m.,[85] though a newspaper correspondent who watched the bombardment from Charleston thought that the flag

went up at sunrise on the 12th.[86] Another, after interviewing Anderson's men in New York, thought that the flag was raised after the Confederates gave notice that they would open fire. This would put it at about 3:30 a.m.[87] Still another correspondent in Charleston saw the flag already up when dawn broke.[88] On the assumption that those inside the fort would have known the situation better than those outside, it seems most likely that the flag did indeed remain up the night of the 11th to greet the dawn of the 12th.

In any case, once the bombardment started, the same flag remained up continuously until it was shot down on the afternoon of April 13. Surgeon Crawford's statement, quoted earlier, bears repeating: "...only one flag was hoisted during the bombardment, only one braved the battle and the breeze; only one can claim to be <u>the</u> flag of Fort Sumter..."[89]

Early on the morning of April 12, a number of vessels from the relief expedition appeared off the bar, and orders were given, according to Sergeant Chester, to:

> "...dip the flag to them. This was done, and the salute was returned, but while our flag was being hoisted after the third dip, a shell burst near the flagstaff and cut the halliards. This accident put the flag beyond our control. It ran down until the kinky halliards jammed in the pulley at the mast-head, and the flag remained at half-staff. This has been interpreted as a sign of distress, but it was only an accident..." [90]

This incident is recounted in a number of places. Another member of the garrison in an 1861 account wrote:

> "...a fragment of shell struck and cut through the flag halliards; but the flag, instead of falling, rose on the wind, and, with a whirl, flung the remaining halliard round the top mast, by which it was held securely all day long..." [91]

Surgeon Crawford wrote:

> "...the flag halliards had been cut, and the flag itself suspended by one only, that had become twisted around the flag..." [92]

Captain Foster noted in his journal:

> "...The flagstaff was struck by shot seven times during the day, and a fragment of shell cut the lanyard of the flag. The part thus cut was so connected that the flag must have come down by the run had not the flag been, as it was, twisted around both parts of the lanyard..." [93]

Finally, a New York reporter put together this account from interviews with the garrison:

> "...On Friday before dinner, several of the vessels of the fleet beyond the Bar were seen through the portholes. They dipped their flag. The command ordered Sumter's flag to be dipped in return, which was done, while the shells were bursting in every direction. (The flagstaff was located in the open parade, which is about the center of the open space within the Fort). Sergeant Hart saw the flag of Fort Sumter half way down, and supposing that it had been cut by the enemy's shot, rushed out through the fire to assist in getting it up. Shortly after it had been reraised, a shell burst and cut the halyards, but the rope was so intertwined round the halyards, that the flag would not fall...." [94]

Though there is some variation in these accounts, the basic problem remains. The flag was, as Sergeant Chester noted, "beyond our control."

On the night of April 12, Captain Foster tried:

> "...to remedy this by lowering the topmast so as to reeve a new halyard, but failed in consequence of the sticking of the mast, which was swollen by the rain. The most that

> could be done was to reeve the uncut part of the lanyard through a block attached to the topmast, as high up as a man could climb, so that if the flag untwisted and came down it could be immediately rehoisted as high as this block..." [95]

A New York reporter confirmed this episode:

> "...During Friday night the men endeavored to climb the flag-staff, for the purpose of fastening new halliards, the old ones having been cut by shot, but found it impossible. The flag remained fast..." [96]

Thus, on the evening of April 12, the same flag which had started out the bombardment was stuck at the top of the flagstaff, out of reach to the garrison. It was obvious that nothing but its own untwisting or an enemy shell would bring it down.

About 1:00 p.m. on April 13, the flagstaff was shot off and the flag came down. A number of accounts exist of this episode and its aftermath, which was to become the most famous incident with which the Fort Sumter flag is connected.

Captain Foster's description of the episode is as follows:

> "...At 1 o'clock the flagstaff, having

> been struck twice before this morning, fell. The flag was immediately secured by Lieutenant Hall, and as soon as it could be attached to a temporary staff, hoisted again upon the parapet at the middle of the right face by Lieutenant Snyder, Corps of Engineers, assisted by Hart, and Davey, a laborer..." [97]

At the time the flagstaff was shot down, the barracks were burning from the effects of Confederate hot shot. Surgeon Crawford wrote:

> "...In the midst of the fire, the flag-staff, which had borne the flag since the demand for the surrender, having been repeatedly struck, was shot away at 1:30 P.M. and fell heavily to the ground, it being down but a few moments, and in the words of Major Anderson, 'Merely long enough to enable us to replace it on another staff'... It was at once secured by Lieutanant Hall, and attached to a short spar brought promptly by Sergeant Hart and carried to the parapet, where under the superintendence of Captain Seymour, assisted by Lieutenant Snyder and Sergeant Hart, it was again raised and the temporary staff secured to a gun-carriage on the parapet amid the renewed and concentrated fire of the enemy's guns..." [98]

Captain Doubleday's version varied only slightly:

> "...About 12:48 P.M. the end of the flagstaff was shot down, and the flag fell. It had been previously hanging by one halliard, the other having been cut by a piece of shell. The exultation of the enemy, however, was short lived. Peter Hart found a spar in the fort, which answered very well as a temporary flagstaff. He nailed the flag to this, and raised it triumphantly by nailing and tying the pole firmly to a pile of gun carriages on the parapet. This was gallantly done, without undue haste, under Seymour's supervision, although the enemy concentrated all their fire upon the spot to prevent Hart from carrying out his intention. From the beginning the rebel gunners had been ambitious to shoot the flag down, and had wasted an immense number of shots in the attempt..." [99]

Sergeant Chester added:

> "...In the perfect storm of shot and shell that beat upon us from all sides, the flag-staff was shot down, but the old flag was rescued and nailed to a new staff. This, with much difficulty, was carried to the ramparts and lashed to some chassis piled up there for a traverse..." [100]

An unnamed member of the garrison wrote this account in 1861:

"...About half past twelve o'clock our flag-staff, which had been grazed several times, was shot through and the flag fell. Down, amid burning brands, our war worn ensign lay.

It was but a moment, and the meritorious young Lieutenant, Mr. Hall, rushed through the fire and, dashing all impediments out of his way, seized the prostrate colors. A buzzing of admiration, mingled with words of fear for the officer's safety, and every man started forward, straining his eyes through the smoke until the object of quest emerged to view, begrimed with soot, choking and faint, his face and hair singed, his clothes scorched, and holding aloft, with almost spent strength, the rescued flag. A weak, but heart felt cheer, from parched throats, greeted him as the precious burden was taken from his blistered hands, and he sank down exhausted...

In fifteen minutes from the fall of the flag it was up again; a jury-mast was hastily raised, to which it was nailed, and it floated out as before, the honor of nailing it belongs to Mr. Peter Hart..." [101]

Accounts by others who were not in the fort, but who either witnessed the events or had contact with those who had, are also of some interest. A

New York reporter watching from Charleston wrote:

> "...at forty-eight minutes past 12, the flagstaff, on which the stars and stripes was displayed, was struck by a shell, and fell within the fort. After an interval of sixteen minutes the American colors were run up to a staff by the side of a chimney at the north-east corner of the fort..." [102]

Another New York reporter who interviewed members of the garrison in New York gave this version of the incident:

> "...the flagstaff of Fort Sumter was shot down, about fifty feet from the trunk, this being the ninth time that it had been struck by a shot. The man cried out, "The flag is down; it has been shot away." In an instant, Lieut. Hall rushed forward and brought the flag away. But, the halliards were so inextricably tangled, that it could not be righted; it was, therefore, nailed to the staff, and planted upon the ramparts, while batteries in every direction were playing upon them..." [103]

George H. Preble, perhaps the first serious researcher on U.S. flags, wrote the following in 1917:

> "...Eight times had the flag-staff been

> hit without serious injury; but at twenty minutes before one o'clock it was shot away near the peak, and the flag, with a portion of the staff, fell down among the gleaming embers. Through the blinding, scorching tempest Lieutenant Hall rushed, and snatched it up before it could take fire. It was immediately carried by Lieutenant Snyder to the ramparts, and Sergeant Hart, 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, repeating an 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..." [104]

The Confederates also saw the flag go down. Brigadier General James Simons, commanding on Morris Island, wrote that his fire continued:

> "...until 1:30 p.m., when the flag of Fort Sumter fell, but whether by fire or by a ball from our batteries did not then appear. It was certain the colors were not hauled down. I became certain afterwards, on a visit to Fort Sumter, that the flag-staff was shot away, for it bore the marks of many balls..."

Simons suspended his fire, and sent Colonel Louis T. Wigfall to Fort Sumter to see if Anderson had surrendered:

> "...Before he reached Fort Sumter I distinctly saw the flag of Fort Sumter flying on the northeast corner of the fortress, but very much masked by the gable of the quarters, and the smoke and flame..." 105

Lieutenant Colonel Roswell S. Ripley, commanding the Confederate artillery, added:

> "...from his casemates the enemy poured shot thick and fast upon Fort Moultrie until about 1:45 p.m. when his flagstaff was cut away, and it slackened. The thick and stifling smoke arising from the ruins of his buildings told plainly that the time for surrender had come. Nevertheless he hoisted a new flag over the crest of his parapet, and our fire, which had been ordered to cease when his flagstaff fell, was reopened with all the vigor we could command. The smoke

> still poured out of the ruins, and the fire from Fort Sumter having slackened again the order was again given to cease, but at his recommencing we reopened... At 1:15 p.m. a white flag having been hoisted alongside the United States ensign, the firing ceased..." [106]

Lieutenant J.E. McP. Washington, of the Battalion of Artillery, South Carolina Army, wrote from Fort Johnson:

> "...12.45, flagstaff struck, 1.5, United States flag, Union down, with white flag above. Officer seen on southwest angle with white flag, waving repeatedly..." [107]

Finally, a Charleston reporter watching from Morris Island noted:

> "...At a quarter before one o'clock, another tremendous cheer from the watchers upon our batteries called me to my point of observation, just in time to see the flag-staff of Fort Sumter bearing the flag of the United States falling heavily inside the fort. It fell from the effect of a shot fired from Fort Moultrie, and aimed by Lieut. W.C. Preston...From this auspicious moment, the impression became general among our men that the fortress would be ours before night fall. For fifteen or twenty minutes I could see no ensign over the fort, but, at the end of that time, I descried a large United States flag elevated amid

> the smoke close on the north wall of the fort...A white flag also waved over Fort Sumter, and in a short time the conclusion of the negotiations was announced to us by the disappearance of the United States flag from the fort..." [108]

Although these accounts vary somewhat, it is possible to postulate not only what happened to the flag, but by adding other accounts, and pictorial and technical information to indicate which flag was in use.

The problem with the cut halliards can be more easily understood when the nature of Civil War halliards is explained. As described in the 1865 Quartermaster Manual, halliards for garrison flags were to be made of 3/4 inch hemp rope, 220 feet long. Unlike modern halliards, there were neither any hooks to attach to the flag, nor was there a section of halliard rope spanning the space between the thimbles. [109] Instead, the ends of the halliards were tied to the thimbles, and the bolt rope in the flag itself took the strain when the flag was hoisted.

Beginning with the top thimble, the flag halliard went upward, passed through a pulley

at the top of the masthead, then came down to the bottom of the staff and went up again to meet the lower thimble. The flag was secured to the bottom of the staff by wrapping it around a cleat, in much the same manner as today. For the sake of convenience in this discussion, that section of the halliard running from the top thimble through the pulley to the cleat at the bottom of the staff will be designated the rear halliard, and the section running from the cleat to the lower thimble the front halliard.

What appears to have happened to the Fort Sumter halliards is that either the rear halliard, or both halliards were cut by the bursting shell. The front halliard alone could not have been cut, for then the flag would not have come down to half staff, since it would still have been securely held to the masthead by the rear halliard. When the rear halliard was cut, the flag's own weight caused it to fall, but the hemp rope kinked and jammed in the pulley, arresting the fall. Probably both halliards were cut, since Crawford noted that the flag was hanging by one halliard only. This would have been the rear halliard, jammed in the pulley.

On the evening of April 12, Captain Foster's men attempted to drop the entire topmast in order to gain access to the flag. The fact that this could

normally be done is an interesting comment on Army flagstaff construction. In this case, however, the topmast was swollen by the rain and would not break loose. Barring that solution, Foster had a man climb up the topmast as far as he could and nail a block to it. To this he reeved what Foster described as the "uncut part of the lanyard." Uncut or not, this had to have been the front halliard. Had the rear halliard been in reach, it would have been a simple matter to pull it, thus raising the flag back into place. It could then have been spliced. If Foster's man had pulled the front halliard, he might have pulled the flag completely off the staff, leaving the garrison no way to fly another flag until the topmast dried out sufficiently to allow them to drop it. By reeving the front halliard through the nailed block, Foster guaranteed that if the rear halliard untangled and the flag fell, it would be held to the staff at the height of the block. It would, of course, drop upside down, but presumably if a man could climb up to nail a block, he could climb up again to reverse the flag and get it flying again.

It is interesting that one of the first illustrations of the Fort Sumter bombardment (Figure

11) [110] shows a soldier with a hammer shinnying up the flagpole towards a block of wood on the staff. While this illustration is indicated as being Sergeant Hart nailing the flag to the staff on the afternoon of April 13, in actuality it is probably a depiction of a man nailing a block to the topmast on the night of April 12-13.

The rain which had swollen the topmast was part of a general deluge on the night of April 12 which had been preceded by almost twenty-four hours of bad weather. A reporter on Cummings Point noted a light rain which started soon after midnight on April 11-12 and continued, with some interruptions, for several hours. At 6:30 a.m. on April 12, "...a dull, unpleasant drizzle began to fall, and the leaden sky betokened a dreary day..." Around 7:30 in the evening, the rain:

> "...began to fall in torrents, and most of our men sought such shelter as was to be had. The storm was a trying one. The wind howled drearily over the sand hills, and the rain descended with a force and volume, against which the slight tents and leaky sheds - the only available cover - were a poor

> protection. The storm continued, with an occasional lull, until near morning..." [111]

In Fort Sumter, Foster wrote that the night was "...very stormy, with high wind and tide..." [112] and Doubleday wrote that the rain came again between 7 and 8 a.m. on the morning of the 13th. [113]

These accounts would tend to support the idea that even if the garrison flag was repaired, the storm flag would still have been used because of the weather. Certainly the weather was bad enough at midnight of April 11-12 for the garrison to decide to use the storm flag, if indeed it had a choice. In 1898, Chalmers Roberts interviewed Mrs. Anderson for an article entitled "The Glorious Flag of Fort Sumter." In the article, he said:

> "...there were two flags at Fort Sumter which had been carried there by Major Anderson when he evacuated Fort Moultrie; one known as the Garrison flag, and the other the Storm flag. The finer garrison flag, used in fair weather, is not the flag of Sumter. Bad weather during the April of 1861 gave this good fortune to its coarser companion, and while Mrs. Anderson keeps both of the good flags in company, it is the storm flag which

will always be the valued relic..." [114]

It should be noted that Chalmers Roberts' statement is the only one by anyone who either was personally involved at Fort Sumter or who interviewed those who should have known the events, that specifically differentiates between the roles of the two flags. However, other evidence tends to support his statement.

Two woodcuts of the bombardment, one done from sketches made on April 12 and the other on the 13th, both show storm size flags flying from the fort. The first, (Figure 12) was published in The Soldier In Our Civil War. [115] It seems to be reliable because of the accuracy with which the mortar battery is depicted. Compared to photographs, it is obvious that this is the Trapier Battery, manned by the Marion Artillery, a Charleston company in the South Carolina Battalion of Artillery commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Wilmot De Saussure. [116] A Charleston reporter noted: "...The bright-quartered flag of the Marion Artillery floated proudly over the Trapier Battery during the whole of the bombardment..." [117] This flag is shown in

the woodcut flying from the works. It is still in existence, in the collections of the Washington Light Infantry in Charleston, and was inspected by this author in the fall of 1981 in the course of research for this study.[118] The flag flying from Fort Sumter in the woodcut, using the thirty-one foot height rule discussed earlier, is of the storm flag size. It is still high on the staff, indicating that the sketch was done before the halliards were cut.

The second woodcut was published in Harper's Weekly on April 27, 1861. A detail (Figure 13) is presented here to more clearly show the details of the flag on Sumter. The sketch was done from the 24-pounder battery at Fort Johnson and is labeled as having been done on the 13th. This is confirmed by the smoke pouring out of the barracks. The flag is again of the storm size, and this time is down on the staff, at about "half-staff" as described by Sergeant Chester. Taken together, these two woodcuts support Chalmers Roberts' statement that the storm flag was flown during the bombardment.

Accounts of the shooting down and re-raising of the flag, coupled with graphic and technical evidence, also argue for the use of

the storm flag.

None of the writers seem to have had an exact fix on the time when the flag was shot away. The accounts vary from 12:30 to 1:30, with the majority falling between 12:40 and 12:48. However, of the four writers who mentioned the time elapsed between the fall of the flag and its re-erection on the parapet, one called it " a few moments," a second "fifteen minutes," a third "sixteen minutes" and the fourth "fifteen or twenty minutes," indicating a probable elapsed time of about fifteen minutes.

In that fifteen minute period, the flag had to be found in the smoke on the parade ground, detached from the topmast, brought out of the fire, a decision made as to how and where to re-erect it, a spar found, the spar and flag carried to the parapet, the flag nailed to the spar and the spar attached to the pile of gun carriages.

All of the members of the garrison agreed that the flag was attached to a second staff when it was planted on the parapet. Foster called it a "temporary staff," Anderson "another staff," Chester "a new staff," Crawford "a short spar," Doubleday "a spar," and the anonymous member

"a jury-mast." Preble, a secondary source, called it "a fragment of the staff." It is known that the garrison brought a portion of the topmast with them to New York, and this was probably the inspiration for Preble's statement. However, since none of the members of the garrison mentioned any attempt to salvage the topmast from the fire, and given the time frame, it seems that the flag was in fact nailed to a second staff and the topmast left behind.

All of the members of the garrison indicated that the same flag that was shot down was the one that was re-raised, as did a number of the other accounts. However, Ripley said that the garrison raised "a new flag" and the reporter on Morris Island implied it. Later in New York, there seems to have been some confusion as to whether the flag raised over the ramparts was the same one shot down. However, the weight of documentary evidence leans heavily towards the same flag being involved in both incidents.

Captain Foster wrote that the flag was re-raised on the parapet at the middle of the right face. Crawford noted that the flag was attached to a gun carriage while Doubleday described it as "a pile of gun carriages." However, Foster's own

diagrams of the fort and post-bombardment photographs indicate that there were no gun carriages on the right face.[119] That particular area was unarmed. Two witnesses described the flag going up on the northeast corner of the fort. One of them noted that it was "very much masked by the gable of the quarters" and the other said that it went up by the side of a chimney. Preble spoke of Hart springing "upon the sand bags." Interestingly enough, there is one spot in the fort which rather neatly fits all of these descriptions. It is the northeast corner of the fort where Doubleday's sandbag traverse was erected. It is in fact the lower end of the right face, and it is quite close to the barracks. Post-bombardment photographs show that the sand bags are reinforced with timbers, and there is a gun carriage very close. This is probably where the flag was re-erected.

Although the stair tower at the northeast angle, known to the garrison as the right shoulder angle, would have been the closest to the final destination, it had evidently been almost completely shattered by Confederate fire,[120] and the post-bombardment photographs indicate this tower to

be in the worst condition of all those in the fort.[121] The next most direct route would have been up the stair tower at the salient, which was in fact quite close to the shattered flagstaff. Up this tower would have been carried the flag and the spar. Although it is remotely possible that the spar could have been handed up to the parapet from the parade ground, this seems unlikely. If the spar were of a size to fit the storm flag, say fifteen feet in length, it would have been extremely difficult for the men up top to reach down and grab the top of the spar. If it were a proper size for the garrison flag, perhaps twenty -two feet or more, it very likely would not go up the stairs, and at the same time would have been quite heavy to lift up from the parade ground. Sergeant Chester's account of the difficulties of placing the topmast on the steamer the next day, detailed in the next section,[122] tend to support the idea that a garrison size staff would have been exceedingly difficult to get up on the parapet in the alotted time.

The names of six men who were involved in the incident have been preserved: Hall, Seymour,

Snyder, Hart, Davey and Lyman. Of these, Hall was only involved in the flag rescue. Presumably Seymour and Snyder supervised, leaving Hart, assisted by either Davey or Lyman, to do the actual physical work. The role of the latter two men is confused. Davey was mentioned in 1861 by Foster, and Lyman, who was the overseer of the Engineer force,[123] was tied to the incident in 1917 by Preble. Probably only one of the men was actually involved. Thus, the physical work of re-erecting the flag was done by only two men.

Doubleday wrote that the work was done "without undue haste." Sergeant Chester, perhaps writing from an enlisted man's point of view, said it was accomplished "with much difficulty." However, it must be remembered that neither of these men was actually involved in the incident.

It seems certain that the flag was nailed to the spar. Doubleday, Chester, the anonymous writer, plus Preble and one of the reporters mentioned this specifically. The flag could have been nailed in one of two ways; either by putting nails through the thimbles and clinching

them over, or by nailing directly through the heading.

Although the Confederate accounts were written from a distance, both of them might be cited as evidence that the flag was nailed through the heading. Ripley described a white flag going up beside the U.S. colors. This would indicate that a second staff was used. Had the U.S. flag been attached through the thimbles, it would have been a simple matter to remove it and put the white flag in its place. Lieutenant Washington described the flag as "Union down, white flag above." In this case, because the U.S. flag was nailed to the staff and could not be removed, the staff was simply turned upside down and the white flag attached to the staff portion that would normally be below the flag. The garrison accounts, while not specific, imply nailing through the heading.

Of the two surviving flags, the garrison flag shows no nail holes in the lead, and no scars in the thimbles where nails might have been. The storm flag, however, does have nail holes. One is located in the heading at the bottom, one at about the center of the heading, another in the reinforcement just forward of the heading

at the top of the flag, and the last at the tip of the highest star on the staff side. The location of the last two is curious because they are not located in the heading itself. They may reflect haste is getting the flag up, or more likely the fact that the flag was still tangled in the halliards and folded back on itself.

A number of illustrations were done of the re-raising of the flag. The first(Figure 11), as has been noted, is probably intended to represent the nailing of the block to the topmast on the night of April 12-13, rather than the re-raising of the flag. Gilbert Gaul apparently used this illustration as a guide to produce his illustration of the incident (Figure 14) without understanding why the man was shinnying up the pole. It can probably be dismissed as irrelevant. Harper's Weekly published its version of the incident soon after the battle, but it shows Hart inaccurately attached the staff to the outside wall of the parapet. (Figure 15) The last illustration of this incident is most interesting. It shows an identifiable Hart, as well as an officer who can be identified as Lieutenant Snyder.[124] It includes the remains

of the halliards floating around the bottom of the flag, and it shows Hart planting the colors on the gun carriages. It also includes a staff which, while probably inaccurate for this incident, was probably inspired by the portion of the topmast the garrison brought to New York. The flag, while slightly less than storm size, could by no stretch of the imagination be the garrison flag.(Figure 16)

Thus, of the pictorial evidence, the two bombardment woodcuts are probably reliable. The woodcut of the soldier shinnying up the pole (Figure 11) may also be reliable. It is interesting that the flag in this woodcut appears to have the double star arrangement in the first row that is present on the surviving storm flag. The illustration of Sergeant Hart planting the flag on the gun carriages (Figure 16) also seems to have been done by someone careful enough to get the facts. The other two, by Gaul and Harper's Weekly are probably less reliable. Taken as a group, however, they consistently show

a small flag, sometimes storm size but never garrison size. Taken by themselves, these illustrations would be of little value, but when combined with Hall's memorandum, the apparent ripping of a flag on April 11, the lack of documentation that the ripped flag was repaired, the weather during the bombardment, the difficulties of re-erecting a garrison size flag along with the indications that it was the same flag that fell and was re-erected, the nailing of the flag to the temporary staff, Chalmers Roberts' article, and finally the two flags themselves, the garrison flag with its rips and the storm flag with its nail holes, the evidence argues strongly that it was the storm flag that flew during the bombardment of Fort Sumter.

7. The Salute and Evacuation, April 14-15, 1861.

On the afternoon of April 14, the garrison evacuated Fort Sumter. As part of the terms, Anderson was allowed to salute his flag. He planned a salute of one hundred guns, but this was reduced to fifty after one of the guns prematurely exploded killing Private Daniel Hough, mortally wounding another man and injuring several others. The salute over, the garrison marched out of the fort to board the transport that was to take them to the relief expedition and to New York. Although accounts of the salute itself offer no helpful details on the flags, accounts of the evacuation do.

Doubleday noted that when the salute was over:

> "...Anderson directed me to form the men on the parade-ground, assume command and march them on board the transport. I told him I should prefer to leave the fort with the flag flying, and the drums beating Yankee Doodle, and he authorized me to do so. As soon as out tattered banner came down, and the silken banner made by the ladies of Charleston run up, tremendous shouts of applause were heard..." [125]

In another account, Doubleday wrote:

> "...With banners flying,and the drums beating "Yankee Doodle," we marched on board the transport that was to take us to the steamship Baltic, which drew too much water to pass the bar and was anchored outside..." [126]

Surgeon Crawford simply noted:

> "...By Anderson's orders the men were formed upon the parade, and marched out under Doubleday with their flags..." [127]

Doubleday's reference to "banners flying" as the garrison marched out might lead to some confusion. The physical size of the two flags, particularly the garrison flag, would seem to preclude the garrison actually marching out with the flags flying. The ever helpful Sergeant Chester clears up how this was physically done:

> "...the procession started for the steamer. First came the drummers and fifers playing "Yankee Doodle;" then the six sergeants carrying the topmast with the flag; then the troops... The steamer that awaited them was the Planter, a cotton boat of the high-pressure persuation. The tide was high, and the main-deck of the steamer was

on a level with the wharf...Her hurricane-deck was very high above the main-deck, to enable her to carry three or four tiers of cotton bales...a man in naval undress uniform paced the hurricane-deck abaft the smoke stacks. Our baggage and the wounded had already been put on board, and the main-deck was pretty well filled up, so that there seemed to be no convenient place on it for the topmast and the colors. Lieut. Hall, who was post quartermaster, was present exercising the functions of his office, and he directed the sergeants to put their burden on the hurricane-deck. This was easier said than done. The hurricane-deck was at least eight feet above the main deck, and the topmast was a heavy one. However, they got the lighter end well up, and some men were sent on deck to help with a pull. Before their arrival the man in the naval uniform stepped forward good-naturedly, as if to lend a helping hand, and laid hold of the topmast. At that moment Lieut. Hall sprang on the deck, and, seizing the good-natured man by the arm, swung him unceremoniously away from the flag-staff, saying, "How dare you lay your hand on that flag! " The good-natured man said nothing, and

quietly resumed pacing the deck..." [128]

Sergeant Chester's account is somewhat surprising, for it seems to indicate that the flag carried out of the fort on the topmast was different than the one flown during the bombardment. It must be remembered that only two men were physically involved in the reerection of the flag on April 13. Now, it takes six men to carry the flag and the burden is "a heavy one." All of the garrison's members, including Chester, indicated that the flag that was shot down was attached to a temporary staff. At the same time, it is also known, as will be shown in the next section, that the garrison did carry a portion of the topmast to New York and displayed it with the garrison flag attached. Chester indicates that a flag was attached to the topmast at Fort Sumter, and the chances are that it was the garrison flag. If this be the case, it was the garrison flag that was saluted on April 14. This would have been only natural, since it was the main flag of the garrison. Possibly by April 14 it had been repaired sufficiently for use, or perhaps the horizontal split made no difference so far as the salute was concerned.

Exactly why the garrison took the topmast

with them is hard to say, but very likely, just as at Fort Moultrie, Anderson wished to deny the Confederates a working flagstaff. The earliest of the post bombardment photographs (Figure 17), probably taken on April 16, shows a Confederate flag lashed to a gun carriage, probably in the same manner the U.S. flag was raised. Another (Figure 18), shows the Confederate colors flying from a flagstaff with halliards which has been lashed to the derrick. Thus, at least temporarily, Anderson was able to deny the Confederates the satisfaction of properly displaying their colors.

Although other accounts of the evacuation do not mention a vessel with the name "Planter," it is obvious from Captain Foster's report that an intermediate boat was used to transfer the garrison to the Isabel.[129] A New York reporter wrote that it was the Clinch.[130] Both Chester and Foster noted that the garrison spent the night of April 14 on the Isabel before transfer to the Baltic the next morning.[131] Of the trip on the Isabel to the Baltic on April 15, Chester noted:

> "...the palmetto flag was flying at the peak as the steamer started down the

> bay, and at the fore the Stars and Stripes, fouled in the halliards, seemed ashamed to show itself in such a place..." [132]

That the flag on the Isabel was one from the Sumter garrison is confirmed by one of the garrison:

> "...The Sumter flag, which had floated over the Isabel, was immediately hoisted on the Baltic, and a salute fired..." [133]

Preble did not place the flag on the Isabel, but he did note:

> "...When all the garrison was aboard 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..." [134]

Unfortunately, none of these accounts specify which flag was displayed from the Isabel and the Baltic. Chester's indication that it was fouled in the halliards makes it sound like the storm flag, but the garrison flag is equally likely. Unfortunately, such vagueness is present throughout accounts of the Fort Sumter flags, and in this case there is no additional evidence to allow an answer to the question.

8. The Flags in New York City, April, 1861

The trip to New York took three days. The garrison arrived on April 18, the Baltic:

> "...flying from her mainmast head the flag of Fort Sumter and at her foremast head the flag from Fort Moultrie..." [135]

A New York newspaper described the Baltic:

> "...with five flags flying- the banner which surmounted Sumter crowning them all..." [136]

Finally, the Illustrated News provided perhaps the most complete account:

> "...The steamship Baltic, Captain Fletcher, which left Charleston bar at 8 a.m. on the morning of April 15th, came up to the city and anchored off the Battery at 1 P.M., April 18th, amid the deafening thunders from the forts and batteries in the harbor, the artillery on the Battery, and the plaudits and cheers of a hundred thousand people assembled to welcome the brave defenders of Fort Sumter. She had flying from her main-mast the flag which lately waved over Fort Sumter, and at her foremast-head the flag which was hauled down when Fort Moultrie was evacuated...Next to the few soldiers constituting the immediate

> command of Major ANDERSON, the great objects of interest were the two Sumter flags. The main garrison flag, with its shattered flagstaff and rent bunting was hoisted at the main. This is the flag which was first perforated with a cannon shot below the blue field, and was afterward shot away. The other, a large flag, which was hoisted forward, was the one displayed on the ramparts, and finally hauled down..." [137]

A number of reporters went on board the Baltic to interview Anderson's men, but the only account which adds anything more to our knowledge of the flags is one in which one of the interviewees noted: "...Our flag has several shell holes through it..." [138]

Despite the evidence presented earlier favoring the storm flag as the flag flown during the bombardment, the Illustrated News account, depending on how one reads it, seems to indicate the opposite; that "the main garrison flag" was the one perforated with a cannon shot and then shot away, and that the other flag,"a large flag," was the one presumably nailed to the staff and displayed on the ramparts before it was hauled down in surrender. On the other hand it must be questioned why the storm flag was described as "a large flag." It is large, but it is strange to compare it to the larger garrison flag

that way. Beyond that, this description has the flag at the mainmast being that of Fort Sumter and the "large flag" at the foremast being the one hauled down when Fort Moultrie was evacuated. In the heady atmosphere of the situation, it appears that the real story was being somewhat confused. To muddy the waters still further, Crawford stated in 1887 that the Fort Sumter flag was placed at the fore when the Baltic entered New York harbor.[139] The differentiation in the New York papers between the two flags as being those of Forts Sumter and Moultrie, respectively, is most interesting. It does tend to add fuel to the argument that the flag flown at Fort Sumter was, by and large, a different flag than that flown at Fort Moultrie, and if the Moultrie flag, the "large flag" was indeed the garrison flag, the line of reasoning developed thus far in favor of the storm flag being used at Sumter seems to hold. However, the newspaper accounts are so much at variance with other facts, and with themselves, that an attempt to define the roles of the two flags based on the newspaper evidence is probably futile.

The garrison did not debark from the Baltic to New York, but instead was transferred to Fort Hamilton. The New York Tribune noted:

> "...The soldiers of the late Sumter garrison took with them their old flag, which they brought away from the fort. They have for it an affection which words cannot express, and will relinquish it only to gratify the wish expressed by Major Anderson that it may be his shroud..." [140]

On April 20, New York staged what was thought at the time to be the largest mass demonstration in American history, centered in Union square. That morning, the Tribune advised its readers:

> "...Maj. Anderson assured the Committee last evening that, unless previously called to Washington, he would be present. The flags of Moultrie and Sumter, stained with the fire and bearing marks of the battle, will be displayed..." [141]

A Captain Samuel Whiting reported:

> "...I was despatched this afternoon by Captain C.H. Marshall to Fort Hamilton, with an order from Major Anderson for the garrison flags of Fort Sumter, to be used at the meeting this afternoon in Union square. Captain Doubleday delivered the flags to me, and to show the patriotic feeling of our people, I had no sooner got on board

> the steam tug James A. Stephens to come to the city, than Captain Charles Quinn insisted on hauling down his own flag and setting the tattered ensign of Fort Sumter in its place; and we came up the bay with this honored trophy floating gaily to the breeze..." [142]

Five speaker's stands were erected in Union square, and while the contemporary newspapers were careful to record the remarks of the speakers, it is also obvious that the Fort Sumter flags were the main center of attention.

The New York Times wrote:

> "...flags from all points, and the glorious colors of old Sumter itself floated from a friendly tree, where they were placed by the identical Hart, who nailed it to the flagstaff of Major Anderson's fortress, after it was shot away from the enemy...The enthusiasm, which before seemed to be at the highest pitch, then received a new impulse by the raising on the Statue of Washington, the tattered flag which waved over Fort Sumter until shot down by the rebel troops; the same staff was there, bearing the marks of the shot where it was cut off. At the right of stand No. 1, at this time, also, was raised the flag which Mr. Ward, a gallant son of New York, raised

on Fort Sumter when the other was shot down..." [143]

The New York Extra Evening Tribune noted:

"...On the statue of Washington, literally draped in his arms, were elevated the identical flag and staff which the rebels so profanely shot from Fort Sumter. On the stand nearest was displayed its consort. These two flags the men, who so nobly defended Sumter, and who prize them higher than anything else in this world, consented this once to pass out of their hands. It is needless to say that both flags were a hundred times cheered..." [144]

While both of these accounts indicate that the flag on Washington's monument was the one shot down from Sumter, the remainder of the Evening Tribune account differs:

"...In the midst of this Sergeant Hart, a volunteer at Fort Sumter, appeared upon the stand with the flag of Fort Sumter, and he suspended it from the tree in the center of the stand amid the most deafening shouts and enthusiasm which continued for several minutes. He was assisted by Michael Cummings, one of Captain Foster's laboers, who had gallantly assisted in the defense of Sumter. While this was proceeding another party raised a flag-staff upon

> Washington's monument with the
> flag of Fort Moultrie..." [145]

The New York Daily Tribune, writing on April 22, also included what might be construed as two versions:

> "...The Rally...Its central point, indeed was Union Square, where the mighty crowd surged with constant ebb and flow at the foot of the statue of Washington - the bronze immovable finger pointing ever forward - over which floated the torn flag upon its broken staff which had waved over Sumter until the shot of rebels brought it down...
> ...And the tattered flags of Sumter were raised - one on Washington monument, and the other over the front stand..." [146]

A number of woodcuts and two photographs exist of this demonstration. A woodcut in Harper's Weekly shows a large flag waving from Washington's statue, another flag, somewhat smaller, waving from the right of stand No. 1, and still a third hanging from a tree in the center of the stand. Obviously, the Harper's Weekly artist was trying to cover all the bases. (Figure 19) Another woodcut (Figure 20), shows a large flag waving from Washington's statue and another flag, almost as large, waving from the

right of stand No. 1,[147] A woodcut in Benson Lossing's History of the Civil War, published in 1866, shows a rather small flag waving from the Washington statue (Figure 21). All three of these sources must be viewed with some caution.

Of the photographs, one (Figure 22), shows what is definitely the surviving garrison flag waving from Washington's statue. Although much of the flag is blurred, and basically only the canton can be seen, the star pattern matches that in the garrison flag. The other photograph (Figure 23) shows a storm size flag waving from the right of stand No. 1. It is not as clear from this photograph that this is in fact the storm flag. It is debateable whether the star pattern matches, although it should be noted that both flags reflected enough light and moved enough during the camera exposure that the stars appear larger than they really area. This smaller flag does seem to have the large hole in white stripe #10, just below and forward of the union that exists on the present storm flag.

Obviously, the majority of the New York papers believed that the garrison flag should be considered the flag of Fort Sumter. The section of topmast

seems to have aided in this impression. and the garrison flag, because it was larger and more tattered than the storm flag, drew the most attention. Yet, on balance, the documentary and pictorial evidence still indicates considerable confusion as to which flag was which.

On April 22, Henry F. Vail wrote to Major Anderson requesting that he attend a mass meeting to be held on old Fort Green in Brooklyn. Vail added:

> "...The Committee would much desire that <u>that flag</u> with Mr. Hart should also be shown up. Can it be done? If so they will send a Carriage for him..." [148]

There is no record of whether Anderson attended this meeting, but obviously "that flag" was very much in the public mind. On the same day, Anderson received the following letter from <u>Frank Leslie's</u>:

> "W.L. Crane
> Office of Frank Leslie's Publications
> 19 City Hall Square
> New York April 22d 1861
>
> Major Robert Anderson U.S.A.
>
> Dear Sir
>
> Will you be so kind as to inform

> me where the flag which you brought from Fort Sumpter may be found so I can have the Privilege of making a sketch of it for the purpose of gracing the column of "Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper." A word from you sir will I think put me on the right track.
>
> I am Very Respectfully
> Wm. L. Crane
> Artist for Frank Leslie" [149]

Anderson's reply is not recorded, but Crane got his wish, for the sketch was published on page 1 of Frank Leslie's Illustrated History of the American Civil War of 1861, published in early 1862. The sketch(Figure 24) entitled "The Flag of Fort Sumpter After The Bombardment" shows what is definitely the storm flag. Not only does the star pattern match, but a number of the holes, including three in the canton and two in the stripes, are identifiable in the surviving storm flag. In addition, the lower stripe is ragged, as is the end of stripe 8. Both features exist in the surviving flag. A redrawn version of this woodcut appeared in the 1894 publication, The Memorial War Book (Figure 25). [150]

When the excited and uncontrolled atmosphere of the demonstration is compared to the presumably more controlled atmosphere when Crane made his

sketch, the reason for the prominence given to the two flags in each instance is more clear. During the demonstration, the garrison flag, attached to its shattered topmast, was obviously the center of attention, but when Crane made his sketch, presumably in the presence of Anderson or others who knew the real story, the "right" flag was brought out. Anderson may in fact have agreed to Crane's request because he saw that the uncontrolled atmosphere of the demonstration was putting the garrison flag into the public mind as the "right" flag. Of course, both flags were legitimate Fort Sumter flags, and initially Anderson and other members of the garrison may not have thought beyond that point. The garrison flag was "the" flag of Fort Sumter, even if the storm flag flew during the bombardment. If the garrison flag was saluted and hauled down, it, rather than the storm flag, would have been considered the symbol of surrender and therefore the important flag. From there, particularly since it was attached to the topmast, it would have been an easy transition for the newspapers to make to consider the garrison flag to be the one that was shot down. However, the fact that Crane sketched the storm flag

rather than the garrison flag would indicate that the garrison was trying to get the story published correctly after the tumult of the demonstration.

Notes to Part B

1. Inspection Report of Fitz-John Porter, Assistant Adjutant General, Nov.11, 1860 in War Dept., The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1880-1927) Series I, Vol. I, p. 71. Cited hereinafter as O.R., unless otherwise specified, the series is I.

2. RG 92, Returns of Clothing, Camp and Garrison Equipage, National Archives.

3. Norman J. Hall Papers, U.S. Army Military History Research Institute, Carlisle Barracks, Pa.

4. RG 92, Entry 1003, National Archives

5. RG 92, Entry 999, National Archives

6. RG 92, Entry 19, Vols. 44 and 45, National Archives.

7. RG 92, Entry 1024, National Archives.

8. Abner Doubleday, Reminiscenses of Forts Sumter and Moultrie in 1860-61 (Spartenburg,S.C.: The Reprint Company, 1976) Facsimile reprint of 1876 edition, pp. 109-110, 121.

9. Hall Papers, USAMHRI

10. RG 92, Entries 1003,999, 19 and 1024. O.R., I, 179-181.

11. RG 92, Entry 999, Sibley to Thomas, June 15, 1860. The full text is as follows:

"Col. Charles Thomas June 15, 1860

AQM Genl

Phila

Colonel-

Send to A.A.Qr.Mr. at Fort Moultrie,S. Ca. for the use of the N.C.S. & Band and Companies "E" & "H" 1st Regt of Artillery for use during the year 1860-61-

135 hats trimmed	108 Forage Caps
50 Letters (25 ea, E.H.)	147 Flannel Shirts
53 U. coats Privates	149 prs Drawers
2 prs Shoulder Scales Sergts	242 " Stockings
16 Flannel Sack Coats	305 " Bootees
236 prs Trousers Privates	15 Great Coats
2 sashes	19 Blankets
1 pr Chevrons Ord. Sergts	25 Leather Stocks
2 " " Qr Mr Sergts	1 Garrison Flag & Halliard
11 " " Sergts	1 Storm do
13 " " Corporals	2 Drums complete
20 yds red worsted lace 1/2 in	1 Post Guard Report Bk
48 yds " " " 1/2 in	2 Camp Morning " "
9 " crimson "	1 Post " " "

Signed E.S. Sibley
Maj & QMr in charge"

This issue is confirmed by RG 92, Entry 1024, which in tabular form shows the order of June 15, 1860 for Fort Moultrie for 1 garrison flag and halliard and 1 storm flag as filled.

12. Sibley to Thomas, June 8, 1859, RG 92, Entry 999. Full text included in Appendix 2.

13. Doubleday, Reminiscenses, pp. 52-53, 72-73; O.R.,I, p. 109; Henry B. Dawson, "The Story of Fort Sumter," Historical Magazine , January, 1872, pp. 36-37 and March, 1872, pp. 150-153.

14. O.R., I, p. 252.

15. This version of the story was told by General Truman Seymour in Dawson, "The Story of Fort Sumter," March, 1872, p. 152. It was confirmed by General Jefferson C. Davis. Variant versions may be found in Doubleday, Reminiscenses, p. 73 and in Captain James Chester, "Side Scenes at Ft. Sumter, Interesting Incidents Recalled by One Who Was There," New York World, April 11, 1886.

16. Jesup to Thomas, January 23, 1860, RG 92, Entry 999.

17. O.R., I, p. 6

18. Ibid., p. 8.

19. Doubleday, Reminiscenses, pp. 35-36.

20. 32-star pattern official from July 4, 1858-July 4, 1859, Quaife, Weig and Appleman, p. 153; RG 92, Entries 1003,999,19 and 1024.

21. Captain James Chester, "Inside Sumter in '61," Battles and Leaders of the Civil War,(New York and London: Thomas Yoseloff, 1956), Vol. I, p. 64.

22. A.L. Long to J.E. Johnston, Quartermaster General, January 8, 1861, RG 92, CCF, Box 71.

23. Johnston to Thomas, January 12,1861, RG 92, Entry 999.

24. RG 92, Entries 999, 1003, 19 and 1024. It should be noted that the outbreak of war brought a crush of business to the Quartermaster Department. By June, 1861, there was a 20-fold increase in business which the Department's staff was unprepared to handle. As a result, a huge backlog of work piled up, and much of it was never completed. The Augusta Arsenal flags fall into this category. See Kenneth Munden and Henry Putney Beers, Guide to Federal Archives Relating To The Civil War, (Washington: National Archives, 1962) p. 288.

25. O.R., I, p. 321.

26. Ibid, p. 320.

27. Hall to Quartermaster General, December 5, 1860, "Register of Letters Received, QMD," RG 92, Entry 19, Vol. 44, p. 771.

28. Johnston to Thomas, January 12,1861, RG 92, Entry 999.

29. Extract from Annual Report of Captain John G. Foster, October 1, 1861. O.R., I, p. 4.

30. Letter Book, 1st U.S. Artillery, shows headquarters of the regiment in Baltimore from December 4, 1858. RG 391, Entry 2.

31. Regimental Order 19, June 7, 1859 appoints Sergeant James Kearney, Co. B, 1st Artillery quartermaster sergeant of the regiment to be stationed at Fort Moultrie, RG 391, Entry 2; Kearney was still at Moultrie in 1861 as an ordnance sergeant as was Quartermaster Sergeant William Henry Hamner, Doubleday, Reminiscenses, Appendix; The status of the regimental band and regimental quartermaster Lt. Otis Tillinghast is covered in Fitz-John Porter's inspection report, O.R., I, p. 71.

32. Department of Arms and Trophies, Metropolitan Fair, Catalogue of the Museum of Flags, Trophies and Relics Relating To The Revolution, The War of 1812, The Mexican War and The Present Rebellion; Forming the most Complete and Interesting Collection ever brought together in the United States; To Be Exhibited At New York, April 4, 1864, And on the succeeding days, For the Benefit of the United States Sanitary Commission (New York: Charles O. Jones, 1864) n.p., item no. 826. Cited hereinafter as Metropolitan Fair Catalogue.

33. Todd, American Military Equipage, Vol. II, pp. 309-311.

34. Crawford to brother, Crawford Papers, Library of Congress.

35. Samuel Wiley Crawford, The Genesis of the Civil War, The Story of Sumter, 1860-1861 (New York: Charles L. Webster & Company, 1887) p. 104. Cited hereinafter as Crawford, Genesis.

36. Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, January 26, 1861.Most of the working party was from Baltimore. See Doubleday, Reminiscenses, p. 33.

37. Harper's Weekly, January 26, 1861.

38. Army and Navy Journal, Nov.28, 1863, cited in George Henry Preble, Origin and History of the American Flag(Philadelphia: Nicholas L. Brown, 1917) Vol. II, p. 446.

39. O.R. I, 108; Doubleday, Reminiscenses, pp. 60-70; Dawson, January, 1872,pp.48-53, March, 1872, pp. 139-146.

40. Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, January 19, 1861.

41. Dawson, Jan. 1872, p. 51-52; O.R.,I, 109.

42. Ibid.

43. Dawson, January, 1872, p. 53.

44. Crawford, Genesis, p. 107.

45. Chalmers Roberts, "The Glorious Flag of Fort Sumter," The Illustrated American, February 19, 1898, p. 233.

46. Eba Anderson Lawton to Robert Shaw Oliver, Assistant Secretary of War, April 26, 1911. Anderson Papers, Library of Congress.

47. Fort Moultrie, National Park Service pamphlet.

48. Foster to Colonel R.E. DeRussy, December 27, 1860, O.R., I, p. 108.

49. Dawson, January, 1872, p. 53.

50. Crawford, Genesis, p. 107.

51. Dawson, Crawford, notes 49 and 50 above.

52. 1861 Regulations, paragraph 1380, p. 438. Although published in 1861, this particular Weed , Parsons edition specifies the uniform in use up until 1860.

53. Dawson, January, 1872, p. 49; Crawford, Genesis, pp. 102-105.

54. William C. Davis, Editor, The Image of War, Vol. I, Shadows of the Storm, (New York: Doubleday, 1981) p. 100.

55. Dawson, March, 1872, pp. 147-148.

56. Chester, "Inside Sumter in '61," p. 64.

57. Harper's Weekly, January 26, 1861; Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, January 26, 1861; Doubleday, Reminiscenses, pp. 71-72.

58. Seymour to Dawson, August 28, 1872, in Dawson, March, 1872, p. 147.

59. Dawson, Ibid.

60. New York Illustrated News, May 4, 1861.

61. Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, January 26, 1861.

62. Harper's Weekly, January 26, 1861.

63. Ibid.

64. Captain Calvin D. Cowles, Compiler, Atlas To Accompany The Official Records Of The Union and Confederate Armies (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1891-1895) Plate 1, Nos. 1,2,3 and Plate II, Nos. 1,2,3.

65. Dawson, March, 1872, p. 142.

66. Crawford, Genesis, p. 109, 135, 297.

67. Crawford Papers, Library of Congress.

68. Davis, Shadows of the Storm, p. 97; Chester, "Inside Sumter in '61," p. 52.

69. Dawson, March, 1872, pp. 142-147.

70. Harper's Weekly, January 26, 1861.

71. Davis, Shadows of the Storm, pp. 98-99, 105, 108, and detail slides of original photographs in Washington Light Infantry collection, Charleston, S.C., in author's collection.

72. An interesting discussion comparing the heights of soldiers in Parker's Virginia Battery versus the average American soldier in 1946 may be found in Robert K. Krick, Parker's Virginia Battery, C.S.A. (Berryville: Virginia Book Company, 1975) p. 8.

73. Crawford, Genesis, p.115.

74. O.R.,I, p. 10

75. Doubleday, Reminiscenses, pp. 109-110, 121. O.R., I, pp. 137,138, 150, 154, 161 and 170.

76. O.R.,I, 179-181.

77. Thomas to Quartermaster General, February 26, 1861, RG 92, Entry 1003.

78. Reports of Captain John G. Foster as follows:

Date	Weather Conditions	O.R. Vol.I, page:
Feb. 25	"...cold and wind..."	185
Feb. 27-28	"...pleasant..."	187
March 2	"...remarkably fine..."	189
March 4	"...wind and rain..."	190
March 6	"...weather suddenly changed from the warm temperature of the preceding days to a high degree of cold for this climate, the wind blowing fresh from the north..."	191
March 9	"...Last night a severe storm of wind and rain arose, which lasted all night, and bids fair to be renewed today..."	193

Note 78 (cont.)

Date	Weather Conditions	O.R. Vol. I, page:
March 11	"...high and cold wind..."	193
March 12	"...unusually pleasant..."	194
March 13	"...very pleasant ..."	195
March 15	"...a storm of wind..."	205
March 17	"...weather is pleasant, although there are indications of a storm brewing..."	207
March 18	"...misty, with indications of a storm..."	208
March 19	"...snow squall...(Report of Anderson)	209
March 21	"...high wind..."	210
March 26	"...coming storm..."	221
	"...wind and rain..."	223
April 2	"...dense fog...since last evening..."	231
April 5	"...high wind which has prevailed for three days..."	243

79. O.R., I, p. 222.

80. O.R., I, p. 289, 291, 301-305.

81. O.R.,I, p. 49

82. O.R.,I, pp. 17-21.

83. Doubleday, Reminiscenses, p. 140.

84. Crawford, Genesis, p. 437.

85. Chester,"Inside Sumter in '61," p. 65.

86. New York Daily Tribune, April 18, 1861.

87. New York Daily Tribune, April 19, 1861.

88. The Battle of Fort Sumter and First Victory of the Southern Troops, April 13th, 1861. Full Accounts of the Bombardment, With Sketches of the Scenes, Incidents, Etc. Compiled Chiefly From The Detailed Reports Of The Charleston Press (Charleston: Evans and Cogswell, 1861; republished Charleston: Shaftesbury Press, 1971, reprinted 1979) p. 5. Cited hereinafter as Battle of Fort Sumter.

89. Army and Navy Journal, Nov. 28, 1863, in Preble, Vol. II, p. 446.

90. Chester, "Inside Sumter in '61," p. 68.

91. Within Fort Sumter. By One of The Company. (New York: N. Tibbals & Co. 1861) p. 46. Cited hereinafter as Within Fort Sumter.

92. Crawford, Genesis, p. 437-438.

93. O.R.,I, p. 22.

94. New York Daily Tribune, April 19, 1861

95. O.R.,I, p. 22.

96. New York Daily Tribune, April 19,1861.

97. O.R.,I, p. 23

98. Crawford, Genesis, p. 437-438.

99. Doubleday, Reminiscenses, p. 159.

100. Chester, "Inside Sumter in '61," p. 71.

101. Within Fort Sumter, p. 54.

102. New York Daily Tribune, April 18, 1861.

103. Ibid.,April 19, 1861.

104. Preble, Vol. II, pp. 440-441.

105. O.R.,I, pp. 37-38.

106. Ibid., I, p. 41.

107. Ibid., I, p. 58.

108. Battle of Fort Sumter, pp. 18-19.

109. 1865 Quartermaster Manual, p. 57.

110. Within Fort Sumter, cover.

111. Battle of Fort Sumter. pp. 13,15,17.

112. O.R.,I, p. 21.

113. Doubleday, Reminiscenses, p. 155.

114. Chalmers Roberts, "The Glorious Flag of Fort Sumter," p. 233.

115. Republished in Albert Castel,"Fort Sumter-1861," Civil War Times Illustrated, XV, No. 6, October, 1976, p. 45.

116. Davis, Shadows of the Storm, pp. 116-117. Doubleday, Reminiscenses, Appendic, p. 184.

117. Battle of Fort Sumter, p. 26.

118. Washington Light Infantry Collection. Access granted by Mr. Vic Brandt, Jr.

119. O.R.,I, p. 213; Crawford, Genesis, p. 303; Davis, Shadows of the Storm, pp. 102, 107, 112.

120. Doubleday, Reminiscenses, p. 158.

121. Davis, Shadows of the Storm, p. 107.

122.

123. Doubleday, Reminiscenses, Appendix, p. 180.

124. A photograph of Hart in the Massachusetts-MOLLUS collection, USAMHRI, shows a man with a long dark beard. A photograph of Snyder taken at Fort Sumter in February, 1861 and published in Shadows of the Storm, p. 91, shows a young man with a rather distinctive mustache.

125. Doubleday, Reminiscenses, p. 172.

126. Abner Doubleday, "From Moultrie to Sumter," Battles and Leaders of the Civil War (New York and London: Thomas Yoseloff, 1964) p. 48.

127. Crawford, Genesis, p. 447.

128. Chester, "Side Scenes at Fort Sumter."

129. O.R.,I, p. 24.

130. New York Daily Tribune, April 19, 1861.

131. Chester, "Side Scenes at Fort Sumter;" O.R.,I, p. 24.

132. Chester, "Side Scenes at Fort Sumter."

133. Within Fort Sumter, p. 69.

134. Preble, Vol.II, p. 446.

135. New York Daily Tribune, April 19, 1861.

136. Ibid.

137. New York Illustrated News, May 4, 1861.

138. New York Daily Tribune, April 19, 1861.

139. Crawford, Genesis, p. 449.

140. New York Daily Tribune, April 20, 1861.

141. Ibid.

142. New York Herald, April 21, 1861.

143. New York Times, April 21, 1861.

144. New York Extra Evening Tribune, April 20, 1861.

145. Ibid.

146. New York Daily Tribune, April 22, 1861.

147. Pictorial War Record, Battles of the Late Civil War, New York, Sept.10, 1881, Vol. 1, No. 2.

148. Vail to Anderson, April 22, 1861. Anderson Papers, Library of Congress.

149. Crane to Anderson, April 22, 1861. Anderson Papers, Library of Congress.

150. Squires, editor, Frank Leslie's Illustrated History of the American Civil War of 1861, No. 1, p. 1; Major George F. Williams, The Memorial War Book, As Drawn From Historical Records and Personal Narratives of the Men Who Served in the Great Struggle. (New York: Judge Publishing Co., 1894) p. 20.

PART C

THE FORT SUMTER FLAGS

1861 - 1865

During the Civil War the Fort Sumter flags passed into the possession of Major Anderson and were boxed up and stored in New York City. Although there is no useful technical information from this period (Criteria 3 and 4), there is some pictorial information (Criteria 2) and considerable documentary information (Criteria 1). Interestingly, a failed Union attack on Fort Sumter, during which the Confederates claimed to have captured the original Fort Sumter flag, provided the impetus for generating much of this information, including the only statement Anderson ever made about the flags. At the end of this period, on April 14, 1865, Anderson took one of the flags back to Fort Sumter to raise it in triumph over the captured ruins of the fort. After that, the flags once more went into seclusion.

1. Transfer of the Flags to Anderson, 1861

Sometime very shortly after the garrison's arrival in New York and the public display of the flags, they passed into Major Anderson's hands. Exactly how this was done is a matter of some speculation. In a letter on the subject written in 1863, Anderson wrote that "the U.S. flag saluted at Fort Sumter and hauled down by the U.S. Garrison at the surrender of the Fort in 1861" was then in his possession. He added:

> "...On reaching Washington on my return from Charleston Harbor, I mentioned to his Excellency the President & to Secretary Cameron the fact of my having brought the flag from Fort Sumter and that it was securely boxed up in the City of New York..." [1]

Although Anderson had the flag in 1863, he did not explain how he had been allowed to keep it. A nephew of Mrs. Anderson wrote in 1905 that it "...had been presented to General Anderson by the Country..." [2] and in 1902 Mrs. Anderson herself wrote that "...It was given to my husband-Major Anderson - after the evacuation in 1861..." [3] A note that appears to be in the handwriting of one of the Anderson daughters, Eba Anderson

Lawton, asserts that the flags were "given Gen Anderson by Mr Lincoln by order of act of Congress I believe..." [4]

A newspaper article written in 1911 noted: "...Although the flag was public property, by the special permission of President Lincoln, Maj. Anderson was enabled to retain it..." [5] Peleg D. Harrison, an early flag researcher, wrote: "...Upon request of Secretary of War Stanton, Major Anderson retained the flag and placed it in the vaults of the Metropolitan Bank, New York City..." [6] Chalmers Roberts, from his interview with Mrs. Anderson in 1898, wrote:

> "...The flags first came into Major Anderson's possession when, after his return to New York following the evacuation of Sumter, he made out the usual garrison invoice to the War Department, including the two flags in the list of returns. With fine sentiment, the Secretary of War sent back the flags with the statement that they could be in no better keeping than in the hands of the man who had so gallantly defended them. They were thereupon placed in a strong box by Peter Hart, a humble

> hero in the story, and for four years remained in the vaults of the Metropolitan bank..." [7]

These accounts reflect considerable confusion over the legal manner in which the flags passed to Anderson. Because the original garrison returns do not exist, nor, for that matter, any letters from Lincoln or Cameron regarding the flags, we must assume that Anderson received the flags via some sort of oral agreement between himself, Lincoln and Cameron. There is no evidence that they were presented by act of Congress. [8] In the excitement and hurry then gripping the country, the flags would certainly have been considered a minor matter, at least by politicians like Lincoln and Cameron.

The Quartermaster's Department, on the other hand, would not have considered the giving away of government property a minor matter, but in the spring of 1861 the work crush was so heavy that such things were pushed into the background. Exactly how Lieutenant Hall accounted for the flags is unknown, for his returns do not exist. [9] It is known, however, that in 1863 he was petitioning the War Department to be relieved of responsibility for certain stores that had not been accounted for in Fort Sumter. Whether these stores included the flags is unknown. [10]

In 1883, when a gentleman in Marietta, Ohio inquired of the Quartermaster's Department as to what had become of the Fort Sumter flags, the department had no information to give. Subsequent "official" information in the Adjutant General's files was based on the memories of former Adjutant General E.D. Townsend, a letter from Mrs. Anderson and Robert Anderson's 1863 letter. The latter was not received until 1905.[11]

Obviously, the transfer of the flags to Anderson was not handled in accordance with established Quartermaster procedures, and subsequent attitudes in the Anderson family, to be discussed later, indicate that the transfer was probably considered as much a loan as a gift.

2. The Boat Attack on Fort Sumter, September 8, 1863

Union counterattacks to take the city of Charleston began in 1863. By September, Union forces under the command of Major General Quincy A. Gillmore had gained control of Morris Island.[12] On the evening of September 8, Union naval forces attempted an amphibious assault on Fort Sumter. The attack was a disaster, with 124 killed, wounded and missing out of an attacking force of 400.[13]

The next day, the Confederates announced a spectacular capture. Major Stephen Elliott, commanding the Sumter garrison, noted that he had captured five colors from the assaulting force.[14] The same day a "rebel dispatch" claimed that one of the colors was: "...the flag lowered by General Anderson, which Admiral Dahlgren intended to hoist over Fort Sumter..."[15] The Richmond Enquirer also picked up the news, announcing: "...We took the original flag of Fort Sumter which Major Anderson was compelled to lower, and which Dahlgren had hoped to replace..."[16]

On September 10, the Charleston Daily Courier, in writing of "Our Captures," noted:

> "...One of the latter compensates for all the brick and bullets thrown, being no less than the identical "gridiron" carried from Fort Sumter in 1861; exhibited to a monster mass meeting in New York shortly after, talked, cheered, and praised over until almost sanctified, wrapped around the gouty limbs of old SCOTT, and finally brought back under oath that it should be victoriously re-planted on the walls where it was first lowered in recognition of the Southern Confederacy. For this purpose, under an armed guard of a thousand men, it was brought to Fort Sumter on Wednesday night. For this reason we prize the memorial, and shall take good care that the relic thus restored to its rightful owners shall be religiously preserved. The incident, simple as it is, shows that there is a Divine Providence carrying out for us our destiny, and may be ominous in these our dark hours of the glorious success which will eventually reward our cause..." [17]

The same day, General Beauregard wired his superiors in Richmond:

> "...Can I be authorized to present to State of South Carolina garrison flag

> captured yesterday, intended by enemy to float over ruins of Sumter? Am informed it is the same which floated there when that fort surrendered to me in 1861..." [18]

On September 12, Major Elliott added in another report:

> "...We captured also five barges, five stand of colors (among them a flag, said by the prisoners to be the flag borne from the fort by Maj. Anderson in 1861)..." [19]

In short order, Beauregard received his answer from Richmond, and on September 22 he wrote to South Carolina Governor Milledge L. Bonham:

> "...Among the colors taken was an old garrison flag, stained and tattered, which was reported by some of the prisoners to be the one that had been lowered to us when Fort Sumter was surrendered by the United States on April 13, 1861. The appearance of this flag, and the circumstances under which it was found, satisfy me that really it is the same one that Major (Robert) Anderson was permitted to remove, and which our adversary had hoped to replace above the shattered walls of that fortress as a dramatic surcease to his humiliation. With the sanction of the War Department, I have the honor to present it through

> your Excellency to the State of South Carolina, as the fitting custodian of a flag that was designed to mark and make memorable the discomfiture of your people..." [20]

Roswell Ripley, under whose command Elliott operated, was a bit more cautious than the other Confederates:

> "...Among the captured colors was a worn and torn garrison flag, reported by some of the prisoners as being that which Major Anderson was permitted to take from the fort on the occasion of his being compelled to surrender in April, 1861. This had been brought to hoist on the fort, and to be made the subject of boast had the assault succeeded. Whether it was really the flag or not, it would doubtless have been so announced. As the attempt was a disastrous repulse, it has been stated, I am informed by certain officers of the enemy, that the flag is not the identical standard, but the evidence is such that I believe that it is, notwithstanding testimony coming from that quarter..." [21]

The Union reaction to these reports was one of shock, dismay and denial. Truman Seymour, now a Brigadier General and about to return to his division operating against Charleston, wrote to

Anderson:

> "...My dear General:
>
> The morning papers state that the Rebels have possession of our old Sumter flag. I cannot believe it. I don't believe that Gilmore would give to the navy the honor of hoisting it in its old place - and I don't believe he has it (either the flag or the place).
>
> If the Flag has not been sent south, will you permit me to take it with me? I will assure you that it shall not be hazarded unduly..." [22]

The next day, September 15, Anderson received a more important letter from Assistant Adjutant General E.D. Townsend:

> "...The Secretary of War wishes to know if it is true that the U.S. flag saluted at Fort Sumter & hauled down by the U.S. Garrison at the surrender of the Fort in 1861 has been in your possession until a recent date? Whether it is now in your possession, or if not to whom it has been delivered by you, under what circumstances & by what authority?..." [23]

Anderson's reply to this letter was the only testimony he ever gave regarding the Fort Sumter flags. It is as follows:

> "...I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 15th instant

> and to say that in reply thereto that "the U.S. Flag saluted at Fort Sumter and hauled down by the U.S. Garrison at the surrender of the Fort in 1861" is now in my possession. On reaching Washington on my return from Charleston Harbor, I mentioned to his Excellency the President & to Secretary Cameron the fact of my having brought the flag from Fort Sumter and that it was securely boxed up in the City of New York. It has never been delivered by me to anyone, nor though I have frequently been opportuned to do so by the different Societies, Commissions, Associations &c &c have I ever allowed it to be unboxed for any occasion whatsoever. I feel that no one can love and fear that none can guard and keep as carefully as I do this sacred relic; and it is my earnest wish that when Fort Sumter shall by God's blessing, be again our own, I may be permitted by the Government, to there once more unfurl it, or should I die before that time, that it may be wrapped around my body when it is borne to its last resting place..." [24]

Anderson's reply seems to have been satisfactory to Secretary Stanton, and in the meantime the newspapers had picked up the news. The New York Tribune, in writing of the alledged capture, noted: "...(This is not true. The old flag, we understand, is in this city, and if again hoisted at Fort Sumter, it will probably be done by

Policeman Hart, who so gallantly defended it in 1861)..." The same issue reported:

> "...The report that the flag Major - Gen Anderson had with him at Fort Sumter was taken by the Rebels on the 8th inst is untrue. Peter Hart, the hero who had so much to do with it at the time the Rebels bombarded Sumter, says the flag is in safe keeping in this city..." [25]

Even the Charleston Daily Courier relayed the news:

> "...The report that the "old Fort Sumter flag" was captured with the assaulting party is contradicted. The old flag, it is asserted, is still in New York..." [26]

The Courier did not comment upon the subject again. Yet, at least initially, the Confederates had come up with a devastating piece of propaganda, which they themselves apparently believed. There were also people in the north who were not convinced that the flag was safe. P.T. Barnum, never one to lose out on a new gimmick, saw a great chance to get additional people into his American Museum. He wrote Anderson on September 16:

"...As there is some doubt in the public mind whether the Confederates have got the Sumpter Flag or not, I am extremely anxious to exhibit it (if only for a week) at the Museum. I will give any required bonds for its safe keeping & would return it promptly to any locality you may designate.

Respectfully yours,
P.T. Barnum

P.S. For this favor I will be happy to hand you One Hundred Dollars($100) to be used in any way you please. The exhibition will qualify the public and can do no harm in any way, while it will all silence the claims that the enemy have possessed the flag. If I have the flag, the sooner I can get it the better, & if accompanied by a few lines from you, saying that in order to satisfy the public on this subject you will place it for a few days in my possession, it will help the matter considerably..." [27]

Anderson's reply to this letter, if any, has not survived. Given his letter of two days before to Townsend that he had never had it unboxed, it is extremely doubtful that the flag ever went to Barnum. There is certainly nothing to indicate that it did.

Still, even in October, there were still doubts. To quell the speculation, the New York

Evening Express ran the following article:

" THE OLD SUMTER FLAG

Newspaper presses - both North and South - have indulged in many speculations recently, in regard to the whereabouts of the old Flag raised by the patriotic Major Anderson on Fort Sumter, and by him lowered, amid the battle-smoke of treason when Sumter fell in 1861. Some aver that the flag is with the army at Charleston, awaiting the opportunity to once more fling to the breeze its tattered folds over the conquered fort, while others, and among them the rebel editors of the South, declare that it was captured by the insurgents in the late unsuccessful assault upon the fort by a portion of the Federal forces.

Now, with all due deference to these knowing writers and correspondents, we beg here to say, UPON THE VERY BEST AUTHORITY, that the flag beneath which the gallant Anderson and his little band of heroes fought at Fort Sumter, and which, for the first time, was struck at the instance of armed rebels in overpowering numbers, is still in the possession of General Anderson, and has not, for a single moment since he left the fort, been out of his keeping. As soon as he reached New York, he had a case made for the bullet-pierced emblem of his country's power and glory, and depositing it therein,

> screwed down the lid of the case with his own hands, in the strong hope no doubt, that some day he might have the honor of again personally raising it upon Sumter, amid the plaudits of the whole nation..." [28]

Comparison of the photograph taken in Union Square with the surviving garrison flag shows that the garrison flag did not end up in Confederate hands. By the same token, Leslie's sketch of the storm flag, compared to the surviving piece, shows that it did not go to Charleston either. Exactly what the Confederates captured is unknown, but none of the Union naval officers involved in the assault mentioned any Sumter flags, and even the Confederates became mysteriously silent on the subject following the Union denials. Although the flag that was captured was presented to the State of South Carolina, it apparently has not survived.

The propaganda value of the Confederate claim was undoubtedly considerable as long as it lasted, but the truth of the matter is that the flag never left Anderson's hands. Happily for the historian, however, the alleged capture generated a considerable amount of data that allows us to indicate with a

good deal of assurance that Anderson boxed up the flags in 1861 and very likely did not unbox them until the end of the war.

3. Location of the Flags, 1861-1865

When the Fort Sumter flags arrived in New York, they were first taken to Fort Hamilton.[29] From there, they were borrowed for the Union Square demonstration and were presumably returned to Fort Hamilton afterwards.[30] Just how soon after the Union Square demonstration the flags were boxed up is unknown. However, it is known that Lincoln wrote to Anderson on May 1, 1861 and asked him to come to Washington.[31] It was probably at their meeting shortly thereafter that Anderson mentioned to Lincoln and Cameron that the flags were boxed up in New York. Thus, we might conclude that the flags were boxed about the last part of April.[32]

Chalmers Roberts and Peleg D. Harrison mentioned that the flags were stored in the vaults of the Metropolitan Bank. While these are both secondary accounts, Roberts at least, got his information from Mrs. Anderson. However, it is clear that the flags did not spend the entire four years in the bank vaults. In 1863,

Anderson wrote only that the flag was "...securely boxed up in the City of New York..." [33] The New York Tribune wrote that it was "...in this city..." [34] and the Evening Express that it was "...still in the possession of General Anderson, and has not, for a single moment since he left the fort, been out of his keeping..." [35]

These accounts are, not, of course, specific enough to indicate that the flags were not in a vault, and it must also be remembered that Anderson did not spend the war in New York City keeping watch over the flags, so the Evening Express article must not be taken too literally. Soon after his arrival in New York, Anderson was promoted to Brigadier General and sent to take command of Union forces in Kentucky, his native state. He remained there, eventually taking command of the Department of the Cumberland before failing health caused him to put himself on the retired list in October, 1863. [36] He did not return directly to New York, however, for Townsend's September, 1863 letter was directed to Anderson at Newport, Rhode Island. [37] It is not likely that he carried the flags with him in his travels through Kentucky.

Certainly in 1864 Anderson did not have immediate possession of them, for on September 29 of that year Brigadier General A.B. Eaton wrote to Anderson from Washington:

> "...The Sumter Flags left in my care by you at No. 4 State St. New York, were not safe there, or I thought.
>
> I took them to my private residence, No. 119 East 34th St. New York, where they still are. I am about to sub-let my house. What shall be done with the flags? Will you send & get them, if not I shall send them to No. 4 State St. to Col Clarke & let them take their chances there? I am about to have some boxes sent to me here & the box with the flags could come here at the same time if you so desire. I respectfully suggest that it should be made certain by you that no harm befalls them. Quien? had you not best direct them to be delivered in hand to the Secretary of War, then you are all up with them. Doubtless your wishes would thereafter be consulted in relation to them. Will you not indicate to my son, wife or daughter at 119 East 34th St. your wishes in the matter - If you so authorize, I will myself see that the Sec. of War receives them..." [38]

Despite Eaton's urging, there is no evidence that Anderson ever delivered the flags to the Secretary of War. Exactly how long Eaton had had them is also unknown, but it would seem unlikely that Anderson would have put them in the Metropolitan Bank's vaults and then pulled them out to put them in Eaton's care. More likely, Anderson left them with Eaton when he went to Kentucky and did not put them in the bank vaults until after Eaton's move to Washington.

4. The Fort Sumter Flag Raising, April 14, 1865

The Union army and navy conducted the longest siege of the war in its effort to capture Charleston. Finally, in February, 1865, as Sherman's army moved through South Carolina, the Confederates were forced to abandon the city. Fort Sumter was evacuated on the night of February 17,[39] and the next day the U.S. flag was replaced at the fort. Exactly who accomplished this first flag raising and under what circumstances is beyond the scope of this paper.[40] However, it was known at the time that it was Anderson's desire that he once more raise the 1861 Fort Sumter flag over the fort. On February 19, General Gillmore wrote to Anderson:

> "...Come down if you can, & hoist the old flag over "Sumter." My compliments to Mrs. Anderson & request her to accompany you.
>
> If you come we will do the thing with eclat..."[41]

Shortly thereafter, President Lincoln made the decision to turn the flag raising into a

formal ceremony, and orders were issued to that effect on March 27:

GENERAL ORDERS
No. 50
Ordered-
First. That at the hour of noon on the 14th day of April, 1865, Brevet Major-General Anderson will raise and plant upon the ruins of Fort Sumter, in Charleston Harbor, the same U.S. flag which floated over the battlements of that fort during the rebel assault, 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 100 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 Maj. Gen. William T. Sherman, whose military operations compelled the rebels to evacuate Charleston, or, in his absence, under the charge of Maj. Gen. 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. " [42]

The work of preparation for the ceremonies occupied the remaining time. Although there is considerable documentary information in this area, it deals almost exclusively with invitations to the event or physical prepartions at the site. There is nothing in the record about the flags themselves. For this reason this documentary information is not presented. Presumably, Stanton expected Anderson to take care of whatever needed to be done about the flags. Probably this consisted of nothing more than retrieving the right flag from the box and packing it for the trip. [43]

Anderson, along with his family, came to Charleston on the Arago, which arrived off Hilton Head on April 12. Also on board were Peter Hart, Beecher, numerous civilian guests and Townsend, who had been sent as Stanton's representative. [44] Some of Beecher's congregation chartered the steamer Oceanus for the trip, and there were other transports as well. Between the spectators and the military, there was no lack of witnesses to the

event.[45]

The ceremony began with a prayer by the Reverend Matthias Harris, who had conducted the religious portion of the first flag raising four years before. Following this a number of psalms were read, then Townsend read Anderson's dispatch written from the Baltic announcing the fall of the fort. At this point the flag was to be raised.[46]

Sergeant Hart brought forward what has been variously described as either the old Fort Sumter mail bag[47] or a new mail bag containing the flag.[48] It was brought out of the bag and tied to the halliards by three members of the U.S.S. Juniata, and a wreath of evergreens, studded with roses and mock-orange, was placed just above the flag.

Anderson then spoke briefly and hoisted the flag. The required salutes boomed out from the fort and the nearby ships and batteries, Beecher made his speech and the ceremonies concluded with prayer.[49]

Although there were numerous witnesses present, not one described the flag itself in an enlightening way. One, whose account was "adapted" for use

in The Fort Sumter Memorial in 1915, described the flag as "...all tattered by shot and shell..." [50] An account written soon after the event described it as "... the old smoke-stained, shot-pierced flag, with not a single star smitten or effaced from its fold of blue..." [51]

A series of photographs were taken of the occasion and most have been published. [52] However, all of the published views show the speaker's stand either before the flag was raised, when it is not yet visible, or after, when the great height of the staff put the flag out of the picture. Other pictures show the parapet during the salutes. None shows the flag itself.

There is, however, one photograph in existence which shows the flag attached to the halliards at the base of the flagstaff, just beginning to catch the wind, and before it was hoisted to the top. This author saw a modern 8 X 10 inch print of this photograph in the Milhollen Collection at the Museum of the Confederacy in Richmond in the fall of 1980. However, two recent trips to the museum, during which all the boxes containing prints from that collection were systematically checked, print by print, failed to reveal it. (This collection is uncatalogued.)

Hirst Milhollen was Curator of the Civil War photograph collection at the Library of Congress for many years. The Museum of the Confeceracy's holdings consist of his modern copies of photographs, drawings and prints in the Library of Congress, the National Archives and elsewhere. In an attempt to determine whether the Library of Congress had the original negative for this photograph, this author was able to gain access to the original Brady negatives. The Fort Sumter flag raising series, exclusive of the photographs taken on the parapet during the salutes, was numbered between 3140 and 3146. Of this series, negative number 3142 is missing. The Library of Congress has neither a print nor a copy negative of this view, which would tend to indicate that it was never in their collection. The National Archives was also checked and the negative was not there, indicating that Milhollen's print may have come from another source. The collections of the New York Historical Society, The Long Island Historical Society and the Massachusetts MOLLUS collection at Carlisle were also checked for prints, but with no success.

It is, of course, particularly frustrating when a print known to have been in existence only a little over a year ago cannot now be found, but based on this author's memory of the photograph, the flag was quite blurred. Only two stars could be made out, both at the top of the canton on the staff edge. The size of the flag, compared to the people in the photograph, indicated that it was the garrison flag that was being hoisted.

Figure 26 is a woodcut apparently made from the photograph. Unfortunately, it is quite obvious that the star pattern in the photograph was blurred, for the star pattern shown here bears no resemblance to either of the two surviving flags.[53]

If the flag raised was the garrison flag, it would not necessarily be inconsistent with the information previously discussed which indicated that the storm flag flew during the bombardment. Although Stanton's order required Anderson to raise "...the same U.S. flag which floated over the battlements of that fort during the rebel assault, and which was lowered and saluted...," Anderson, in his report of the re-raising, stated merely: "...The flag lowered at Fort Sumter April 14, 1861, was by God's blessing restored to its standard April 14, 1865..."[54] In his remarks to the

crowd, Anderson stated: "...I restore to its proper place this flag which floated here during peace, before the first act of this cruel rebellion..." [55] In no case did Anderson identify the flag as one which had flown during the bombardment.

It should be noted that these are some of the first clues we have that there may in fact have been two differing points of view about what criteria were used to consider which was the flag of Fort Sumter. In some circles, the flag that flew during the bombardment was the flag. In others, the flag that was saluted was the flag. It should be remembered that in 1863, when there was concern that the flag had fallen into Confederate hands, Anderson had responded to Townsend's inquiry by using the same identifying language that Townsend had: "...the U.S. flag saluted at Fort Sumter and hauled down by the U.S. Garrison at the surrender of the Fort in 1861..." [56] If the information from Sergeant Chester was correct, indicating that it was the garrison flag which was saluted and hauled down on April 14, 1861, then Anderson's report would have been consistent with the facts.

In particular, what ought to be kept in mind here is the nature of the nineteenth century military mind. These men were schooled from their

earliest days in the service to be precise in their reports, their orders and in all other ways. The accounting systems for supplies encouraged such an attitude, and it developed further because of professional pride. This was particularly true in those arms of the service which dealt heavily with the practical application of mathematics, such as the engineers, the ordnance department and the artillery. Therefore, although Stanton's order may have assumed that the flag which flew during the bombardment and the one which was saluted were one and the same, and although Anderson would not have openly challenged the accuracy of a Presidentially-inspired War Department General Order, in the interest of accuracy he could have indicated the true facts in the case by omitting the inaccurate part of the order in his own report. His omission of mention of the flag flying during the bombardment, and his remarks to the crowd which not only omitted mention of the bombardment but indicated that the flag being raised had waved <u>before</u> "...the first act of this cruel rebellion..." tend to be consistent with the garrison flag flying up until April 11, 1861, not during the bombardment, and then again on April 14th.

Unfortunately, until a print of the photograph of the flag raising surfaces, we cannot know for sure which flag actually was raised on April 14, 1865. It is this author's opinion, however, that it was the garrison flag.

1. Anderson to E.D. Townsend, Assistant Adjutant General, September 17, 1863. RG 94, Records of the Adjutant General's Office, Letters Received, File 4170, Microfilm publication 689, roll 232, National Archives.

2. Larz Anderson to William Howard Taft, Secretary of War, March 23, 1905, Ibid.

3. E.B. Anderson to Assistant Adjutant General, April 19, 1902, Ibid.

4. Note by Eba Anderson Lawton, Anderson Papers, Library of Congress.

5. "The Flag of Sumter," New York Sunday Times, exact date unknown, c. April 1, 1911, republished in Washington Morning Post, April 14, 1911.

6. Peleg D. Harrison, The Stars and Stripes and Other American Flags, (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1906) p. 188.

7. Chalmers Roberts, "The Glorious Flag of Fort Sumter, " p. 233.

8. Lincoln Papers, microfilm; Roy P. Basler, Collected Works of Lincoln; Acts of Congress

9. See Par B, notes 1-9.

10. File card for Massacusetts MOLLUS file no. 2025- "Hall, Capt. Norman J. Petition to be relieved of responsibility for moneys- Fort Sumter bombardment &c Package of Vouchers..."

USAMHRI. This particular file could not be found, but Institute Archivist Dr. Richard Sommers provided an oral synopsis of its contents.

11. RG 94, Letters Received, A.G.O., File 4170, M-689, R-232, NA.

12. Quincy A. Gillmore, "The Army Before Charleston in 1863," Battles and Leaders of the Civil War, (New York, London: Thomas Yoseloff, 1956) Vol. IV, pp. 54-71.

13. Thomas H. Stevens, "The Boat Attack on Sumter," Ibid., p. 50.

14. O.R., XXVIII, Part 1, p. 725.

15. New York Tribune, September 14, 1863.

16. Richmond Enquirer, September 9, 1863 as cited in New York Tribune, September 14, 1863.

17. Charleston Daily Courier, September 10, 1863.

18. O.R., XXVIII, Part 2, p. 354.

19. O.R., XXVIII, Part 1, p. 727.

20. Ibid., pp. 724-725.

21. Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1894-1922) Vol. 14, pp. 760-761. Cited hereinafter as ORN.

22. Seymour to Anderson, September 14, 1863. Anderson Papers, Library of Congress.

23. Townsend to Anderson, September 15, 1863, RG 94, Letters Received, A.G.O., File 4170, M-689, R-232, NA.

24. Anderson to Townsend, September 17, 1863, Ibid.

25. New York Tribune, September 14, 1863.

26. Charleston Daily Courier, September 17, 1863.

27. Barnum to Anderson, September 16, 1863, [illegible] Anderson Papers, Library of Congress.

28. New York Evening Express, October 10, 1863.

29. New York Daily Tribune, April 20, 1861.

30. New York Herald, April 21, 1861.

31. Lincoln to Anderson, May 1, 1861, Anderson Papers, Library of Congress.

32. Anderson to Townsend, September 17, 1863, RG 94, Letters Received, A.G.O.,File 4170, M-689, R-232, NA.

33. Ibid.

34. New York Tribune, September 14, 1863.

35. New York Evening Express, October 10, 1863.

36. Crawford, Genesis, pp. 450-452.

37. Townsend to Anderson, September 15, 1863, RG 94, Letters Received, A.G.O. File 4170.

38. Eaton to Anderson, September 29, 1864. Anderson Papers, Library of Congress.

39. E. Milby Burton, The Siege of Charleston, 1861-1865 (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1970) contains a thorough account of the siege; Major John Johnson, "The Confederate Defense of Fort Sumter," Battles & Leaders of the Civil War (New York and London: Thomas Yoseloff, 1956) p. 26 details evacuation of Fort Sumter.

40. The details are well covered in Preble, Vol. II, pp. 448-449.

41. Gillmore to Anderson, February 19, 1865, Anderson Papers, Library of Congress.

42. O.R.,I, XLVII, Part 3, p. 34.

43. Most of the documentation can be found in Ibid., and in ORN, Series I, Vol. 16.

44. E.D. Townsend, Anecdotes of the Civil War (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1884) pp. 212-216.

45. Committee of the Passengers, The Trip of the Steamer Oceanus To Fort Sumter and Charleston, S.C. (Brooklyn: "The Union" Steam Printing House, 1865), introduction.

46. Townsend, pp. 213-215.

47. Dr. F. Milton Willis, "Replacing The Flag Upon Fort Sumter, From the Narrative of an Eyewitness adapted by," Fort Sumter Memorial (New York: Edwin C. Hill, 1915), p. 37; Townsend, p. 216.

48. Trip of the Oceanus, p. 50.

49. Townsend, p. 215.

50. Willis, "Replacing the Flag Upon Fort Sumter," Fort Sumter Memorial, p. 39.

51. Trip of the Oceanus, p. 52

52. Francis T. Miller, The Photographic History of the Civil War (New York: Review of Reviews, 1911) Vo. IX, pp. 334-335.

53. Trip of the Oceanus, opposite p, 52. The introduction to the book contains an acknowledgement to the firm of E. and H.T. Anthony, New York photographers, for permission to use the Fort Sumter flag raising photograph.

54. Anderson to Stanton, April 17, 1865, O.R., I, XLVII, Part 3, p. 242.

55. Fort Sumter Memorial, p. 38.

56. Townsend to Anderson, September 15, 1863 and Anderson to Townsend, September 17, 1863, RG 94, Letters Received A.G.O., File 4170, M-689, R-232, NA.

PART D

THE FORT SUMTER FLAGS

1865 - 1905

During the post Civil War years, the Fort Sumter flags once more went into seclusion. In 1876, the flags were moved to Washington, D.C. when Mrs. Anderson changed her residence to that city from New York. The flags were taken out of their box only three documentable times during those years: for Anderson's funeral in 1872, for a veteran's reunion in 1895 and for Chalmers Roberts to view in 1898. In 1905, they were presented to the War Department by Anderson's daughters.

1. Anderson's Funeral, 1872

Anderson's health, which had not been good since at least 1863, deteriorated even more after that point. He went abroad in search of a better climate after the war, but in October, 1871, he died in Nice, France. [1] His remains were conveyed to New York City, where on April 3, 1872, four months after his death, there was a public funeral. [2]

Exactly where the flags were between 1865 and 1872 is a matter of conjecture. One of the spectators at the 1865 Fort Sumter ceremony remembered: "...After the ceremony, the flag was lowered placed in a leathern pouch & as I understand was taken north..." [3] It seems doubtful that the flag went with Anderson to France. Probably it was returned to the vaults of the Metropolitan Bank.

During the funeral, the flag was brought out in compliance with Anderson's request that it cover his coffin. The New York Sun described the scene this way:

"...The Fort Sumter garrison flag, which after being shot from its flag staff was nailed to the mast by Sgt. Peter Hart, and which Major Anderson was permitted to salute with the honors of war when he evacuated, was then produced. It is made of bunting, and though considerably torn, was yet in tolerably good condition. The soldiers threw it over the caisson, and tucked its corner under the coffin..." [4]

The New York Commercial Advertiser wrote:

"...At about 10 o'clock the coffin was born from the vault by eight privates of the United States infantry, and placed upon an artillery caisson, to which it was firmly secured with cords. It was then covered with the identical flag that floated over Fort Sumter, which bore ample evidence in its tattered folds of the terrible storm of shot and shell in which it had waved so long..." [5]

The Evening Express added:

"...Soon after 10 o'clock THE CASKET...was covered with the torn flag that FLOATED OVER FORT SUMTER while it was in the possession of the deceased, and the unrolling of it was regarded with great interest..." [6]

The New York Standard also mentioned the flag, noting: "...the battle-torn flag of Sumter was thrown over the lid..." [7]

Finally, the New York Herald wrote:

> "...the celebrated flag of Fort Sumter, riddled with shot and shell from the two days memorable siege, was then unrolled and wrapped around the casket..." [8]

The funeral procession itself was imposing, with Crawford, Davis and Foster among the pallbearers. The mourners included such Civil War notables as Irvin McDowell, Joseph Hooker and Horatio G. Wright. Of Anderson's family, only his brother Larz and his son Edward were present, the rest of the family still being in Europe. However, Anderson's two companies from Fort Sumter, "E" and "H" of the 1st Artillery, still with a fair percentage of Sumter veterans in the ranks, formed part of the escort. The body was carried through Manhattan to the foot of 34th Street, where it was loaded on a boat for the trip to West Point, its final resting place. [9]

The accounts of the funeral describe the flag as "the garrison flag" and note that it had been

nailed to the flagstaff after it had been shot down. It was also described as "considerably torn" and that it "bore ample evidence in its tattered folds of the terrible storm of shot and shell." The other accounts similarly indicate that the flag was tattered and torn.

Unfortunately, it is not possible to determine whether it really was the garrison flag or the storm flag that was used. In many of these early accounts the term "garrison flag" could be read to mean "the garrison's flag." No photographs of the funeral were found, and the illustrated newspapers did not cover it. Certainly, the garrison flag would have had to be folded before it could be put over the coffin. In this folded condition, it is likely that only the union would have showed. Yet, none of the papers mentioned it being folded, and enough of it was apparently visible for the reporters to note its torn condition. The tucking of the corner under the lid might at first glance indicate the storm flag, but the context of the quote is such that we cannot be certain. From the physical evidence of the surviving garrison flag,

it obviously is not the one that was nailed to the staff, and the constant references that the flag used in the funeral was the one flown during the bombardment would seem to point towards the storm flag. This certainly would have been more practical, but in truth, none of the newspaper accounts of the funeral are specific enough to allow us to say which flag was used.

2. The Flags Move To Washington, 1876

Sometime in 1876, Mrs. Anderson moved from New York to Washington, D.C. General Truman Seymour helped to get her packages moved, and while he did not mention the Sumter flags by name, he did note: "...The leather trunk from the Safe Dept vault the Adams Co said they would cord securely before forwarding..." Seymour then went on to list the number of trunks, chests, cases, boxes and bundles, and noted that the total number was "...exclusive of the trunk in safe deposit vault..." He sent the safe deposit trunk by Adams express.

If this trunk is the one which contained the flags, the fact that it was leather is most interesting. It does not at all sound like the wood case or strong box described in earlier accounts, however, and Seymour listed in his letter "5 boxes" and "1 black box" among the items to be sent.[10]

That the flags were indeed sent to Washington is undoubted, for Mrs. Anderson sent a piece of one of them from there in 1894,[11] and Chalmers Roberts saw them there in 1898.[12]

3. Inquiries About the Flags, 1883-1905

Beginning in the 1880's, inquiries about the status and location of the flags began to come into the War Department. The earliest one was from Henry Guckert, of Buell Post, Department of Ohio, Grand Army of the Republic. He wrote from Marietta, Ohio in 1883:

> "...What has be Come of the Fort Sumter flag, that was on the fort when Anderson left it in 1861. if you can give any information pleas to do so as thare is a flag in marietta that is Claimed by the one It to be the Sumter flag & he is trying to get rid of it on them Grounds..." [13]

The Quartermaster General's Office replied:

> "...The Quartermaster General directs me to reply to your inquiry of the 17th inst, that the Records of this Office do not show as to what has become of the flag of Fort Sumter, in 1861..." [14]

Not to be put off, Guckert wrote a few days later to the Secretary of War, Robert Todd Lincoln:

> "...Can you give me any information as to What has be Come of the Olde

> fort Sumter flag of 1861.
>
> We have just Recived a letter from the Quartermaster General's Office and theay Can not give us an light on the Subject.
>
> As thare is a flag in marietta said to be the Sumter Flag, but we are in doubt as to the through (truth?) of it..." [15]

This time, Guckert received a more satisfactory reply:

> "...In reply to your inquiry of the 29th ultimo as to the disposition made of the "Fort Sumter flag," I have the honor to inform you that prior to April 14, 1865 - when the ceremony of hoisting the flag over the ruins of Fort Sumter was performed the flag was in the custody of the late General Robert Anderson, and it is believed to be now in the possession of his family..." [16]

Guckert's luck the second time around was not the result of someone simply digging back into the files again. The Quartermaster General's initial reply had been correct; there was no information on the flag in the files. Guckert's second letter was "..."Respectfully referred to Brigadier General E.D. Townsend,

U.S.A. Retired, requesting return of this paper with any information he may possess relative to the Fort Sumter flag..." [17]

On October 6, Townsend had replied:

> "...Prior to April 14, 1865, when the ceremony of hoisting the flag over the ruins of Fort Sumter was performed, the flag was in the custody of Genl. Robert Anderson, and it is believed to be now in possession of his family..." [18]

The important aspect of this correspondence is that Guckert's letter, and Townsend and Lincoln's replies constituted the beginning of the War Department's file on the Fort Sumter flags. Prior to that time, there had been no information in the War Department at all, at least not information that could be recognized for what it was by the War Department clerk force. The second point about this file is that until 1902, when Mrs. Anderson personally attested that she had the flags, the file was based entirely on Townsend's memory, and not on any war-time departmental correspondence.

In May, 1894, Stewart L. Woodford wrote to the Secretary of War in much the same way that

Guckert had:

> "... I am going to give you some trouble, but I am sure you will try to oblige me and so I thank you in advance. The Flag that was hauled down by Major Anderson at Sumpter on April 14th, 1861 was kept by the War Department and sent in custody of Major Anderson and Sergeant Hart to the Fort where it was raised with public ceremonies on April 14th, 1865. It was then returned, as is believed, to the War Department at Washington. Will you kindly have search made and let me know whether the Flag is now in the keeping of your Department?
>
> I write this at the suggestion of the Association of Survivors of the Veterans of the Department of the South and of the South Atlantic Squadron. They are making arrangements for the celebration of the Thirtieth Anniversary of the restoration of the Flag to Sumpter. The Anniversary will take place on Easter Sunday, 1895 and I have promised them to ascertain from you where the flag now is..." [19]

Woodford received virtually the same reply that Guckert had. He then went on to contact Mrs.

Anderson in order to borrow the flag for the anniversary, an episode that will be discussed in more detail in the next section.

In April, 1902, a Dr. J.W. Applegate wrote to his Congressman:

> "...There is a little matter in regard to which I very much desire to obtain information & think your position would enable you to obtain it for me.
>
> Thirty seven years ago to day, I attended the ceremony on the occasion of the restoration over Fort Sumter of the same flag that was lowered by Major Anderson at the surrender of the fort, on the 14th of Apr. 1861.
>
> After the ceremony, the flag was lowered placed in a leathern pouch & as I understand was taken north - Can you ascertain from the department its present abiding place?
>
> I am writing an article, which a magazine has offered to publish, in regard to what I saw of the operations in & around Charleston Harbor, during two years of service on Morris Island from the time of its capture to the restoration of the flag on Fort Sumter..." [20]

This time, the War Department decided to go

beyond its files on the subject and wrote directly to Mrs. Anderson:

> "...We frequently have inquiries as to the whereabouts of the old flag of Fort Sumter which was lowered by Major Anderson at the surrender on the 14th of April, 1861, and we have an impression that after it was taken from Fort Sumter in 1865, at the time of the ceremonies, it was given to Major Anderson and is still in the possession of the family. Will you be kind enough to advise the undersigned if such is the fact, in order that we may be able to reply to such inquiries, and to a recent one from a Member of Congress from Florida, who is interested in a magazine article now in preparation..." [21]

Mrs. Anderson's reply, the first in the War Department records from any member of the Anderson family, was as follows:

> "...In answer to the enquiry in your letter of April 17th in relation to the old Fort Sumter Flag, It was given to my Husband Major Anderson after the evacuation in 1861 and he took it with him when in 1865 he was sent there by the Government to re-raise the Flag with appropriate ceremonies.
>
> It is now, and has been ever since in my possession..." [22]

Thus, until 1902, the War Department had nothing in its files about the Fort Sumter flags except Townsend's 1883 recollections. Mrs. Anderson's statement was added to the files in 1902, but the Townsend/Anderson correspondence of 1863 would not be added until 1905, although it probably existed somewhere in the Department's letter books. However, this information was not included in the Fort Sumter flag file, nor was any other war-time information. The Department was relying entirely upon the memories of Townsend and Mrs. Anderson.

4. The Brooklyn Reunion, 1895

Stewart Woodford's letter inquiring about the location of the Fort Sumter flags had brought the usual response that they were in the possession of the family. (see preceding section) Woodford then apparently contacted Mrs. Anderson and persuaded her to allow the flag to be brought to the reunion of the Survivors of the Veterans of the Department of the South and the South Atlantic Squadron, which was being held on the thirtieth anniversary of the re-raising of the flag at Fort Sumter. Woodford, as Gillmore's chief of staff, had been in charge of the details of the 1865 flag raising, and it was perhaps this position which enabled him to persuade Mrs. Anderson to release the flag for the reunion, which was held in Brooklyn on April 14, 1895. [23]

The Brooklyn Eagle's coverage of the reunion included the following on the flag:

> "...It was only a flag, tattered, dirty with the smoke of battle and torn here and there with bullets, but in the hotel of St. George last night it created unbound enthusiasm among men who had

fought under it and for it...

The occasion was extremely interesting marking, as it did, the thirty-fourth anniversary of the surrender of Fort Sumter - the actual beginning of the war - and the thirtieth anniversary of the restoration of the flag at the fort, which marked the virtual closing of the war...

A picturesque and pathetic interest was added to the celebration by the presence of the flag that was at Fort Sumter at the surrender of the garrison by General Anderson and rehoisted by him some years later. The precious bit of bunting, with its ragged, storm swept edges and bullet retches, was given the place of honor on the stage behind the principal table at dinner. It was loaned for the occasion by Mrs. Anderson, the general's widow, and was conveyed to Brooklyn under the close guardianship of six of the Anderson zouaves..." [24]

Two other accounts, one by an eyewitness and the other secondary, also noted this particular event. Colonel Nicholas Smith included an account by Henry Clay Trumbull in a 1903 publication:

"...Thirty years after that new upraising of the old flag at Sumter, on April fourteenth, 1895, there was a gathering in Brooklyn, New York, of soldiers and

sailors who had served in war time in the vicinity of Fort Sumter, in the successful effort to rest that flag in its place. Every officer and man present had battled and endured in the trenches of the sea islands, or had done service in the vessels of the navy before Charleston harbor or off Fort Sumter. General Stewart L. Woodford, afterwards our Minister to Spain, presided. That identical flag, which had been lowered by General Anderson in 1861, and raised by him again in 1865, and which had not afterwards been seen in public since it was wrapped about his coffin in 1871, was once more exhibited, by the favor of Mrs. Anderson, who had it in keeping. It was stretched across the platform behind the patriotic speakers. Its rents from shot and shell were more eloquent than Ceasar's gaping wounds, telling their story by their "poor dumb mouths." It was accompanied to that gathering, at the special request of Mrs. Anderson, by members of the old Anderson's Zouaves as a body guard of honor. As one and another of the officers who spoke pointed to that old flag, and reminded us all of what it had stood for, and of what it had cost, in those four years, to restore it to its rightful supremacy,

> the scene was dramatic and impressive. All realized the worth of that flag, and the value of the efforts to restore its supremacy (Henry Clay Trumbull, Army Chaplain, 1895)..." [25]

Peleg D. Harrison, writing in 1906, noted:

> "...On the thirty-fourth anniversary of the evacuation, April 14, 1895, the flag was exhibited, through the courtesy of Mrs. Anderson, who had it in keeping, at a gathering in Brooklyn, New York, of soldiers and sailors who had served during the war, in the vicinity of Fort Sumter. The flag was accompanied to that gathering by members of the old Anderson Zouaves, as a body-guard of honor, at the special request of Mrs. Anderson..." [26]

Unfortunately, there is little descriptive detail in these accounts of real use. The flag was described as tattered and dirty, and it was placed across the platform behind the speakers.

However, it might be considered that by 1895 the post flag had been in general use in the Army for eighteen years, and a flag as large as the surviving garrison flag might have elicited some comment about its size. The fact that such a comment was not made might by this time have

some significance. The reference to its "storm swept edges" is also interesting, as is the comment that it was torn "here and there with bullets." If the flag was put up behind the speaker's platform, it would have had to have been in relatively good structural condition. If the damage to the surviving garrison flag is the result of ultraviolet damage in service rather than long term rot, the garrison flag might not have been in the right condition to hang in 1895. Presumably whichever flag was used was tacked up or pinned. At least this seems to have been the prevailing practice in museums of the period. While the garrison flag shows no evidence of tacks or pins, the flag may now be in such poor condition that the evidence is gone. On the other hand, the storm flag does have one staple in the lead 13 inches up from the bottom and a number of pins in the field near the stars. Unfortunately, it is not possible to know whether these are survivals from the 1895 reunion or from later display in the War Department, the Pentagon or by the National Park Service. Chalmers Roberts article, written only three years after the reunion, implies that it was the

storm flag that was displayed in Brooklyn, as well as at Anderson's funeral and in 1865 at Fort Sumter.[27] While at least the funeral and reunion episodes seem logical for the storm flag, without more concrete evidence it is not possible to say with certainty which flag was displayed.

5. The Chalmers Roberts Article, 1898

Although this article has been touched on before, it might be useful to analyze its content more thoroughly and more importantly, to indicate its significance.

Roberts apparently heard that Mrs. Anderson was residing in Washington, and evidently had prior knowledge that the flags were in her possession. He went to Washington to meet her and "...to touch the tattered folds of this glorious "Old Glory" and to hear from her the story of its experiences..."

At the time Roberts came to Washington, the flag "...spends more than half its time in the vaults of a safe deposit company, and is only taken out on occasion, to be kept the while very closely in the care of its owner..."

Roberts described the flag, which he obviously saw, as follows:

> "...It is not a fine flag, but of course meshed, strong bunting, made to wrestle with the storm winds and stout from the start, even though its makers little thought that it would have to bear the first assaults of a war between its own

> people. There was need of a strong wind to bear it out fully from the staff, it is so large, being ten feet wide by fifteen feet long. Still, its coloring was good, and is bright even now, and but for its pitiful holes and tatters, would yet be a gorgeous symbol of freedom in the sunlight aloft..."

Roberts' description of the flags' size, plus his reference to storm winds, might indicate that he was describing the storm flag. His next paragraph dispels any doubts of which flag he was describing:

> "...There were two flags at Fort Sumter which had been carried there by Major Anderson when he evacuated Fort Moultrie; one known as the Garrison flag, and the other the Storm flag. The finer garrison flag, used in fair weather, is not the flag of Sumter. Bad weather during the April of 1861 gave this good fortune to its coarser companion, and while Mrs. Anderson keeps both of the good flags in company, it is the storm flag which will always be the valued relic, and which some day should come into the care of the government, to be kept with those things it holds most worthy of watchful preservation..."[28]

Mrs. Anderson's information, published by

Roberts, was the first definitive statement, and is the only definitive statement ever made by anyone who was either associated with the events at Fort Sumter or who was closely associated with someone who was, that specifically stated which flag actually flew over the fort during the bombardment. By the time Roberts interviewed Mrs. Anderson, the flags had been in family possession for thirty-seven years. The flag had always been a "sacred relic" to Anderson.[29] His wife regarded it the same way.

Roberts went on to note that the flag had been out of Mrs. Anderson's hands only once since Anderson's funeral; to the veteran's reunion in Brooklyn. He also mentioned that "...Before Major Anderson's death the flag had been prominent in several celebrations, and was an appropriate pall when its defender was buried at West Point..." [30]

Thus far, Roberts' article had presented facts which could be independently verified or for which contemporary information at least allowed an inference. However, some of his other statements were either wrong, or more often, simply not proveable.

First, he indicated that when Anderson returned

to New York, he included the flags on his garrison returns. As has been noted, there is no way to prove this. He also indicated that the Secretary of War "...sent back the flags with the statement that they could be in no better keeping than in the hands of the man who had so gallantly defended them..." Again, there is no documentary evidence from the Secretary of War to prove this, though Anderson's 1863 letter to Townsend indicated that something of the kind had happened. [31]

Roberts also indicated that the flags had spent all four years in the vaults of the Metropolitan Bank. Once again, from evidence previously presented, it would appear that while the flags were in the vault part of the time, they did not spend all four years there.

Roberts also states that the flag, presumably, that is, the storm flag, was re-raised over Sumter in 1865. If this author's memory of the missing photograph is any indication, it was the garrison flag. Finally, Roberts indicates that the flag flew from the old Fort Moultrie flagstaff, which had been erected by General Moultrie during the revolution. As has already been demonstrated, this too is wrong.

It should be remembered, however, that these questionable details all occured at a time when Anderson was alive and when primary responsibility for the flags rested in his hands rather than his wife's. Mrs. Anderson never went to Fort Moultrie prior to the war, visited Fort Sumter only briefly in 1861, [32] and had nothing to do with the transfer of the flags to Anderson or his accounting for them on the garrison returns. Therefore, all the information she communicated to Roberts on these points was second-hand. She evidently did attend the 1865 flag raising, though the events may have been foggy in her memory. She did not attend her husband's funeral, but certainly she would have known which flag she had loaned for the veterans reunion only three years before. Given the importance attached to the flags by her husband and herself, she certainly would have known which flag flew over the fort during the bombardment.

The only serious problem with the Roberts article is the illustration of the flag which accompanied it (Figure 27). The flag depicted is so obviously different from either of the two surviving flags that it must be viewed with

considerable suspicion. Beyond that, it is obviously different from the flags in the Union Square photographs (Figures 22 and 23) and in the Leslie's and Memorial War Book sketches (Figures 24 and 25). Not only is the star pattern completely different, but the flag carries thirty-two rather than thirty-three stars. It should be noted, however, that the two stars at top and bottom appear to have been added as an afterthought, the canton rests on a red stripe, rather than a white stripe as prescribed in the regulations, and there are only eleven stripes on the flag. The two missing stripes, portions of which are at the bottom, are lined up in such a way that had they been intact, the bolt rope would have been too short. The rope itself is very heavy, and there is no lead at all. That Roberts did in fact see a flag is indicated by the fact that he picked up on the triangular reinforcement piece. In all probability the sketch is a composite of both flags. The star at top and bottom, and the vertical rows of five equidistant stars remind one more of the garrison than the storm pattern. The two missing stripes are reminiscent of both the missing sections from the garrison flag and the tattered stripe

of the storm flag. The section of stripe split off from the top stripe is like that on the garrison flag, and the fact that the canvas reinforcing piece of the lower section of the garrison flag was covered with a patch may be the reason that none appears on the Roberts drawing. The detachment of the same piece from the stripe on the storm flag may also explain this feature. The large hole just below the canton on Roberts' drawing may reflect the patched area of the garrison flag. However, the overall proportions of Roberts' flag are more like the storm flag, and while neither flag has extensive holes in the canton, those in the storm flag are far more obvious than those in the garrison flag. In addition, Roberts picked up on the large hole just forward and below the canton on the storm flag which is also depicted in the Leslie's sketch. In sum, Roberts' drawing is a poor source. He may have made only rough sketches at Mrs. Anderson's house, or he may have drawn the flag from memory. Possibly he himself was not responsible for the sketch.

The Chalmers Roberts piece was the only article ever published devoted exclusively to the Fort Sumter flags. It was the only time that any

member of the Anderson family told the full story of the flags as known to them, and coming as it did from Mrs. Anderson, the general story she told was probably that told to her by her husband. The reverence with which the flags were held in the Anderson household, particularly by General Anderson, would have tended to insure that the "right" flag was remembered. The weak points of the article seem due to Mrs. Anderson trying to fill in points with which she was not personally familiar, and in the case of the drawing, to sloppiness on the part of either Roberts or another illustrator.

The entire article appears as Appendix 3 to this paper.

6. Transfer of the Flags to the War Department, 1905

Mrs. Anderson died on February 25, 1905. Henry E. Burnham wrote to the Secretary of War on March 6 wanting to know if the Fort Sumter flag was now to be placed in the War Department, "...the statement having been made that this would be done, I understand, after her death..." [33] On March 7 the War Department replied that at that time, they did not know what disposition would be made of the flag, but that it did not appear that the War Department was authorized to demand that it be returned to its custody. [34]

On March 16, Sophie C. Anderson, one of the daughters, wrote to President Theodore Roosevelt:

> "...In my mother's will she says:" I desire that the dear old Sumter flags be given back to the Country their proper custodian when I am no more."
>
> We, her children, remembering her great confidence in your judgement, her unbounded admiration of your character and her conviction that you always did and said the right thing - venture now to ask what your interpretation of this wish is...
>
> Where shall we place these flags,

> to Her so precious, which have been in our keeping- given to my Father by the Government on his return from Fort Sumter in 1861?..." [35]

William Loeb, Jr., Secretary to the President, sent Miss Anderson's letter to Secretary of War William Howard Taft, with the request from the President that he give a report on it as well as advice. In turn, F.L. Ainsworth, the Military Secretary, made up the following memorandum for Taft:

> "...The only official record that has been found showing the disposition made of the Fort Sumter flag of 1861, is contained in a statement furnished October 8, 1883, by Brigadier General E.D. Townsend, U.S.A. retired (formerly Adjutant General of the Army) of which the following is a copy:
>
> > "Prior to April 14, 1865, when the ceremony of hoisting the flag over the ruins of Fort Sumter was performed, the flag was in the custody of General Robert Anderson, and it is believed to be now in the possession of his family."
>
> Under date of April 19, 1902, Mrs. E.B. Anderson, widow of General Robert Anderson, writing from this city, advised the

Department with regard to the flag, as follows:

> "It was given to my husband - Major Anderson - after the evacuation in 1861, and he took it with him in 1865 when he was sent there by the Government to reraise the flag with appropriate ceremonies.
>
> "It is now and has been ever since in my possession."

In this connection, it is proper to remark that, in the part of the will of the late Mrs. Anderson, quoted within by her daughter, Miss Sophie C. Anderson, the language indicates a plurality of flags, but this office has no knowledge of any flag connected with the history of Fort Sumter other than the one to which General Townsend and Mrs. Anderson refer in the statements above quoted.

It is presumed, however, that the two companies forming the garrison of the fort at the time of the surrender had their regulation supply of guidons, and there may also have been more than one garrison flag at the post. Some of these standards, if not all, probably constitute the collection which is mentioned in the will, and which it is proposed to place at the disposal of the Government.

> As all flags or colors that were in any way associated with the defense of Fort Sumter possess a peculiar interest, it is recommended that the Government accept the custody and care of the flags in question, in accordance with the desire expressed in the will of Mrs. Anderson. It seems that if the donation be accepted the War Department would be the natural custodian of the flags..." [36]

This report, along with Miss Anderson's letter, was returned to Loeb on March 20. Before the President's office could draft a formal reply, Larz Anderson, Mrs. Anderson's great nephew, wrote directly to the Secretary of War:

> "...My great aunt, Mrs. Robert Anderson, the widow of Major Anderson of Fort Sumter, expressed a desire before she died a little while ago, to return to the custody of the Country the Fort Sumter flag which had been presented to General Anderson by the Country many years ago. My cousins, the Misses Anderson, are anxious to act according to this wish, but, of course, desire to return it to the Department to the end that it may be most appreciated, and so may I ask you to be so good, when you have the time to give, to appoint a moment when I may ask your advice on the matter..." [37]

Although the Anderson daughters may have thought the double-barrelled approach to be the most effective, it was in fact unnecessary. On March 16, Roosevelt had replied to Miss Anderson's original letter, acknowledging its receipt and promising to take up the matter with the Secretary of War. He then noted: "...It seems that those flags should be put under glass and then kept either in the White House or the War Department..." [38]

On March 20, Roosevelt wrote again, enclosing the Secretary of War's memorandum:

> "...The enclosed report explains itself. If you will have the flags sent here, I shall arrange that they be kept in the War Department. I very deeply appreciate the chance of having them put there..." [39]

Sophie Anderson replied to the President's letter on March 24:

> "...I thank you for your letters of March 16th & 20th & for the interest you have taken in the disposition of the Fort Sumter flags..
>
> We now leave them with you - the storm & garrison flag - in the box in which they have been kept since the year 1863.

I enclose copies of two letters which of course, Mr. President, you will not have time to read, but which if you approve, it might be well to have kept at the War Department, in case of any question which might arise as to these being the original Sumter flags.

Thanking you again on the part of my Sister & myself for your kindness in giving this matter your personal attention, I remain

Yours with great respect,
Sophie C. Anderson " [40]

The letters Miss Anderson had enclosed were copies of the Anderson/Townsend correspondence of 1863. In addition, Miss Anderson left the following statement:

"Washington
March 24th, 1905

These two flags- storm and garrison - have only twice been out of our possession since the year 1863. Once when it was placed on our Father's bier at his expressed wish - and again when it was loaned to General Stuart Woodford for a celebration in Brooklyn on the Fort Sumter anniversary when he <u>himself</u> cared for it and brought it back to us.

Sophie C. Anderson
Maria L. Anderson " [41]

Thus, the flags were now in the custody of the government, but exactly where they would be kept was a question still to be settled. The same day the flags were received, Taft wrote to Larz Anderson that he had also received the communications from the Misses Anderson that had passed through the President, as well as a letter from Colonel Anson Mills at West Point.[42]

The Mills letter had been written at the instance of another Anderson daughter, Mrs. Eba Anderson Lawton, who was living in New York. He had received a telegram from her about the disposition of the flags and Anderson's swords, and noted:" ...She is anxious that they should come to West Point..." Mills also expressed his own wish that the flags go to Military Academy.[43] Mills' letter had been written directly to Loeb, and Loeb in turn informed Taft that "...The President thinks the Anderson flags should go to West Point. He wishes to know if there is any objection to this course..."[44]

Taft informed Larz Anderson:

"...The President suggests that you and

> the Misses Anderson meet me at my office at some time convenient for you all, to discuss the question. There will of course be no objection to the flag being sent to West Point, or if you prefer it, putting it in the large room of the War Department where there are many other valuable relics of the Civil War, including the table upon which the capitulation at Appomattox was signed..." [45]

Although neither Taft nor the President had any objection to the flags being sent to West Point, the two Anderson sisters in Washington definitely did, for reasons that would not become apparent until 1911. On the 24th Sophie Anderson wrote to Taft:

> "...My cousin Mr. Larz Anderson has just sent us your letter and we hasten to tell you that there is no question as to the disposition of the Sumter flags as that point has already been settled by the President at our earnest request. They go to the War Department which is perfectly satisfactory to us.
>
> I regret I did not write my cousin sooner of our decision and thus saved him and you some trouble..." [46]

Sophie Anderson addressed another letter to the

President on the same subject:

> "...There is no question as to the disposition of the flags and I have so written to the Secretary of War in answer to aletter which he wrote to my cousin.
>
> You Mr. President, have most kindly and wisely decided the question for us at our earnest request and as the Executors of my Mother's will, we ask that you kindly see as you suggested that they be cared for as they should be at the War Department..." [47]

Obviously, the question of the disposition of the flags had touched a nerve. Taft evidently decided to conclude the matter quickly. On March 25, he wrote Sophie Anderson:

> "...I am just in receipt of your letter, from which I understand that the President has advised you to turn the Sumter flags of your father over to the War Department, and that you acquiese in the action of the War Department in placing the flags in the reception room of the Department with a suitable legend upon them, where the many members of the public who visit the War Department may have full opportunity to look upon these most interesting historical relics.
>
> On behalf of the War Department and the Government, I hereby tender you and your family grateful thanks for the return of these evidences of your father's heroism, which the Department feels honored in being able to display to an

interested public..." [48]

The next day, the Washington Sunday Star announced the accession:

"Fort Sumter's Flags
Recent Interesting Acquisitions
by the War Department

Secretary Taft yesterday received other interesting relics of the war of the rebellion. These are the Union flags that were displayed at Fort Sumter, Charleston, when it fell into the hands of the Confederates in the spring of 1861 and marked the actual beginning of hostilities between the north and south. General Anderson, who commanded the fortress at the time, retained possession of the flags up to the time of his death, and they were among the cherished possessions of Mrs. Anderson and her children. They have now been turned over to the War Department, in accordance with the wishes of Mrs. Anderson as expressed just before her death recently.

Secretary Taft has directed that the historic flags be placed on exhibition in his reception rooms, together with the Appomattox table and other momentoes of the Civil War." [49]

On the 28th, Taft finally had a chance to

inspect the flags and he invited the press in for the occasion. The Evening Star wrote:

" To Be Cased In Glass
Preservation of Colors over
Fort Sumter when Surrendered
in 1861.

The United States colors that waved over Fort Sumter at the time of its surrender to the Confederate Army at Charleston, in April, 1861, and which were afterward raised over that fort on its recapture by the Union forces in April, 1864, were spread out on the floor of the reception room of the Secretary of War this morning for the inspection of Secretary Taft and other officials. There are two of these flags. One is a garrison flag - the largest known to the service - and the other is a post flag - somewhat smaller. In both flags the union is in a fair state of preservation, but the remaining portions are tattered and torn and held together simply by a mass of threads.

These standards were kept in the possession of Major (afterward Gen.) Anderson, who commanded the fort at the time of its surrender, up to the time of his death and were since retained by his widow up to the time of her death a few months ago. In the will of Mrs. Anderson it was provided that the historic

> flags should be turned over to the War Department for safe keeping and preservation. In accordance with that provision of her will, her daughters, who were made her executors, transferred the flags to Secretary Taft last Saturday, as stated in Sunday's Star.
>
> Secretary Taft has directed that the flags be wrapped up at their full length and placed in a frame case with a glass front, as was done in the case of the United States flag that was placed over the body of President Lincoln when it was removed from Washington, and, like that flag, the Sumter flag will be displayed in the reception room of the Secretary of War. The Misses Anderson, who have presented these flags to the government, are now residents of this city, as is also their cousin, Mr. Larz Anderson." [50]

Thus, within the space of about two weeks, the transactions were completed and the flags returned to the government. An interesting point to be noted is that while both the Anderson sisters and the newspapers made it clear that there were two flags, garrison and storm, no one differentiated as to their roles in the bombardment. Even the one letter from Sophie Anderson describing the flags as garrison and storm switched from the plural to the singular without explanation. The War

Department's file had previously not included that information, and now, even with the flags in hand, the Department still had no way of knowing which flag had been used during the bombardment, which one had been saluted, or in short, which one should be considered the flag of Fort Sumter. The Sunday and Evening Star were just as confused, giving the impression that both flags were displayed during the bombardment. Obviously, the papers were getting their information from the military men on the spot, who had no more way of knowing the truth than the papers had. It was at this time also, that the storm flag was first designated a "post flag," which was at that time, the correct military term for that size flag. In sum, there seems to have been some speculation and not much hard information on the flags when they arrived in the War Department. The Anderson sisters were little help. Their vagueness on the subject indicates that they probably did not know themselves which flag was the one that had flown during the bombardment. This point should be kept in mind in subsequent discussions of the history of the flags.

Notes to Part D

1. Doubleday, Reminiscenses, p. 177.

2. New York Commercial Advertizer, April 3, 1872.

3. J.W. Applegate to Hon. Robert W. Davis, April 12, 1902, RG 94, Letters Received, A.G.O., File 4170, M-689, R-232, NA.

4. New York Sun, April 4, 1872.

5. New York Commercial Advertizer, April 3, 1872.

6. New York Evening Express, April 3, 1872.

7. New York Standard, April 3, 1872.

8. New York Herald, April 4, 1872.

9. New York Commercial Advertizer, April 3, 1872.

10. Seymour to Mrs. Anderson, November 4, 1876, Anderson Papers, Library of Congress.

11. J.S. Glasscock to Mrs. Anderson, April 20, 1894, Anderson Papers, Library of Congress.

12. Chalmers Roberts, "The Glorious Flag of Fort Sumter, " p. 233.

13. RG 92, CCF, Box 1093

14. Ibid.

15. RG 94, Letters Received, A.G.O.,File 4170, M-689, R-232, NA. Cited Hereinafter as RG 94,LR, File 4170.

16. RG 94, LR, File 4170.

17. Ibid.

18. Ibid.

19. Woodford to Secretary of War, April 2,1894, Ibid.

20. Applegate to Robert W. Davis, April 12, 1902, Ibid.

21. Henry P. McCain to Mrs. Robert Anderson, April 17, 1902, Ibid.

22. Mrs. Robert Anderson to Assistant Adjutant General, April 19, 1902, Ibid.

23. Trip of the Oceanus, p. 46; Brevet Brigadier General Stwart L. Woodford, "The Story of Fort Sumter," Personal Recollections of the War of the Rebellion. New York Commandery of the Loyal Legion of the United States (New York: New York Commandery, 1891)

24. Brooklyn Eagle, April 14, 1895.

25. Colonel Nicholas Smith, Our Nation's Flag in History and Incident (Milwaukee: The Young Churchman Co., 1903) pp. 117-118.

26. Peleg D. Harrison, The Stars and Stripes and Other Flags, p. 188.

27. Roberts, p. 233.

28. Ibid.

29. Anderson to Townsend, September 17, 1863. RG 94, LR, File 4170.

30. Roberts, p. 233.

31. Anderson to Townsend, September 17, 1863. RG 92, LR, File 4170.

32. Roberts, pp. 234-235.

33. Burnham to Secretary of War, March 6, 1905. RG 94,LR, File 4170.

34. Ainsworth to Burnham, March 7, 1905, RG 94, LR, File 4170.

35. Sophie C. Anderson to Roosevelt, March 16, 1905, RG 94, LR, File 4170.

36. Loeb to Taft, March 16, 1905; Ainsworth to Taft, March 18, 1905, Ibid.

37. Larz Anderson to Taft, March 23,1905, Ibid.

38. Roosevelt to Sophie C. Anderson, March 16, 1905, Lloyd W. Smith Papers, Morristown National Historical Park. Copy in Accession File 08, Fort Sumter National Monument.

39. Roosevelt to Sophie C. Anderson, March 20, 1905, Lloyd W. Smith Papers, Ibid.

40. Sophie C. Anderson to Roosevelt, March 24, 1905, RG 94, LR, File 4170.

41. Sophie C. Anderson and Maria L. Anderson to Roosevelt, March 24, 1905, Ibid.

42. Taft to Larz Anderson, March 24, 1905, Ibid.

43. Mills to Loeb, March 23, 1905, Ibid.

44. Loeb to Taft, March 24, 1905, Ibid.

45. Taft to Larz Anderson, March 24, 1905, Ibid.

46. Sophie C. Anderson to Taft, March 24, 1905, Ibid.

47. Sophie C. Anderson to Roosevelt, Friday evening(probably March 24, 1905), Ibid.

48. Taft to Sophie C. Anderson, March 25, 1905, Ibid.

49. Washington Sunday Star, March 27, 1905.

50. Washington Evening Star, March 28, 1905.

PART E

THE FORT SUMTER FLAGS

1905 - 1982

The Fort Sumter flags remained in the War Department and its successor, the Department of Defense, for forty-nine years. In 1954, the flags were transferred to the National Park Service for use at Fort Sumter National Monument. The flags remained at Fort Sumter until October, 1980, when they were transferred to the Conservation Lab at Harper's Ferry for conservation treatment and study.

During the War Department/Department of Defense period, there was little documentary information generated on the flags. Surprisingly, not one photograph from this period could be found. There is considerable documentation during the period 1954 to the present, including the first photographs taken of the garrison flag since 1861, and the first photographs ever taken of the storm flag. Most importantly, there is an emerging pattern traceable through this period, beginning in 1911 and emerging full

blown in 1958, of giving to the garrison flag the credit of being the flag flown over Fort Sumter during the bombardment.

As of this writing, the flags are in the Conservation Lab at Harper's Ferry.

1. The Flags in the War Department/Department of Defense, 1905-1954

Although the Fort Sumter flags would remain in the War Department and its successor, the Department of Defense, for forty-nine years, there is extremely little information on them during this long period, and no photographs of them on display could be found.

Peleg D. Harrison's 1906 publication was probably the first after the newspaper reports mentioned in the previous section, to note that the flags were in the War Department. [1]

In 1911, the New York Sunday Times ran a story of the flag of Fort Sumter. It was described at that time as:

> "...hanging just below the ceiling of the big reception room of the Secretary of War, in the State, War and Navy Department building in Washington, in a glass case which serves to protect it from the ravages of dust and time. This flag, which is coming with the passing of the years to hold a unique place among the nation's trophies as perhaps the most famous relic next after the

> Constitution of the United States, is seen by but few of the thousands of tourists who "see Washington" every year in increasing numbers..." [2]

Placed under the flag, on a card, was the following inscription:

> "This flag floated over Fort Sumter, S.C., during the bombardment, April 12 and 13, 1861, and upon the evacuation of the fort, April 14, 1861, was saluted and lowered by Maj. Robert Anderson, 1st U.S. Artillery, commanding.
>
> On April 14, 1865, Brevet Maj.Gen. Anderson raised this same flag and planted it upon the ruins of Fort Sumter, when it was saluted by 100 guns, and by a national salute from every fort and battery that fired upon Sumter."

The article then went on to describe the flag as follows:

> "...The flag itself is a 20-foot regulation army flag, and is known as the "garrison flag." In the glass case with it is a smaller flag, known as the "post flag," which also flew over Fort Sumter during the bombardment, and at the time of the surrender; but it is the former whose hauling down indicated that surrender, and it is this flag which is the "Fort Sumter flag" of history..." [3]

The Sunday Times article is significant because it is the first to specifically identify the garrison flag as the flag of Fort Sumter. The newspaper, in turn seems to have gotten its information from the flags' label. However, when queried two months after publication of the article about the authorship of the label, Ainsworth replied: "...Nothing has been found of record to show who prepared the inscription on the card that hangs below the flags..." [4] From the language of the label, however, it is obvious that much of it, including the entire second paragraph, was a paraphrase of Stanton's 1865 order for the re-raising. When the flags had been turned over to the government in 1905, Taft had written Sophie Anderson that he understood "...that you acquiesce...in placing the flags in the reception room of the Department with a suitable legend upon them..." indicating that it would be the War Department that would prepare the label. [5] Keeping in mind that the War Department did not have any information in its file that differentiated between the roles of the two flags, and also that it was apparently

unaware of Chalmers Roberts' article, it appears that the War Department personnel who prepared the label relied heavily on Stanton's order, whatever little there was in the file and on their own interpretation that because the garrison flag was the main flag of the garrison, it would have been the one flown during the bombardment. There is no evidence that they had anything other than these sources to work with.

The fact that the storm flag was designated a "post flag" at this time is an indication of War Department help in preparing the Sunday Times article. In this case, Department personnel were using the correct 1911 designation for this size flag, rather than the correct historic term. However, the fact that the storm flag is also described at this time as also having flown from the fort during the bombardment is an indication of the confusion that then existed regarding the roles of the flags. It is also possible that it may be the remains of the story told by Mrs. Anderson and apparently "known" by others before her, that it was the storm flag that flew during the bombardment.

It is also significant that the Sunday Times stated that it was the hauling down of the flag that symbolized the surrender, and for that reason it was the garrison flag that should be considered the flag of Fort Sumter. If it was "known" at that time that it was in fact the garrison flag that had been saluted on April 14, 1861 and re-raised on April 14, 1865, this attitude would be in harmony with the facts. This particular point of view, however, first dimly noticeable in 1865, had now reached a point where it was easy for unknowing War Department personnel to make the transition to believing that the flag saluted was also the one that flew during the bombardment. Thus, by an interesting reverse logic, applied by a person or persons with highly imperfect knowledge of the flags' histories, the garrison flag in 1911 began receiving all the attention and the storm flag became merely a companion.

Ainsworth's response to the question of who prepared the label, while useful in the discussion above, was not the result of a question of which was the "right" flag. Instead, it was in answer to a query by Eba Anderson Lawton, who had dis-

covered from the Sunday Times article that her name was not on the list of donors. She was investigating the matter through Robert Lincoln, and the War Department quickly found itself in the midst of a family squabble.[6]

In April, 1911, Mrs. Lawton wrote to the War Department on the subject. Though her letters are not in the War Department files, her rough drafts exist in the Anderson papers, and the War Department memoranda and answers are in both collections. It seems that Mrs. Lawton, who was Anderson's oldest daughter, had written that year to Assistant Secretary of War Robert Shaw Oliver to get a copy of the inscription on the label. She had found, to her shock and dismay, that it indicated that the flag had been presented by the daughters of General Anderson, Sophie and Maria Anderson. The omission of Mrs. Lawton's name was evidently the result of a sibling rivalry. Mrs. Lawton asserted that while she and her mother had often talked about where the flags should go, whether to the War Department or West Point, in fact Mrs. Anderson had never included any mention of the flags in her will. She also said that after her mother's death she had attempted to discuss the alternative sites with her sisters, only to discover that

they and President Roosevelt had already determined upon the War Department. She said that she had accepted this, and because she was ill for many months afterward, had not pursued the matter further. She said that she had assumed that the flag had been given in her mother's name, and was appalled to find that her sisters had taken the credit. She had written to them several times with no satisfaction, and finally, at the urging of Robert Lincoln, took up the matter with the Secretary of War.[7] The War Department memorandum resulting from an investigation of the matter simply indicated the chronological events of the accession, and concluded that no record had been found of Mrs. Lawton's name in the War Department except in connection will Colonel Mills letter from West Point.[8] On May 10, 1911, Secretary of War Dickenson wrote to Lincoln:

> "...Inasmuch as the flag was in the possession of the Misses Anderson and was by them delivered to the Secretary of War...I see no reason why I should reopen the matter and make a change in it, especially as Mrs. Lawton does not show that she at the time had any control over the flag. The fact shown by the record is that it was presented to the War Department

> by Miss Sophie C. and Miss Maria L. Anderson. No question was raised then by the Government as to their right to dispose of it, and it was accepted from them. The inscription merely records this fact..." [9]

This whole episode explains why there was such haste in committing the flags to the War Department in the first place. Evidently, the two Anderson sisters wanted to both keep their sister out on the donation process and at the same time make sure that the flags stayed close to them in Washington, rather than close to her at West Point. Mrs. Lawton got her revenge shortly thereafter with the publication of her book Robert Anderson and Fort Sumter 1861. In it she included the War Department inscription on the flags, but omitted her sisters' names as the donors. [10]

Later in 1911, a Grand Army of the Republic leaflet described the flag as "...now deposited in the office of the Secretary of War in Washington enclosed in a handsome mahogany case, carefully folded and tied with bands so as to show as much of the flag and as little of the bullet holes as possible..." [11]

A search of the photograph collections of the National Archives and the Library of Congress, including the HABS survey photographs, did not reveal a single photograph of the flags on display in the War Department, either as a primary subject or in the background during another event. All of the photographs were either taken before the flag arrived, after the building was vacated or else show only a small portion of the reception room.[12]

There is no indication that the flag left the building, however, until the War Department transferred to the Pentagon in 1942.[13] During this period, the flag was probably inaccessible to researchers, for the only publication to include a purported illustration of it, George Alexander Ross's Old Glory, published in 1913, includes a drawing of a flag with a star pattern totally unlike that on either of the two surviving flags or even on Chalmers Roberts' drawing.[14] (Figure 28)

Once in the Pentagon, the flags were displayed in a glass case in an alcove along with the flag which had covered Abraham Lincoln's casket on the trip from Washington to Springfield, Illinois.[15]

There were two cards on the flags, one of which read "Storm Flag" and the other "Garrison Flag." The brass or bronze pedestal standing nearby had the following inscription:

> " The Garrison Flag, the one to the left in this case, floated over Fort Sumter, South Carolina during the bombardment April 12 and 13, 1861." [16]

Thus, at some point over the years, the inscription had been considerably shortened and changed to reflect the idea that it was the garrison flag that had flown during the bombardment. This evolution of thinking within the War Department, from no information at all in 1905, to an interpretation that the garrison flag was <u>the</u> flag in 1911, had by the 1950's become quite literally cast in bronze.

In the spring or late summer of 1954, the Department of the Army decided that it needed the alcove space for other purposes, and it was decided to transfer the flags to the National Park Service. [17]

2. Transfer of the Flags to the National Park Service, 1954

Fort Sumter National Monument was established April 28, 1948.[18] For the first three years of its existence, the National Park Service was not aware that the Fort Sumter flags still survived. On June 21, 1951, however, Coordinating Superintendent Francis F. Ronalds of Morristown National Historical Park forwarded to his regional director copies of the two letters from Roosevelt to Sophie Anderson which he had found in the Lloyd W. Smith papers at that park.[19] By July 2, 1951, Superintendent William W. Luckett of Fort Sumter had seen Ronalds' memorandum and noted: "...This is the first information we have which would indicate that some of the Fort Sumter flags have been saved. Perhaps through correspondence with the Secretary of the Army at least one of these flags could be secured for our museum..."[20]

In the meantime Harold L. Peterson, then the Historical Investigation Chief for the Park Service, already was aware of the flags. As one of the

founders of the Company of Military Historians, then based in Washington, he was in contact with others in the area who were interested in military history. One of these was Colonel Virgil Ney, of the Army Historical Section. Colonel Ney had made contact with Historian Harold I. Lessum, Acting Superintendent at Fort McHenry, noting the existence of the flags in the Pentagon and promising to try to find out further details.[21] Lessum reported on February 20, 1953 that he had checked the contemporary New York newspapers, the Army and Navy Journal for 1863, Colonel Nicholas Smith's book, and Peleg Harrison's book. The thrust of his search was a first attempt to indicate whether the flags in the Pentagon were authentic. Based on his limited resources, he felt that he could not make a definitive statement, but that it was his feeling that the flag in the Pentagon probably was the one that flew over Fort Sumter. He enclosed a sketch of the flag taken from Ross's book, but warned that Ross had included no documentation for the sketch.[22] Four days later the Brooklyn Public Library sent copies of the article in the Brooklyn Eagle about the 1895 reunion,[23] and two days after

that the D.C. Public Library sent copies of the articles printed in the Washington Post when the flags were presented to the War Department in 1905.[24] On March 6, the New York Public Library wrote to indicate the existence of the Chalmers Roberts article.[25]

The Park Service's efforts at this time were directed primarily towards determining whether the Pentagon flags were the right ones. They had become aware in January of another flag at the State Historical Society of Colorado which had been claimed to have been used at Fort Sumter.[26] In a letter to the Superintendent at Fort Sumter from Daniel J. Tobin, Regional Director, Region One is was noted that it was beginning to look as if the "Colorado" flag was not the right one.[27]

In the meantime Colonel Ney had reported that the case in which the flags were kept at the Pentagon had been sealed and could not be reopened.[28] Harold Peterson was checking with Mrs. MacNaughton of the Army Historical Section to determine further details on the cased flags. She reported that that there were two flags, storm and garrison, and while the case could not be opened, it appeared that they had either 38 or 39 stars. However, it was not yet known if this was certain.[29] Peterson

had also been in contact with Hoyt W. Randolph of the Secretary of the Army's staff, and at some point they tentatively discussed transfer of the flags to the Park Service. [30]

After the flags were taken off display in early 1954 because of the need for that space, the Secretary of the Army offered the flags to the National Park Service on June 8. [31] On June 24, 1954 the Secretary of the Interior accepted. [32] Three flags were offered to the Park Service, the other one being the Lincoln casket flag. In his letter to the Secretary of the Interior, Army Secretary Robert T. Stevens described the Sumter flags as follows:

> "...The other two flags are the storm and the garrison flag, which were flown over Fort Sumter, South Carolina, during the bombardment in April of 1861 and later in April 1865 were raised above the ruins of the fort to the accompaniment of a national salute..." [33]

It is not known what Stevens' source of information was, but it is interesting that despite the bronze plaque that was displayed with the flags, the Army Secretary was still believing that both flags were flown during the bombardment and both re-raised in 1865.

3. The Flags in the National Park Service, 1954-1982

Once the flags had been transferred the Park Service faced three basic problems: disposition, preservation and documentation. To a certain degree, all of these problems still remain in limbo, but solutions satisfactory for the time were reached.

When the flags were transferred from the Army, Secretary Stevens noted: "...It seems appropriate that these flags be placed on display at Fort Sumter National Monument..." [34] This of course had been the plan all along, but for the first few months of their tenure in Park Service hands, the flags were stored in the Museum Laboratory in Washington. They had arrived there by July 15, 1954 and would not be sent on to Charleston until September. [35]

The basic holdup in the disposition of the flags was caused by the need for preservation. The flags were kept in a large display case 7½ feet long, 27 inches wide and 36 inches tall until a sufficiently dry place could be prepared at Fort Sumter. The dryness was considered to be important because moisture would destroy the

composition with which the case was hermetically sealed, and thus expose the flags to the air.[36]

Another part of the holdup came from Superintendent Luckett, who was reluctant to have the flags at Fort Sumter. He explained that the dampness at the fort had already ruined a valuable painting and he did not believe that a chance should be taken with the flags; even with the addition of a dehumidifying unit. He also doubted that the flags would be safe from vandalism because the fort was unmanned much of the time. He wanted, at the least, to have a museum specialist visit the fort and make recommendations before the flags were sent.[37]

In August, it was suggested that the flags might be placed, in their case, in the Superintendent's office in Charleston rather than at the fort.[38] Luckett agreed to this proposal and asked for instructions on care of the flags. He added:

> "...While it is true that space is available here, I doubt that the flags will be viewed by more than two or three dozen persons annually. People just do not get by the information desk downstairs. Even though the humidity is pretty high here during the Fall and Spring seasons, maybe the sealing compound will not be affected..."[39]

Luckett's suggestion that not more than two or three dozen people would see the flags each year resulted in an opinion that it would be unwise to have the flags in the superintendent's office. J. Paul Hudson, Museum Specialist suggested that the next time a museum specialist visited the Charleston area he spend several hours at Fort Sumter inspecting various rooms in the fort for use as exhibit rooms. It was Hudson's feeling that a room might be found that could be kept dry with a dehumidifying unit, and the flags could then be seen by the thousands of visitors who came to Fort Sumter.[40]

In September, the Chief of the Museum Branch wrote to the Director on the Fort Sumter flags, noting that the matter of disposition had been discussed again and it was felt that would be better to have the flags in Charleston where they could be seen than in storage elsewhere. He also noted that the Museum Branch was experimenting with a different method of displaying the flags, using a wall case. If the experiment proved successful, arrangements would be made to ship the flags to Fort Sumter. It was suggested that Superintendent Luckett might find it desireable

to loan the flags temporarily to the Charleston Museum or another safe repository where people could see them.[41]

On September 28, it was reported that the wall case had been a success. Luckett was informed that the case was on its way by truck, accompanied by Laurence Cone of the Museum Laboratory. Luckett was also advised that because the flags were made of wool, they would need continual protection against insects. "...You should have paradichlorobenzene crystals in the case at all times. The crystals may be concealed in the folds of the flags and replenished periodically..."[42]

The flags arrived late on the afternoon of September 29, 1954, barely in time for the maintenance crew to unload the case. The case was stored in "Mr. Buchanan's garage" on Sullivan's Island. For several reasons Luckett could not put the 800-pound case in his office. Beyond that, E. Milby Burton, Director of the Charleston Museum, had no room for it either and the Chamber of Commerce, which had expressed interest in the exhibit, would not promise anything definite

until the following Monday morning.[43] In a newspaper article published just after the flags arrived, Luckett was still unsure where they would be placed. He told the paper:

> "...Naturally we wish to display them where they will be seen by the most people. We are considering Fort Sumter but we are afraid the dampness of the fort will cause the sealing compounds to disintegrate and ruin the flags. Then since the fort is not manned for many hours a day, there is a chance of vandalism..."[44]

However, on Monday, October 4, 1954, Luckett transferred the flags out to Fort Sumter and stored them in a room behind the museum exhibits. He was still concerned with preservation, for he did not believe that paradichlorobenzene crystals alone would do the job. He therefore proposed to place five 8-ounce bags of "Protek-Sorb," a silica gel made by the Davison Chemical Corporation of Baltimore, inside the case. He was also still concerned with vandalism and advocated the construction of a concrete structure for housing the case and the inclusion in it of a 1/8 ton air conditioner. There is no record of a response to his proposals although the "Protek-Sorb " was used.[45]

In January, 1955, the flags were checked. They were found to be dry and apparently in the same condition as when they were received,[46] but during the period February 5-7 everything in the exhibit rooms was covered with water from the high humidity; floors, walls and exhibits. Later that month the hall ways were being sealed which Luckett hoped would eliminate 90% of the trouble.

At the same time, Luckett was still concerned about the flags:

> "...I am positive that the only sure and adequate method for taking care of these rare flags would be to house them in a small room, provided with a glass front for viewing, and equip with a small air-conditioning unit. This would eliminate all guess-work, carelessness, etc., from now on..."[47]

Again, no record has been found of responses to Luckett's suggessions.

In meantime, documentation of the objects was continuing somewhat slowly. In the news stories that ran in the Charleston papers in early October, 1954, the garrison flag was described as the one which had flown during the bombardment. Ralph Lewis, the chief of the Museum Branch was quoted as saying that it was believed that Anderson had kept the storm flag in his office.[48]

In July, 1957, Horace J. Sheely, Historian at Fort Sumter, contacted the Army's Historical Section asking their assistance in establishing the rules which prevailed at the time of the Civil War in relationship to the use of flags over forts. He stated his problem succinctly:

> "...The difficulty that we hope you can help us to solve is the failure of all the records to distinguish the roles of these two flags. Specifically, which one was flying over Fort Sumter at the time of the bombardment in April, 1861..." [49]

It should be noted that although the New York Public Library had informed Lessem in 1953 of the existence of the Chalmers Roberts article, there is no evidence that it was ever copied for Fort Sumter's files. It certainly is not in the files now. Sheely was also concerned about the varying uses of the terms "post" and "storm" flag. Sheely's answer came from Colonel D.G. Gilbert, Chief of the Lineages, Honors and Properties Division, who was only able to quote the labels and the bronze plaque which had existed when the flags were at the Pentagon. He indicated that based on the labels: "...There seems little reason to believe that the Garrison Flag was

lowered and the Storm Flag raised during the battle. However, since we are unable to furnish substantial information concerning the regulations governing the use of flags during the Civil War period, we are forwarding your letter to the Quartermaster General for reply to you..." [50]

As far as can be determined, the Quartermaster General never responded. However, Sheely was satisfied. He wrote Gilbert on August 8, 1958: "...The inscription which you quoted makes the positive distinction between the two flags that I have been looking for..." [51]

Later, Sheely wrote on what was possibly the same subject to the Smithsonian. His letter was referred to Rear Admiral William Rea Furlong of the U.S. Navy, who was engaged in research on the U.S. flag. Curator Mendel Peterson informed Sheely: "...You should hear from him shortly in reply to your questions concerning the storm and garrison flags of Fort Sumter..." [52] When Furlong finally contacted the National Park Service three years later, it was to ask basically the same questions that Sheely had. [53]

The Fort Sumter flags were photographed in their case at the fort sometime after their arrival. (Figure 29). In May, 1958, the garrison flag was spread out on the floor of the Customhouse in Charleston to be photographed. It was noted at that time that the red stripes were almost entirely missing and that the white stripes were in a similar condition, while the blue field was still intact. The photographs were needed for a book on the evolution of the American flag, probably the Quaife, Weig and Appleman volume.[54] (Figure 30) The storm flag was present during the photo session, but if it was photographed, the pictures have not survived. If the garrison flag had been photographed at Fort Sumter in 1865, this was the first time since then that it had been recorded on film. If not, it was the first time since the Union Square photograph of April 20, 1861. As of 1958, except for the poor Union Square photograph, the storm flag had not been photographed at all.

In July, 1959, the National Geographic ran a story on the U.S. flag entitled "New Stars for Old Glory." It included the photograph of the garrison flag taken in 1958 along with the Union

Square photograph of 1861, and included the story that the garrison flag had waved from the fort and had been re-raised there in 1865.[55] In 1961, Quaife, Weig and Appleman published The History of the United States Flag and included the 1958 photograph of the garrison flag. They noted that there were two flags in the fort, "...the larger, known as the Garrison Flag, and the smaller, the Post Flag (not a storm flag as often stated). The best evidence indicates that the Garrison flag was flying over the fort at the time of the bombardment, April 12-13,1861..." [56] In 1962, National Geographic published America's Historylands and included the 1958 photograph of the garrison flag with the caption: "Sumter's riddled flag with its 33 pre-secession stars was hoisted at war's end by the same officer who had struck it four years before." [57] These three publications, all coming out at the beginning of the Civil War Centennial when interest in the subject was high, were instrumental in establishing in the public mind that the garrison flag was the flag which had flown over Fort Sumter during the bombardment. The trend has continued until the present day, including the latest addition, William Rea Furlong's So Proudly We Hail, released in 1981. [58]

It must be remembered, however, that all of these books drew upon the same source, the National Park Service. The Park Service in turn drew upon one source, the bronze plaque at the Pentagon. Unfortunately, where the information on the plaque came from cannot be documented, but it seems to have been the result of an evolutionary interpretation dating back to 1911 and possibly before. It is virtually certain, however, that the Anderson daughters did not provide the information. Mrs. Anderson's statement that the flag of Fort Sumter was the storm flag seems to have been generally ignored in the process. The statement that the storm flag was kept in Anderson's office seems to be an interpretation by Ralph Lewis.

The storm flag was not photographed until 1969, when Historian Halvorson laid it out on the floor of the Fort Sumter Museum (Figure 31) It appears that neither flag was catalogued until about 1958, although the catalogue card for the garrison flag is undated.[59] In 1954, when the flags arrived at Fort Sumter, the garrison flag was described as measuring 18 X 24 feet, and with two large holes. The storm flag measured 8 ½ X 14 feet and no holes were visible, though it was "becoming frayed." [60] These accounts were from newspapers and there is no reason to

believe that the flags were in appreciably better condition in 1954 than now. Certainly a comparison of the 1959 and 1969 photographs with those recently taken at Harpers Ferry shows no appreciably visible change.

When the new museum building in Fort Sumter's Battery Huger was opened, the flags were exhibited in cases there. Two views of the storm flag(Figures 32 and 33) were taken in January of 1975 by Russ Smith, along with a view of the garrison flag in its case (Figure 34). In December, 1979, in preparation for the move to Harpers Ferry, the storm flag was removed from its case and replaced with the palmetto flag. (Figure 35)

In July, 1980, Superintendent W.P. Crawford discussed preservation of the flags with Fonda Thomsen of the Division of Museum Services at Harper's Ferry, and on July 10, Crawford forwarded Object Treatment requests for the two flags to the Branch of Conservation Laboratories. [61] A news release was prepared announcing conservation treatment for the flags, and the flags were removed from display on September 22, 1980 and shipped to Harper's Ferry. [62] They remain there now, pending completion of this report, the technical,

fiber and particle analysis and proper conservation treatment. It might be noted that in his correspondence, Superintendent Crawford did not specify that the garrison flag was flown during the bombardment, and like so many others who have attempted to deal with the problem, seems not to have been absolutely sure of the proper role of each flag in the events of April, 1861.

The two flags were photographed in both color and black and white at the National Guard Armory in Martinsburg, West Virginia the week of September 14, 1981. The black and white photographs are included at the end of this paper, the garrison flag being Figure 36 and the storm flag Figure 37. The color photographs constitute a double frontispiece to this report.

Notes to Part E

1. Harrison, p. 188.

2. New York Sunday Times, c. April 1, 1911, reprinted in Washington Morning Post, April 14, 1911.

3. Ibid.

4. Memorandum, Ainsworth to Secretary of War, June 6, 1911, RG 94, LR, File 4170.

5. Taft to Sophie C. Anderson, March 25, 1905. Ibid.

6. Eba Anderson Lawton to Robert Shaw Oliver, April 26, 1911; Robert Lincoln to Mrs. James M. Lawton, both in Anderson Papers, Library of Congress.

7. Lawton to Oliver, April 26, 1911, Anderson Papers, Library of Congress.

8. Ainsworth to Secretary of War, June 6, 1911, RG 94, LR, File 4170.

9. Dickinson to Lincoln, May 10, 1911, Anderson Papers, Library of Congress.

10. Eba Anderson Lawton, Robert Anderson and Fort Sumter, 1861 (New York: The Knickerbocker Press, 1911) p. 17.

11. Charles Otto Smith, Compiler, What Became of the Fort Sumter Flag?(Department of Pennsylvania, G.A.R., 1911)

12. War Department photographs, Library of Congress; Signal Corps Collection , National Archives.

13. The World Book Encyclopedia(Chicago: Field Enterprises Educational Corporation, 1959) Vol.18, p. 6201.

14. George Alexander Ross, Old Glory, The Story Of Our Country's Flag (New York: The Platt & Munk Co.,Inc.,1913.)

15. The Charleston Evening Post, October 2, 1954.

16. Col. D.C. Gilbert to Historian Horace J. Sheely, Jr., Fort Sumter National Monument, August 6, 1958, in Accession File 08, Fort Sumter National Monument. Cited hereinafter as Acc File 08, FSNM.

17. Undated newspaper clipping, "Sumter's Union Battle Flag is Returned to Charleston," probably Charleston, October, 1954; Charleston Evening Post, October 2, 1954.

18. Frank Barnes, Fort Sumter National Monument South Carolina , National Park Service Historical Handbook Series No. 12 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1952) p.47.

19. Ronalds to Regional Director, Region One, June 21, 1951, Acc File 08,FSNM.

20. Luckett to Regional Director, July 2, 1951, Acc File 08, FSNM.

21. Undated newspaper clipping, "Sumter's Union Battle Flag Is Returned To Charleston," c. October, 1954; Lessem to Regional Director, Region One, February 20, 1953; Daniel J. Tobin, Assistant Regional Director, Region One, To Superintendent, Fort Sumter National Monument, March 9, 1953, all in Acc File 08, FSNM.

22. Lessem to Regional Director, Region One, February 20, 1953, Ibid.

23. Louise W. Turpin, Chief, History Division, Brooklyn Public Library to Lessem, February 24, 1953, Ibid.

24. Ralph E. Thompson, Assistant Librarian, D.C. Public Library to Lessem, February 26, 1953, Ibid.

25. Paul North Rice, Chief of the Reference Department, New York Public Library to Lessem, March 6, 1953, Ibid.

26. Agnes Spring Wright, The State Historical Society of Colorado to Rock L. Comstock, Jr., Historian, FSNM, in File "Flags," FSNM.

27. Tobin to Luckett, March 16, 1953, Acc File 08, FSNM

28. Ney to Lessem, February 24, 1953, Ibid.

29. Charles W. Porter,III to Regional Director, Region One, March 16, 1953,Ibid.

30. Douglas McKay, Secretary of the Interior to Robert T. Stevens, Secretary of the Army, June 24, 1954, Ibid.

31. Stevens to McKay, June 8, 1954, Ibid.

32. McKay to Stevens, June 24, 1954,Ibid.

33. Stevens to McKay, June 8, 1954, Ibid.

34. Ibid.

35. Porter to Regional Director, Region One, July 15, 1954; Ralph H. Lewis, Chief, Museum Branch to Luckett, September 28, 1954, Ibid.

36. Porter to Regional Director, Region One, July 15, 1954, Ibid.

37. Luckett to Regional Director, Region One, July 19, 1954, Ibid.

38. Lewis to Regional Director, Region One, August 2, 1954, Ibid.

39. Luckett to Regional Director, Region One, August 12, 1954,Ibid.

40. Hudson to Director, National Park Serviee, August 16, 1954, Ibid.

41. Lewis to Regional Director, Region One, September 14, 1954, Ibid.

42. Lewis to Luckett, September 28, 1954, Ibid.

43. Luckett to Regional Director, Region One, October 7, 1954, Ibid.

44. Undated newspaper clipping, "Sumter's Union Battle Flag Is Returned to Charleston," probably Charleston, October, 1954, Ibid.

45. Luckett to Regional Director, Region One, October 7, 1954, Ibid.

46. Luckett to Davison Chemical Corporation, January 27, 1955; Luckett to Regional Director, Region One, February 10, 1955, Ibid.

47. Luckett to Regional Director, Region One, February 10, 1955, Ibid.

48. The Charleston Evening Post, October 2, 1954; Undated newspaper clipping, "Sumter's Union Battle Flag Is Returned To Charleston,"probably Charleston, October, 1954, Ibid.

49. Horace J. Sheely,Jr. to Army Historical Section, July 28, 1957, Ibid.

50. Gilbert to Sheely, August 6, 1958,Ibid.

51. Sheely to Gilbert, August 8, 1958, Ibid.

52. M.L. Peterson to Sheely, March 11, 1959, File,"Flags;"FSNM.

53. Furlong to Curator, FSNM, May 22, 1969; Paul C. Swartz, Superintendent, FSNM, June 2, 1969; Both in Acc File 08, FSNM; E.M.Lisle, Assistant Regional Director to Superintendent, FSNM, September 14, 1962, in File "Flags," FSNM.

54. The Charlotte Observer, May 8, 1958; The Charleston Evening Post, May 7, 1958, in File, "Flags," FSNM, The storm flag can be seen in these photos rolled up on a cart in the background.

55. Lonnelle Aikman,"New Stars for Old Glory," National Geographic Magazine, Vo. CXVI, No. 1, July, 1959, pp. 108-109.

56. Quaife, Weig and Appleman, pp. 128-129.

57. Merle Severy, editor, America's Historylands, Touring Our Landmarks of Liberty (Washington: National Geographic Society, 1962) p. 417.

58. Whitney Smith, Flags Through The Ages And Across The World (New York: McGraw-Hill, n.d.) p. 197; John H. Carmichael, Stars & Stripes, The Complete Story of Our Flag (Gladstone Press, 1971) p. 79; William Rea Furlong and Byron McCandless, So Proudly We Hail, The History of the United States Flag (Washington, Smithsonian Institution Press, 1981) pp. 201-202.

59. Catalogue Card, Acc.No.08, Cat.No. 08, Fort Sumter Garrison Flag; Catalogue Card, Acc. No. 8, Cat. No. 9, Fort Sumter Storm Flag, FSNM.

60. Undated newspaper clipping, "Sumter's Union Battle Flag Is Returned To Charleston," probably October, 1954, Acc File 08, FSNM.

61. Crawford to Thomsen, July 23, 1980; Object Treatment Requests, July 10, 1980, both in File "Flags," FSNM.

62. News Release, NPS, FSNM, in File "Flags," FSNM.

PART F

RED HERRINGS

FRAGMENTS OF THE FORT

SUMTER FLAGS AND SPURIOUS FLAGS

Like most wars, the Civil War had its share of souvenir hunters. To them, having a piece of the original Fort Sumter flag was very much like having a piece of the true cross. Where these fragments have survived, they can help serve as a guide to how much of the original flags may have been lost to souvenir hunters, and technical analyses of them can help serve as mutual documentation for both the flags and the fragments.

Inevitably, as the original flags remained in seclusion, it was but a short step for some from having a fragment to actually having the original flag of Fort Sumter itself. There have been a number of these rival flags over the years, and undoubtedly not all

of them are yet accounted for. Where they can be isolated, however, it is useful to do so, both to indicate the amount of faking that has occured, and to expose the fakes for what they are so that they do not trouble us again.

This section deals with those fragments and fakes that can be documented thus far.

1. Fragments of the Flags and Flagstaff

From the very beginning, numerous individuals attempted to secure a piece of the Fort Sumter flag or its flagstaff as souvenirs. Since the total number of these fragments might be considerable, it is important to divide the souvenir hunters into three groups:

Group 1- Those who asked for a piece of the flag and who were either refused or for which there is no documentation that they received a piece.

Group 2 - Those who claimed to have received a piece but for whom there is no confirming documentation in the form of a surviving fragment of flag.

Group 3 - Those who are known to have received a fragment and for whom the fragment survives.

Group 1-

Perhaps the earliest request for a piece of the Fort Sumter flag came from Commander Henry J. Hartstene, the Confederate naval officer who was in charge of transferring the garrison to the Baltic. The New York Daily Tribune reported:

> "...Commander Hartstene acted like a brother. He was very active in offers of service...He asked Capt. Doubleday to procure a small piece of our flag for him..." [1]

Unfortunately, there is no indication that Hartstene got his souvenir.

On April 19, 1861, Edwin L. Wayne of Troy, New York wrote to Anderson:

> "...Dear Sir allow me in my weak way to exprefs my approbation for Your Gallant Diffence of Fort Sumpter... also my simpathy for the suffring... May I be Permitted to ask of You for <u>Small Pease of the Galant Flag that Floated over Sumpter</u> During the Engagement..." [2]

Although Anderson's full reply is unrecorded, it is obvious from his endorsement at the top of the letter that the request was refused.

Group 2 -

This is probably the largest group of souvenir hunters. Their claims to have a piece of the Fort Sumter flag cannot be confirmed either by another

source or by the surviving fragment itself. If they did indeed have pieces of the flag, in a number of cases they appear to have been acquired second-hand. One claimed to have received a piece direct from Anderson but the Anderson papers do not confirm this.

In 1863, at the height of the boat attack controversy, a correspondent who identified himself as "C," wrote to the Army and Navy Journal:

> "...When Anderson's flag was lowered at Fort Sumter, our Spartan seventy determined to cut it into pieces, and keep the shreds as momentos 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, 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 affection of all loyal Americans..." [3]

Preble believed that the author was Surgeon

Crawford, despite his attempts to conceal his identity.[4] It certainly appears that the writer was a member of the garrison and undoubtedly an officer. This is indicated by the fact that he was visited in his home by one of Anderson's principal officers. The gulf between officers and enlisted men was wide at that time, and officers did not visit the homes of enlisted personnel. The fact that the letter was written from Philadelphia, Crawford's home, is also an indication that the writer was Crawford. In any case, "C" claimed to have a piece of the flag taken from the larger piece that belonged to his visitor.

"C's" claim that the flag was cut up was refuted by a correspondent who signed himself "S." This was undoubtedly General Truman Seymour, for the letter was written from Folly Island, South Carolina, where Seymour commanded the First Division of Gillmore's army.[5] "S" wrote:

> "..."C" is undoubtedly 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..."[6]

From this, it sounds very much as if Seymour knew "C," and that it was he who had visited "C" in Philadelphia. This would tend to indicate that both Seymour and "C," who probably was Crawford, had fragments of the flag.

Another correspondent to the Army and Navy Journal, who signed himself "B," wrote from Rochester, New York, December 7, 1863:

> "...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..." [7]

There is no corroborating letter in Anderson's papers to support this claim.

About the same time, a correspondent "H," writing from Washington on December 1, 1863, noted:

> "...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 General Anderson to Major-General Sumner, who carried it through the Peninsula campaign, and at the battle of Antietam and South Mountain, as his headquarters 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..." [8]

It should be noted that throughout the period discussed by "H," from the Peninsula campaign through the Maryland campaign, Major General Edwin V. Sumner commanded the Second Corps of the Army of the Potomac. [9] Corps headquarters flags were prescribed by General Order No. 102, March 24, 1862, paragraph XI. The flag for Sumner's headquarters was to be:

> " Second Army Corps: National flag with a small square Blue flag beneath." [10]

This order remained in effect throughout Sumner's tenure as corps commander. Since the union in both of the Fort Sumter flags is intact, it is obvious that no pieces were taken from there either for the union of Sumner's national flag or for the small square blue flag. If anything, a considerable amount of red and white bunting would have had to have been taken from one of

the Sumter flags to construct the stripes for Sumner's national flag, with the union coming from another source. To give an idea of how much was required, Figure 38 shows a photograph of Sumner in the field standing next to what is presumably his headquarters flag. Because there is no evidence that that much bunting was removed from either of the Fort Sumter flags, [11] it must be presumed that either the story is spurious or that Sumner incorporated a small piece of the Sumter flag into his headquarters flag.

In 1864, P.T. Barnum exhibited at the Metropolitan Fair in New York:

> " Fragment of the Flag of Fort Sumter, and a Piece of its Flag Staff fractured by shot..." [12]

It is not known what Barnum's source for this piece was or what became of it.

In 1865, C.B. Conant wrote to Anderson that he had a piece of the flag which he had obtained from B.S. Osbon of the New York World. Osbon was supposed at that time to have been one of the correspondents who came home to New York with Anderson's command on the Baltic. [13] Interestingly enough, in April,

1911, Osbon was quoted as saying: "...he was there as a war correspondent when the bombardment of the fort began and he has what he says is part of the fort's flag. The rest of the flag, he adds, is safe with the relics of the War Department..." [14]

Finally, when the James W. Eldridge collection was sold early in this century, the following two items were listed in the sale catalogue:

> "...135. FLAG. Piece of Union Flag Staff of Fort Sumter, shot away by the Confederates. From Widow of Sergt. Hart.
> 136. FLAG. Piece of Union Flag Staff, in form of a penholder, from Staff partially shot away during the Bombardment of Fort Sumter." [15]

Although most of the Eldridge collection was sold to Charles F. Gunther, who established the Libby Prison War Museum in Chicago, basis of the present Civil War collection of the Chicago Historical Society, the Libby Prison War Museum catalogues do not list the pieces noted above. It is therefore not known what became of them. [16]

Group 3 -

There are only four pieces of the Fort Sumter

flag which can be confirmed as having been cut from the flag, and one of these may be suspect.

On April 20, 1894, twenty-seven year old J.S. Glasscock wrote Mrs. Anderson from LaFayette, Indiana:

> "...The piece of the flag came. I am unable to express my thanks to you for it. I cut it into two pieces one piece will remain in the school building, and the other I will have framed, and hung in my library at home together with your letter..." [17]

Glasscock was a collector, and he went on to describe his collections to Mrs. Anderson and to extol Major Anderson's bravery before asking her for one of the Major's letters. There is no further record of correspondence between them.

A piece of stationary with the imprint of the New York Club, Fifth Avenue and 35th Street is in the Anderson papers with the notation in ink: "To Mrs. Lawton/ With Col. Gourand's compl. & kind regards." Penciled underneath in what is apparently Eba Anderson Lawton's handwriting is the following:

> "This was sent to Col. Gourand by Mrs. Anderson & by himself sent me because she gave him a larger piece. Garrison Flag Moultrie & Sumter given General Anderson by Mr. Lincoln by order of Act of Congress I believe - Gave this Flag to Genl A. This the Garrison & the storm flag were taken from Moultrie together with the flag staff to Sumter by Genl Anderson who brought it away when he evacuated Sumter. He took it down to Sumter and raised it again himself, and brought it back with him and entered New York Harbour with it flying over the 'Baltic'..." [18]

Although this indicates that Mrs. Lawton had a piece of what may have been the garrison flag and Colonel Gourand another piece, neither fragment has survived. Beyond that, Mrs. Lawton's understanding of the actual events was obviously foggy. She credited her father with taking the flagstaff from Moultrie to Sumter, which in fact was never done, and with his flying the flag from the Baltic after his return from the fort in 1865, rather than in 1861, as actually happened.

Finally, there is the piece of the flag which has been preserved in Abner Doubleday's own copy of his book, Reminiscenses of Forts Sumter and Moutrie

in 1860-61, now at the Conservation Lab at Harper's Ferry. It is probable that this is a genuine piece of the Fort Sumter flag, but at the same time it must be kept in mind that Doubleday himself had a spurious flag that he claimed was the original flag of Fort Moultrie. This flag will be discussed in the next section, but it should not occasion surprise if the Doubleday fragment matches the spurious flag instead of one of the Anderson flags.

Thus, although there are a number of stories about pieces of the flag being cut off, the pieces themselves are difficult to locate. Only Doubleday's has been found. It would appear that the taking of souvenirs from the flags was limited. Probably Truman Seymour was right: "...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..."

2. Spurious Fort Sumter Flags

Like many other objects of historic importance, the Anderson flags have had their competitors over the years. The fact that the Anderson flags remained in seclusion for so long undoubtedly encouraged such competition, as did the increasing market for "relics" of the war. Because there were only two flags at Fort Sumter, and both of them are accounted for, all of the flags listed below are spurious. However, it may very well be that the list is not complete.

1) The Boat Attack Flag- Obviously, the first of the spurious flags was the one landed by the Union Navy at Fort Sumter in September of 1863. This flag was described by Beauregard as an "old garrison flag, stained and tattered." It was presented by him to the State of South Carolina. Despite Union denials that this was the real Fort Sumter flag, the general southern consensus that "Yankee lies" were not to be believed probably resulted in the Confederates believing this to be the original Fort Sumter flag until the end of the war. What happened to the flag is unknown. It is not in any

of the major Confederate collections in South Carolina, and E. Milby Burton, Director of the Charleston Museum, reported that he had not been able to locate it.[19]

The Paine Flag - Preble quoted the New York Tribune, June 12, 1875 as follows:

> "...Dr. Etta Paine, a feminine surgeon, who did service during the war, displayed from her window in Westerly, on Decoration Day, the shot-riddled flag from Sumter which Major Anderson had given her and received a seranade from a patriotic band..."[20]

Nothing more is known of this flag, but given the known history of the Anderson flags, it is obvious that the real flag was not displayed at any time between 1872 and 1895, and Anderson certainly never gave the flag away.

The Marietta Flag - In 1883, when Henry Guckert was trying to get information on the Fort Sumter flags from the War Department, he was doing so primarily because there was a party in Marietta, Ohio, who claimed to have the original flag and

was trying to sell it. The War Department's answer that the flags were believed to be in the Anderson family probably headed off this particular fake, but what happened to it afterwards is unknown.[21]

The Cowley Flag- In 1911, a Miss Eliza Cowley of Lowell, Massachusetts claimed to have the original Fort Sumter flag in her family. She also claimed that it had been exhibited on various historical occasions. Both Robert Shaw Oliver, the Assistant Secretary of War and B.S. Osbon, in separate articles, refuted Miss Cowley's claim and noted that the real Fort Sumter flags were in the War Department.[22] Whether there was any relationship between the Cowley flag and the Paine flag, both from New England, is unknown. The Cowley flag is at present unlocated.

The Hughes/Stovall Flag - On October, 1912, George W. Jolly, an attorney in Owensboro, Kentucky, wrote to the War Department enclosing a newspaper clipping about a flag supposedly used at Fort Sumter. The clipping, from the Louisville Herald,

included a photograph of a storm size flag with what appear to be thirty-stars in the canton, although the article claimed there were thirty-six (Figure 39). In large letters across the stripes is inscribed: "From Fort Sumter/April 12th 61." According to the newspaper, the flag was held for a number of years by one of the Confederate captains who participated in the Sumter attack. It was then given by him to John Stovall, a private in his company, who was for many years a citizen of Louisville. Mrs. Stovall, after her husband's death, moved to New York and gave the flag to John Hughes, a former slave and employee of the Stovalls. The flag was displayed at the Army Recruiting Station in Louisville on October 19, 1912. [23]

The Secretary of War wanted a full investigation of the flag in spite of the fact that the Anderson flags were already in the War Department. As was noted: "...It is not impossible that there was more than one national flag at Fort Sumter at that time..." [24] Captain Nathan Shelton, the recruiting officer in Louisville, was directed to report what arrangements might be made with the owner of the flag to have it transferred to the War Department

if its identity could be established.[25] Shelton replied on November 20, 1912 as follows:

> "1. The owner of this flag is John Hughes, a negro sixty years old who has been janitor of the various buildings this recruiting party has occupied during the last ten years. When the Civil War broke out Hughes was a slave living in Shelbyville, Ky. After the war he came to Louisville, Ky., and after working for various families secured employment with a teamster named John Stoval. According to Hughes, Stoval had this flag and carefully guarded it, declaring he had been in the battle at Fort Sumpter and that the legend had been put on the flag shortly after the surrender of the Fort. Stoval died over twenty years ago. After her husband's death, Mrs. Stoval gave the flag to Hughes and moved to New York City.
>
> 2. In appearance, the flag is just as it looks and is described in the enclosed clipping. It is at present kept locked in a safe in this office.
>
> 3. The delay in replying to this letter has been due to the difficulty I have had and am still having to find anyone who

was acquainted with a teamster that has been dead over twenty years, or who knew anything about him and the history of the flag.

4. If at a later date I am able to get any information on this subject I will make another report of it." [26]

Sixteen days later, Shelton reported:

"1. John Hughes says he has refused as much as $65.00 for the flag. He says he will accept $100.00 for it.

2. I have shown these papers to Capt. L.E. Hanson, 9th Infantry, who is to take charge of this station while I am on leave. I have given Capt. Hanson the name of a man who may know something about the history of the flag. I have tried repeatedly to see this man but to date have been unable to meet him." [27]

On May 26, 1913, Shelton made his final report on the investigation:

"1. I have made as thorough an investigation as I know how to learn the history of this flag, but have been unable to learn anything about it. The whole matter hinges on John Stovall, who John Stovall was, and how he came in possession of the flag. In addition to the inquiries I had made concerning Stovall, I have had an examination made of the records of the cemetaries around Louisville; the city directories

and the health office records of deaths have been examined. No record of John Stovall is found.

2. John Hughes, the present owner of the flag, is an ignorant old colored man whose memory is not good. He has not been able to give any more information about the flag than that which is contained in the first indorsement.

3. Through the courtesy of the city editor of the Louisville Times, I have enlisted the aid of one of the best reporters on that newspaper and as this man has opportunities, acquaintances and facilities for investigation greater than mine, I believe that if the history of this flag can be traced he will do it. If at a later date I learn anything about the flag, I will make report. In the meantime I recommend that the flag be sent to the Adjutant General of the Army for comparison with flags of the early Civil War period and for examination as to size, texture, etc.

4. In order to avoid future discussions and controversies over this flag, I recommend that it be purchased by the government because there are several standing offers from civilians to purchase the flag. These civilians base their desire for possession of the

> flag entirely on newspaper stories, believing after reading these stories, that the flag was really at Fort Sumpter at the time specified though, so far as I have been able to learn, there is no proof whatever that it was there." [28]

Based on Shelton's report, the Secretary of War directed that no steps be taken toward the purchase of the flag. [29] So far as the Army was concerned, the matter was closed. What happened to the flag is unknown. However, the use of either 30 or 36 stars would have precluded its use at Fort Sumter.

The Doubleday Flag - Perhaps the most interesting of the spurious flags is one once owned by Abner Doubleday. In the April 17, 1911 edition of the Boston Herald, Henry J. Train wrote:

> "...The true history of the Fort Sumter flag is as follows: After the evacuation of the fort the flag was given by Maj. Anderson to Gen. Abner Doubleday, afterward the distinguished corps commander of the army of the Potomac, and remained in his possession until his death, when it

> passed to the care of his widow, in whose house in Mendham, N.J., I have frequently seen it. After Mrs. Doubleday's death it was given by her heirs to the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, where it now is. At the time of the bombardment Doubleday was a captain in the 1st Artillery, and sighted the first gun fired in defence of the flag at the confederate batteries. The night before the bombardment Mrs. Doubleday and the other ladies of the garrison were taken from Fort Sumter to Sullivan's Island to be out of harm's way, and I have often heard her tell of her exciting experiences at that time. All this may be verified by any one interested by communicating with William Chauncey Coles, Esq.,of Newark, N.J., who was the administrator of Mrs. Doubleday's estate..." [30]

A check with the Smithsonian's Division of Military History revealed that in March, 1896 the museum had received from Mrs. Abner Doubleday:

> "Garrison flag of Fort Moultrie lowered Dec. 26, 1860 when Major Robert Anderson, 1st U.S. Artillery with his command evacuated Ft. Moultrie and occupied Sumter. Received by his second in command, Capt. Abner Doubleday, and

> kept in his possession by his widow since 1860. Presented to the Smithsonian March 3, 1896 by Mrs. Doubleday & deposited in the National Museum."

A note at the bottom of the catalog card reads:

> "Found later that this flag is not authentic, the number of stars indicating a later period. The real Fort Moultrie flag has been located in the office of the Secretary of War." [31]

The flag has 34 stars, arranged in horizontal parallel rows 7-7-6-7-7. This pattern flag would not have been issued until after July 4, 1861, two months after the bombardment and nearly seven months after the evacuation of Fort Moultrie. There are numerous problems with the newspaper story as well, particularly the story that Mrs. Doubleday and the other ladies were sent to Sullivan's Island "to be out of harm's way" the night before the bombardment. At that time Sullivan's Island was in Confederate hands. Besides, Doubleday himself indicated that his wife left for the north on January 8. [32] The interesting question is, why would Doubleday have a flag in his home, and advertise it, when he must have known it was

a fake? Was it a desire to draw more attention to himself for his role at Fort Sumter? Although his wife believed him to be second in command, there is no indication that Anderson necessarily saw it that way. There is considerable evidence that Doubleday disagreed with Anderson's policies almost totally, and while he may have respected Anderson as a man, certainly the two were not close. Even a quick persusal of Doubleday's memoirs makes this quite clear. Certainly, if Anderson were to give the flag away, he would not have given it to Doubleday. As it happened, of course, he did not give the flag away, and the Doubleday flag stands today as a cheap grab for notoriety that is not worthy of Doubleday himself. In any case, this flag, too, is spurious. Because of its size, it could not be photographed for this study.

The Colorado Flag - This flag, mentioned in 1953 Park Service correspondence, was described by an official of the State Historical Society of Colorado, where it was housed, as being one "...which a former Curator labeled as one used in the Civil War at Fort Sumter..." It was

further described as having thirty-three stars.[33] This flag was, at that time competing with the Anderson flags as the flag of Fort Sumter. The Park Service did not acquire it, and presumably it is still in Colorado.

Notes to Part F

1. New York Daily Tribune, April 19, 1861.

2. Wayne to Anderson, April 19, 1861, Anderson Papers, Library of Congress.

3. Army and Navy Journal, November 28, 1863.

4. Preble, Vol. II, p. 446.

5. "The Opposing Land Forces at Charleston," Battles and Leaders of the Civil War, Vol. IV, p. 74.

6. Army and Navy Journal, December 19, 1863.

7. Ibid., [illegible]

8. Ibid., December 5, 1863.

9. Organizational Charts in Battles and Leaders of the Civil War, Vol. II, pp. 218, 313, 598.

10. H. Michael Madaus,"McClellan's System of Designating Flags, Spring-Fall, 1862," Military Collector & Historian, XVII, No. 1, Spring, 1965, p. 2.

11. It should be remembered that both the Union Square photograph (Figure 22) and the woodcut showing the garrison flag at Fort Sumter prior to the bombardment (Figure 10) indicate that much of the fly of the garrison flag was already gone. The storm flag appears to have lost very little material.

12. Catalogue, Metropolitan Fair, n.p., Item #831.

13. Conant to Anderson, n.d, 1865, Anderson Papers, Library of Congress.

14. Salt Lake City Telegraph, April 14, 1911.

15. Catalogue of a Remarkable Collection of Relics and Trophies of the American Civil War formed by Lieut. James W. Eldridge, 127th N.Y.S.V. (New York: William H. Murray, n.d., c.1900)p. 27.

16. Catalogue of the Libby Prison War Museum (Chicago: Foster,Roe and Crone, n.d.); Catalogue of America's War Museum (Omaha: Greater America Exposition Co., 1899); Stephen W. Sylvia and Michael J. O'Donnell, The Illustrated History of American Civil War Relics (Orange,Va.: Moss Publications, 1978) pp. 112-115.

17. Glasscock to Mrs. Anderson, April 20, 1894, Anderson Papers, Library of Congress.

18. Anderson Papers, Library of Congress.

19. It is not in the collections of the Charleston Museum, The U.D.C. Museum, Charleston, the Washington Light Infantry Collection, Charleston, the Citadel, Charleston or the South Carolina Confederate Relic Room and Museum, Columbia; E. Milby Burton, The Siege of Charleston, p. 196

20. Preble, Vol. II, p. 447.

21. RG 92, CCF, Box 1093; Adjutant General to Henry Guckert, October 10, 1883, RG 94,LR, File 4170.

22. Albany Argus, April 19, 1911; Salt Lake City Telegraph, April 14, 1911.

23. George W. Jolly to Secretary of War,October 19, 1912; Louisville Herald, October 19, 1912, both in RG 94, LR, File 4170.

24. Adjutant General to Recruiting Officer, Louisville, Kentucky, October 25, 1912, as endorsement on Jolly letter, RG 94, LR. File 4170.

25. Memorandum for the Adjutant General, November 23, 1912, Ibid.

26. Shelton to Adjutant General,November 20, 1912,Ibid.

27. Shelton to Adjutant General, December 6, 1912, Ibid.

28. Shelton to Adjutant General, May 26, 1913, Ibid.

29. Adjutant General to Shelton, June 5, 1913, Ibid.

30. Boston Herald, April 17, 1911.

31. Catalogue Card, Museum No. 6960, Accession Number 30406, Smithsonian Institution.

32. Doubleday, Reminiscenses, p. 100.

33. Agnes Wright Spring, State Historical Society of Colorado to Rock L. Comstock, Jr., Historian, FSNM, in File, "Flags," FSNM; Tobin to Superintendent, FSNM, March 9, 1953 and March 16, 1953, Acc File 08, FSNM.

PART G

ARE THE ANDERSON/FORT SUMTER FLAGS AUTHENTIC?

The criteria set up for the determination of the authenticity of the Fort Sumter garrison (Cat. # 08) and storm flags(Cat. #09) consisted of four factors:

1) The existence of a "paper trail" of documentary evidence indicating that the two flags in existence could be traced back through the years to Fort Sumter.

2) Reliable pictorial evidence indicating that the flags in existence today are the same as those in existence in 1861, and the same as those to which the documentary evidence refers.

3) The existing flags should conform without significant anomolies to the postulated set of specifications for garrison and storm flags built from documentary sources.

4) Known damage or environmental conditions through which the flags have passed should be detected through technical, fiber and particle analysis.

The findings of this study, in conformity to the criteria, are as follows:

Criteria 1- A "paper trail" of documentary evidence, generally quite complete, and detailed in this study, exists for the garrison and storm flags owned by the National Park Service. The locations of the flags, working backwards in time, are as follows:

1980-1982: Harper's Ferry Center, Harper's Ferry, West Virginia. Included are the following subsidiary locations:

a) October 2,1980- week of September 14, 1981- Conservation Lab

b) Week of September 14, 1981- National Guard Armory, Martinsburg, West Virginia

c) Week of September 14, 1981- present- Conservation Lab

1954-1980:- Fort Sumter National Monument, Fort Sumter, South Carolina. Included are the following subsidiary locations:

a) September 29-October 4, 1954 - Buchanan

garage, Sullivan's Island, S.C.

b) October 4, 1954-May 7, 1958- Fort Sumter National Monument

c) May 7, 1958- Customhouse, Charleston (photo session)

d) May 7, 1958- October 2, 1980 - Fort Sumter National Monument (includes travel time to Harper's Ferry, October, 1980)

July, 1954-September, 1954: National Park Service Museum Laboratory, Washington, D.C. (July 15,1954-September 29, 1954)

1942?- 1954 : Department of Defense, Pentagon, Washington, D.C. Exact date of arrival at Pentagon unknown; flags taken off display prior to June 24, 1954.

March 25, 1905-1942? : War Department, State/War/Navy Building, Washington, D.C.

a) March 25, 1905- Flags accepted by Secretary of War Taft

b) March 28, 1905- Flags inspected by Secretary Taft

c) April, 1911 - Flags known to be on display in reception room of War Department

March 24, 1905: The White House, Washington, D.C.

November, 1876- March 24, 1905- Anderson residence or bank vault, Washington, D.C.

a) Brooklyn reunion, April 14, 1895

April 18, 1861- November, 1876: New York City

a) April 18, 1861- Flying from Baltic

b) April 19, 1861 - Fort Hamilton (probably until May, 1861).

c) April 20, 1861 - Union Square, New York City

d) September 29, 1864- 119 East 34th Street, prior to that time at 4 State Street.

e) September? 1864- Vault, Metropolitan Bank.

f) April 14, 1865- Fort Sumter, probably one flag only (includes travel time to and from Charleston)

g) April 3, 1872- Funeral of Robert Anderson

April 15-18, 1861: Steamer Baltic

December 26, 1860- April 15, 1861: Fort Sumter

June 15, 1860- December 26, 1860: Fort Moultrie (includes period from order for flag issue. Actual date of arrival at Fort Moultrie unknown).

Criteria 2- While a great deal of pictorial information, included in this paper, tends to shed light on the role of each flag, the reliable pictorial information usable in determining authenticity is limited to the following:

Storm Flag: Photographs: a) National Guard Armory, Martinsburg, W.Va.(Fig. 37 and frontispiece)

b) Fort Sumter, 1975(Figs. 32 and 33)

c) Fort Sumter, May, 1969 (Figure 31)

d) Union Square, N.Y.C., April 20, 1861(Fig.23)

Drawings: a) Frank Leslie's Pictorial History of the American Civil War of 1861(Fig. 24)

b) The Memorial War Book (Fig. 25)

Comparison of the Leslie's drawing and the Memorial War Book version of the Leslie's drawing with the recent photographs indicate that the flag owned by the National Park Service is the same flag

drawn by Leslie's in 1861. Leslie's contacted Anderson directly to make the sketch, and the documentation is in the Anderson Papers at the Library of Congress. The Union Square photograph is not clear enough to confirm that this is the same flag, but documentary evidence indicates that it should be.

Garrison Flag: Photographs: a) National Guard Armory, Martinsburg, W.Va. (Fig. 36 and frontispiece)
b) Charleston, S.C., May, 1958 (Fig. 30)
c) Union Square, N.Y.C. April 20, 1861 (Fig. 22)
d) Fort Sumter, April 14, 1865 (unlocated)

Comparison of the first three photographs indicates that the flag owned by the National Park Service is the same flag photographed in Union Square. The 1865 photograph, if it can ever be found, probably shows this same flag.

These photograph groupings both indicate that the Park Service flags are the ones photographed or sketched in 1861 and are the same referred to by the documentary evidence.

Criteria 3- Comparison of the features from the postulated specifications with the features in the garrison and storm flags owned by Fort Sumter National Monument is shown below. The postulated specifications are from Part A.1. and the actual features from Fonda Thomsen, Technical Study/ Flags of Ft. Sumter.

POSTULATED SPECIFICATIONS	ORIGINAL FLAG
Garrison Flag	Garrison Flag
Pattern:	Pattern:
Stars and Stripes	Stars and Stripes
13 stripes	13 stripes
top stripe red	top stripe red
Union: 1/3 length of flag, and extending vertically to bottom of 4th red stripe from top.	Union: Approximately 1/2 length of flag and extending vertically to bottom of 4th red stripe from top.
Measurements:	Measurements:
Overall:	Overall:
19" bunting: 20 X 36 ft.	18' 10" X 23.56'
18" bunting: 18.9 X 36 ft.	
Union:	Union:
128.8" H X 144" L or 122.5" H X 144" L	123.5" H X 137.5" L

Garrison Flag

Star diameter: possibly 12"

Material:
Wool bunting, single warp, used full width

Thread:
Probably cotton, possibly 3/2

Stars:
Cotton muslin, bleached, on each side of flag, 33 in number, star pattern unknown

Heading:
Linen or cotton duck, 8 ounce, 7 inches wide, doubled, 3½ inches wide finished, extending full height of flag, doubled around bolt rope

Garrison Flag

Star diameter: 11.5"

Material:
Wool bunting, single warp, used full width

Thread:
2 ply S twist linen
5 ply S twist cotton
6 ply S twist cotton
4 ply Z twist of 2 ply S twist linen
3 ply cotton
3/2 cotton in repairs

Stars:
Cotton, plain woven, on each side of flag, 33 in number, star pattern vertically: 5-3-5-7-5-3-5

Heading:
Plain woven linen, 2¼ inches wide on obverse, 1 3/4" wide on reverse, extending full height of flag, doubled around bolt rope

Garrison Flag

Bolt Rope:
Probably hemp, 4 strands of 3 folds, 21'6" long, with 9 inches extending beyond each end of heading, spliced to enclose thimbles.

Thimbles:
Galvanized iron, one inch hole. First mentioned in 1865 QM Manual, date of introduction unknown

Other Features:
Flag completely handsewn-
Possible corner reinforcement at top and bottom next to heading -
Union probably made of 7 stripes of bunting made to line up with red and white stripes

Garrison Flag

Bolt Rope:
Material unknown, 4 strands of S twisted fiber, turned together in a Z twist. Length and extention beyond heading unrecorded, spliced to enclose thimbles.

Thimbles:
Galvanized iron, one inch hole.

Other Features:
Flag completely handsewn -
Corner reinforcements of linen canvas, 11.5" X 5.5", clipped triangles at top and bottom next to heading-
Union made of 7 stripes of bunting made to line up with red and white stripes.

Features Not Postulated:
Presence of twill tape in heading -
Reinforcement of heading at seams for stripes -

Storm Flag

Pattern:
Stars and Stripes
13 stripes
top stripe red
Union 1/3 length of flag

Union extends vertically
to bottom of 4th red
stripe from top

Measurements:
Overall:
9.79 X 20 ft
or 9.25 X 20 ft
or 10 X 20 ft
Union:
64.75" H X 99.9" L
or 58.5" H X 99.9" L
Star diameter: Possibly 6"

Material:
Wool bunting, single
warp, probably 18"
bunting split down
middle

Thread:
Probably cotton, possibly
3/2

Storm Flag

Pattern:
Stars and Stripes
13 stripes
top stripe red
Union slighly less than
1/2 length of flag
Union extends vertically
to bottom of 4th red
stripe from top

Measurements:
Overall:
9 ft X 13 ft 10 inches

Union:
59" H X 64 3/4" L

Star diameter: 7"- 8 3/8"

Material:
Wool bunting, single warp,
18" bunting split down
middle

Thread:
3 ply S twist cotton
2 ply S twist linen

Storm Flag

Stars:
Cotton muslin, bleached, 33 in number, on each side of flag, star pattern unknown

Heading:
Linen or cotton duck, 8 ounce, 7 inches wide, doubled around bolt rope making it 3½ inches wide when finished. Extending full height of flag

Bolt Rope:
Probably hemp, 4 strands of 3 folds, 11 ft 6 inches long, 9 inches extending beyond each end of heading, spliced to enclose thimbles

Thimbles:
Galvanized iron, one inch hole. First mentioned in 1865 QM Manual, date of introduction unknown

Storm Flag

Stars:
Plain woven cotton, single ply Z twist, 94/94 threads per inch, 33 in number, on each side of flag, star pattern vertically: 5-3-5-7-5-3-5, outside rows of five stars subdivided into pattern 2-1-2.

Heading:
Plain woven linen, 32/36 threads per inch, 1½ inches wide on obverse, 2 inches wide on reverse, extending full height of the flag.

Bolt Rope:
4 ply fiber, type unknown, length and extention beyond heading unrecorded, spliced to enclose thimbles.

Thimbles:
Galvanized iron, one inch hole.

Storm Flag

Other Features:
Flag completely handsewn-
Possible corner reinforcement at top and bottom of flag at heading -
Union made either of seven split stripes of bunting made to line up with stripes or full width 18" or 19" bunting with one split strip.

Storm Flag

Other Features:
Flag completely handsewn-
Corner reinforcements of linen canvas, 33/34 threads per inch, plain woven, 5½" X 13½" clipped triangles at top and bottom of flag next to heading-
Union made up of three strips 18" bunting and one split strip.

Features Not Postulated:
Reinforcement of heading at seams for stripes

From comparisons between the postulated specifications and the surviving flags, it is obvious that the comparisons are exceedingly close. The only unanticipated differences were in the sewing thread, the width of the heading, the reinforcement of the heading at the seams of the stripes, the presence of the twill tape reinforcement in the garrison flag and possibly the storm flag, and perhaps most importantly, the dimensions of the unions in both flags. This latter situation was most intriguing, for while

the measurement on the hoist were predicted fairly accurately, the measurements on the fly were were 8.5 inches short in the case of the garrison flag and 35.15 inches short in the case of the storm flag. In both cases, the postulated measurements were based on 1/3 of the regulation length. It appears that both cantons are nearly square in the surviving flags, however, and more importantly, that the fly length was trimmed proportionally when the hoist came up short of the regulation height. If the rule that the union should be 1/3 the length of the flag was still applied, the original length of the surviving flags on the fly may have been less than the regulation allowance. In the case of the garrison flag the difference would be fairly slight, 412.5 inches versus the regulation length of 432 inches, or a flag actually measuring 34.29 feet on the fly. This would mean that approximately 129 3/4" is missing from the fly end of the garrison flag. In the case of the storm flag, the difference between regulation and actual measurements would be considerably more pronounced, 192.9 inches in actuality versus the 240 inches called for by the regulations. The storm flag would thus have originally measured 16.07 feet

on the fly, meaning that there is approximately 26 inches missing from the fly end.

Given both the impossibility of predicting precise measurements as well as our knowledge that there is a great deal that we do not know about army flags of the period, the postulated specifications proved to be very close to the surviving flags, indicating that these two flags are indeed U.S. Army issue garrison and storm flags of the correct period.

Criteria 4 -

This section seeks to summarize the data discovered through technical, fiber and particle analysis and to relate it to the historical evidence. Because this author has not yet seen the report of McCrone Associates but has heard of some of the results of their tests from Fonda Thomsen, that portion of this section will necessarily be brief. The remaining portion draws upon Fonda Thomsen's technical study and the historical study by this author.

The historical study gave indications that the garrison flag was wearing out in January, 1861 and that it may have been missing part of its fly by that time. It also indicated that the flag ripped on April 11, 1861, and while there is no record of repairs, that it may have been repaired in time for the salute on April 14, but not for the bombardment. Fonda Thomsen's report indicated considerable damage to the stripes of the flag, particularly the red stripes, from ultraviolet light, as well as numerous repairs. This would indicate deterioration of the flag in service, since there is no indication

that the flag, when it was boxed up or exhibited in display cases, was subject to large amounts of unfiltered ultraviolet light. The difference in condition between most of the red stripes and the red patch just forward of the union in stripe 7, both original to the flag, is a further indication both of ultraviolet damage and a poor dye job on most of the red stripes.

The patches, all concentrated along the heading below the union, the area of greatest strain, indicate constant efforts to keep the flag in service. While a good deal of the material from under the union is missing, at least part of it was used to make patch 7. This, plus the lack of particulate matter in the flag, particularly combustion particles, indicates that the missing material probably was not the result of battle damage. The lack of nail holes anywhere in the flag are also supportive of the idea that the flag is not the one nailed to a temporary staff on April 13. Since all the historical accounts indicate that the flag nailed to the spar is also the one that flew during the bombardment, the conclusion, made through the historical evidence, that the garrison flag did not fly during the bombardment is supported.

In sum, it would appear that the present tattered condition of the garrison flag is the result of ultraviolet damage in service, along with its attendent repairs, aggrivated by a poor dye job, and not the result of enemy action.

The historical study indicated that the storm flag was flying during the bombardment, that it was shot down, nailed to a temporary spar and re-raised. The presence of the nail holes in the lead support that information, as does the discovery of considerable particulate matter, particularly combustion particles which were identified as not all the result of wood smoke. The presence of sawdust is puzzling. It may have come from the packing in certain shells, though this was normally used in canister, a projectile not fired at Fort Sumter. It seems more likely that the sawdust was the result of the box in which the flags were stored for so long or from exhibit cases. There is little additional damage noted in the historical record that can be tied to the storm flag, although it should be noted that Leslie's drawing, done in 1861, of the flag shows the same holes that exist in the flag today. The evidence of burned material, some of which was found in the flag, also tends to support its

role during the bombardment. The presence of the brass pins in the union remains unexplained, though it is certainly from some later period when the flag was displayed.

In summation, the technical, fiber and particle analyses tend to support the historical evidence that the garrison flag was deteriorating and being repaired until April 11,1861, when it ripped radically, and that the storm flag was flown during the bombardment, was shot down, nailed to a temporary staff and raised again.

Conclusion

The four criteria were met during this study. The considerable "paper trail" of documentary evidence showed that the flags owned by the National Park Service can be traced back through the years to Fort Sumter in 1861, thus meeting Criteria 1. The photographic evidence showed that the flags owned by the National Park Service are the same as those photographed and drawn in New York just after the bombardment, and are the same as those referred to by the "paper trail," thus meeting Criteria 2. The comparison of the postulated specifications for storm and garrison flags with the two surviving flags showed that the National Park Service flags are of the period 1859-61 and are Army issue, thus satisfying Criteria 3. Finally, the technical, fiber and particle analyses showed that the garrison flag had deteriorated badly from ultraviolet damage and had been heavily patched, while the storm flag was in an environment that included combustion particles not attributable to wood smoke and had nail holes where it was evidently attached to a temporary staff.

Because all four criteria were interrelated, and because all four were met without significant anomolies, there seems to be no doubt that the Garrison Flag (FSNM Cat #8) and the Storm Flag (FSNM Cat #9) are in fact the original and authentic 1861 flags that were present during the bombardment of Fort Sumter on April 12-13, 1861.

PART H

WHICH FLAG IS THE FLAG OF FORT SUMTER?

Although this point has been dealt with heavily in this paper, it might be useful to summarize the evidence.

First, it must be said that with the exception of Chalmers Roberts' article based on his interview with Mrs. Anderson, no one, either a participant in the events of April, 1861 or a member of the family of a participant who should have known the facts, ever specifically differentiated between the roles of the two flags. Crawford, Doubleday and Chester, usually good sources, are all silent. Anderson himself was extremely close-mouthed about the whole Fort Sumter episode after it happened. He left no memoirs and while he promised a full report of the bombardment in his brief dispatch from the Baltic, he never turned it in.

Secondly, most of those who have written about the Fort Sumter flags have written about

the flag of Fort Sumter, assuming that there was only one. Although it was known in New York in 1861 that there were two, this fact seems to have been generally lost. The War Department, despite maintaining a file on "the flag" since 1883, was surprised to learn in 1905 that there were two. The reasons for the emphasis on one flag seem to have been several. First, it was easier to talk about the flag of Fort Sumter, rather than to have to constantly switch references between the two flags. Second, as a symbol, it appears that there was only one flag, though which one depended upon one's point of view. To Crawford, Mrs. Anderson and most others, the flag was the one flown during the bombardment. To others, it was the flag lowered in surrender in 1861 and re-raised in triumph in 1865. Finally, most people assumed that these two flags were in fact one and the same. Keeping these facts in mind, we must learn by inference and pictorial and technical data what we cannot gain through specific documentary references.

That both flags were issued at the same time,

in June, 1860, is certain. By the same token it is also certain that the garrison had no more than two flags. That the garrison flag deteriorated rather rapidly can be determined from Lieutenant Hall's request for another one in January, 1861, from the drawing by one of Anderson's officers that shows the flag short of fly, done about the same time, from the heavily patched and ultraviolet faded condition of the original flag, and from Major Stevens' account of the ripping of a flag on April 11, 1861.

There is no evidence that the garrison flag was repaired prior to the bombardment, and besides, the weather dictated the use of the storm flag. Mrs. Anderson's statement to that effect made to Chalmers Roberts, the sketch made of the storm flag and published by Leslie's after the bombardment, the accounts that indicate that the same flag that was shot down was the one nailed back up and the nail holes in the storm flag all support the contention that it was the storm flag that flew during the bombardment.

However, Sergeant Chester's account of the evacuation indicated that a heavier flag was saluted

and carried out, and that it was attached to the shot off section of the topmast. This topmast was displayed in New York with the garrison flag, which fixed in the public mind the idea that it was the garrison flag that had flown during the bombardment. In actuality, the garrison flag was the one saluted and carried out. Depending on one's point of view, either one could be considered "the flag of Sumter."

It is not known which flag was re-raised at Fort Sumter in 1865, though because the re-raising was supposed to be with the flag "hauled down," it was probably the garrison flag. If so, this would tend to reinforce the idea in the public mind that the garrison flag had waved during the bombardment, particularly when Stanton's order for the re-raising specified that the flag used be the one both used during the bombardment and hauled down. Because this was a physical impossibility, Anderson opted for the flag hauled down.

It is also not known which flag was used at Anderson's funeral in 1872, though it was probably the storm flag, which was not only the one flown during the bombardment, but was also more practical for use as a cover for the coffin. It is similarly not

known which flag was used at the 1895 reunion, although Mrs. Anderson's implication was that it was the storm flag. Certainly in 1898 Mrs. Anderson had the role of the two flags firmly in her own mind, with the storm flag being the one that waved during the bombardment.

Unfortunately, her daughters seem to have been ignorant on the subject, and they never turned over any information to the War Department to clear up the problem. As a result, the War Department looked at the two flags and guessed that Anderson would have flown his garrison flag. Its tattered condition, which we now believe is attributable to wear and deterioration, was attributed then to Confederate cannon fire. The War Department guessed wrong, but as the years went by it concentrated its attention on the garrison flag and virtually ignored the storm flag. By the 1940's, there was a bronze plaque displayed with the flags which stated that it was the garrison flag that flew during the bombardment.

When the National Park Service gained custody of the flags in 1954, it had no way of knowing the roles of the flags. After a good deal of searching,

everything finally came back to the plaque in the Pentagon, which was the only source known at that time that differentiated between the two flags. Armed with this information, at the time the only known source, the Park Service then disseminated it through a number of publications, all of which fixed even more firmly the idea that the garrison flag had waved during the bombardment. In particular, the juxtaposition of the 1958 photograph of the garrison flag and the Union Square photograph of the same flag in the National Geographic in 1959 seemed to be the proof of the pudding. Beyond that, the tattered condition of the garrison flag seems to be more emotionally satisfying in interpreting the bombardment. It seems strange and somehow not right that a smaller flag in better condition should be the one that flew during the bombardment, until the reasons for the situation are known.

This study has attempted to show those reasons. The garrison flag was already worn out and the weather was nasty during the bombardment. Once up, the storm flag stayed up until it was shot down. It was then rescued, nailed to a temporary staff and put up again. The next day, the garrison saluted its garrison flag, and carried it out of the fort on the topmast.

Thus, depending on your point of view, either flag can be considered the flag of Fort Sumter. If the flag that waved over the fort during the bombardment is the most important, then the storm flag is the flag of Fort Sumter. If the flag saluted on April 14, hauled down in surrender and re-raised in 1865 as a symbol of the re-establishment of national authority is the most important, then the garrison flag is the flag of Fort Sumter. Probably the very reason for all the confusion in the first place was that Anderson and his contemporaries considered both flags to be, collectively, the flag of Fort Sumter. Perhaps we should do the same.

APPENDIX 1-
Quartermaster Form 51,
Return of Clothing,
Camp and Garrison
Equipage

No. 51.—*Quarterly return of Clothing, Camp and Garrison Equipage of ——, 186*

When received.	Of whom received.	On hand per last return.	Total to be accounted for.....	When issued.	To whom issued.	Total issued.....	On hand to be accounted for.....
No. of invoice.				No. of roll.			
Cavalry hats.							
Caps and bands.							
Cap letters, castle, shell and flame.							
Cap covers.							
Pompons.	Color.						
Eagle and rings.							
Plumes for cavalry.							
Coats. Sergeant-majors'.							
Coats. Quartermaster-sergeants'.							
Coats. Ordnance sergeants'.							
Coats. Chief musicians.							
Coats. First sergeants'.							
Coats. Sergeants'.							
Coats. Corporals'.							
Coats. Musicians'.							
Coats. Privates'.							
Metallic seals. Non-commissioned staff.							
Metallic seals. Sergeants'.							
Metallic seals. Corporals and privates'.							
Sashes.							
Uniform jackets. Sergeant-majors'.							
Uniform jackets. Quartermaster-sergeants'.							
Uniform jackets. First sergeants'.							

received and issued at ——, in the quarter ending on the —— day by ——.

Clothing.

No. 51.—*Quarterly Return of Clothing, Camp and Garrison Equipage, received and issued, &c.*—Continued.

Clothing.						
Uniform jackets.	Sergeants'.					
	Corporals'.					
	Privates'.					
	Trowsers.					
	Yards of binding.					
	Flannel shirts.					
	Drawers, pairs of.					
	Boots, cavalry, pairs of.					
	Boots, infantry, pairs of.					
	Stockings, pairs of.					
	Leather stocks.					
	Great-coats.					
	Great-coat straps, number of.					
	Talmas.					
	Blankets.					
	Knapsacks and straps.					
	Haversacks.					

Equipage.						
	Canteens and straps.					
Bed sacks.	Single.					
	Double.					
	Axes.					
	Axe-helves.					
	Spades.					
	Camp kettles.					
	Mess pans.					
	Camp hatchets.					
	Hatchet handles.					
	Garrison flag.					
	Garrison flag halliards.					
	Storm flag.					
	Recruiting flags.					
	Recruiting flag halliards.					
	Camp colors.					
	Guidons.					

No. 51.—*Quarterly Return of Clothing, Camp and Garrison Equipage, received and issued, &c.*—Continued.

							Equipage.	Trumpets.
								Bugles, with extra mouth pieces.
								Fifes.
							Drums.	Complete.
								Heads, batter.
								Heads, snare.
								Slings.
								Sticks, pairs.
								Drum-stick carriages.
								Cords.
								Snares, sets.
								Wall tents.
								Wall tent flies.
								Wall-tent poles and pins, sets.
								Common tents.
								Common tent-poles and pins, sets.
								Iron pots.
								Pickaxes.

							Pickaxe handles.
						Books and Blanks.	Clothing account books.
							Descriptive book.
							Order book.
							Clothing returns.
							Receipt rolls.
							Final statements.

APPENDIX 2- Quartermaster Correspondence, Moultrie/Sumter garrison, June, 1860- June, 1861.

Section A- Letters received by Quartermaster General from Moultrie/ Sumter Quartermasters

Date Received	Date Sent & Where From	Sender	Contents (quoted from register)	Source
June 12,1860	June 9, 1860 Ft. Moultrie	Lt. S. Breck	"Forward Estimate of Clothing & Equipage for n.c.s. & Band & Cos "E" & "H" 1st Arty for one year ending June 30th 1861 & asks for a supply of blanks No. 5,12.22 & 23."	RG 92 E 1003 p. 43
?	June 7, 1860 Ft. Moultrie	Lt. S. Breck	"Sum Statement,Muster Roll, Report of Persons,of Stores, of Forage,Returns of Animals & List of Debts for June 1860	RG 92 E 19 Vol. 44 p. 66
July 10, 1860	July 7, 1860 Ft. Moultrie	Lt. S. Breck	"Dup.Returns of Clothing & c., latter part 2d qr 1860"	RG 92 E 1003 p.45
? Dup Estimate through HQ Dept of East Rec. Aug. 10,1860	Aug. 3, 1860 Ft. Moultrie	Lt. S. Breck	"Estimate for Aug. $2065.00 Sum. Statement, Report of Persons, Muster roll, Return of Animals & Report of Forage for July 1860	RG 92 E 19 Vol.44 p. 69

APPENDIX 2- continued
Section A

Date Received	Date Sent & Where From	Sender	Contents	Source
Sept.13,1860	Sept. - 1860 Ft. Moultrie	Lt. S. Breck	"Dup. Returns of Clothing &c., latter part 2d qr 1860	RG 92 E 1003 p. 46
?	Sept.7,1860	Lt.S. Breck	"Sum.Statement, Muster Roll, Report of Persons, of Forage, Return of Animals for Augt. & Estimate for Sept. 1860 $1,200.00"	RG 92 E 19 Vol.44 p.72
Oct.6,1860	Oct.5, 1860 Ft. Moultrie	Lt.N.J. Hall	"Dup Returns of Clothing &c 3d qr 1860"	RG 92 E 1003 p.262
Oct.18,1860	Oct. 12,1860 Ft. Moultrie	Lt.N.J. Hall	"Muster Roll & Report of Persons for Sept 1860	RG 92 E 19 Vol.44 p.321
?	Oct. 16, 1860 Ft. Moultrie	Lt.N.J.Hall	"Returns of Clothing &c."	RG 92 E 1003 p.263
Oct. 19,1860	Oct. 16,1860 Ft. Moultrie	Lt.N.J. Hall	"Submits explanation respecting the services of Private John Klein charged in his Muster Roll for Sept 1860	RG 92 E 19 Vol.44 p.321

APPENDIX 2- continued
Section A

Date Received	Date Sent & Where From	Sender	Contents	Source
Oct. 9,1860	Oct.5,1860 Ft. Moultrie	Lt.N.J.Hall	"Sum.Statement, Muster Roll,Report of Persons, of Forage,Return of Animals for Sept and Est. for Oct,60 $930.00"	RG 92 E 19 Vol. 44 p. 319
Nov.12, 1860	Nov.5,1860 Ft. Moultrie	Lt.N.J.Hall	"Sum.Statement, Muster Roll,Report of Persons, of Stores, of Forage, Return of Animals for Oct. & Estimate for Nov 1860 $1,850	RG 92 E 19 Vol. 44 p. 325
Dec.1, 1860	Nov. 26,1860 Ft. Moultrie	Lt. N.J. Hall	"Endorses Estimate for the purchase of a Mule $175.00"	RG 92 E 19 Vol.44 p.769
Dec.10,1860	Dec.5, 1860 Ft. Moultrie	Lt.N.J. Hall	"Sum.Statement, Muster Roll,Report of Persons,of Stores, of Forage, Return of Animals, for Nov. & Estimate for Dec.1860 $800.00 "	RG 92 E 19 Vol. 44 p.771
Feb.21,1861	Feb.18,1861 Ft. Sumter	Lt.N.J.Hall	"Encloses Statement for Feb.1861 $450.00"	RG 92 E 19 Vol.45

APPENDIX 2- continued
Section A

Date Received	Date Sent & Where From	Sender	Contents	Source
March 14,1861	March 3,1861 Ft. Sumter	Lt.N.J. Hall	"Sum. Statement, List of Debts, Muster Roll, Report of Persons, of Forage and Return of Animals for Feb. 1861"	RG 92 E 19 Vol. 45
March 11,1861	March 8,1861	Lt.N.J. Hall	"Renews his request of Feb.14/61 for a copy of his return of Camp & Gar.Equipage & clothing for part of 3d qr 1860"	RG 92 E 1003 p.1270
March 22,1861	March - 1861 Ft. Sumter	Lt. N.J. Hall	"Dup Returns of Clothing & c. 4th qr 1860	RG 92 E 1003 p.271
April 13, 1861	April 7,1861 Ft. Sumter	Lt.N.J. Hall	" Dup Returns of Clothing &c, 1st qr 1861 Also receipts to vouchers no. 217 Return for 4th qr 1860"	RG 92 E 1003
May 8,1861	May 1, 1861 Ft. Hamilton	Lt.N.J.Hall	"Requisition for "Books" & Camp & Gar.Equipage"	RG 92 E 1003

APPENDIX 2- continued
Section A

Date Received	Date Sent & Where From	Sender	Contents	Source
May 10, 1861	May 1, 1861 Ft. Hamilton	Lt.N.J.Hall	"Relative to the destitute condition of the wives of some soldiers at that post"	RG 92 E 19 Vol. 45
June 2,1861	May 31,1861 Ft. Hamilton	Lt.N.J.Hall	"Requisition for 100 Iron Bedsteads for use of the troops recently from Fort Pickens & the Recruits attached to Cos at this post"	RG 92 E 1003 p. 278

* This is a strong indication that the term "Muster Roll" as used in the Registers should be translated as "Roll of Extra Duty Men," particularly since the latter term is not used in the Registers. True Muster Rolls, made out after formal inspections, were sent to the Adjutant General's Office, not the Quartermaster General's Office(par. 318-324, 1861 Regulations). In the Table in Part B-1, the term "Muster Roll" as "Roll of Extra Duty Men."

APPENDIX 2

Section B- Letters sent by Quartermaster General's Office in reference to supplies for Moultrie/Sumter garrison

Addressee & Date	Contents	Source
Col.Charles Thomas June 8, 1859	"You are requested to send to Lt. O.H. Tillinghast, R.Q.M. at Fort Moultrie,S.C. for the N.C.S. & Band and Comps E & H 1st Regt of Artillery during the year 1859-60 147 Hats trimmed 60 Cords & Tafsels extra 50 Eagles 50 X Cannon 1 U. Coat Sergt, Major 1 " " Qr. Mr. Sergt 1 " " Ord Sergt 8 " " Sergts 8 " " Corporals 6 pr Sergts Shoulder Scales 244 Flannel Sack Coats 24 pr Trousers Sergts 24 " " Corporals 250 " " Privates 2 sashes 147 Forage Caps 299 Flannel Shirts 151 prs Drawers 576 " Stockings 498 " Bootees 141 Mosquito Bars 8 Single Bedsacks 2 Fifes"	RG 92 E 999

APPENDIX 2
Section B

Addressee & Date	Contents	Source
Col. Charles Thomas June 15, 1860	" Send to A.A.Qr.Mr. at Fort Moultrie, S. Ca. for the use of the N.C.S. & Band, and Companies "E" & "H" 1st Regt of Artillery for use during the year 1860-61- 135 hats trimmed 50 Letters (25 ea E.H.) 53 U. coats Privates 2 prs Shoulder Scales Sergts 16 Flannel Sack Coats 236 prs Trousers Privates 2 sashes 1 pr Chevrons Ord. Sergts 2 " " Qr Mr Sergts 11 " " Sergts 13 " " Corporals 20 yds red worsted lace 1/2 in 48 yds red worsted lace 1/2 in 9 " crimson " 108 Forage Caps 147 Flannel Shirts 149 prs Drawers 242 " Stockings 305 " Bootees none above No 9 15 Great Coats 19 Blankets 25 Leather Stocks 1 Garrison Flag & Halliard 1 Storm do 2 Drums complete 1 Post Guard Report Bk 2 Camp Morning " " 1 Post " " "	RG 92 E 999

APPENDIX 2
Section B

Addressee & Date	Contents	Source
Lt. Samuel Breck Sept. 11, 1860	"You are authorized to return to the depot at Philadelphia, the old pattern and the condemned clothing at your post, not issuable to the troops"	RG 92 E 999

Section C- Letters received by the Quartermaster General relating to supplies for Moultrie/Sumter garrison

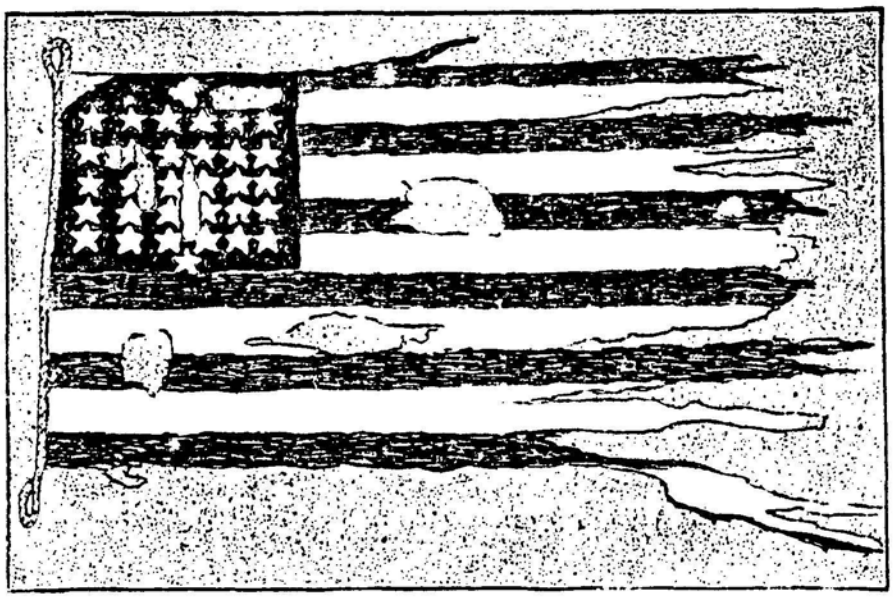
Date Received	Date Sent & Where From	Sender	Contents	Source
June 23,1860	June 22,1860 Philadelphia	Lt.Col.Chas.Thomas	"Invoice of supplies turned over this day for transfer & delivery to: The A.A.Q.M. USA Fort Moultrie, S.C. for N.C.S. & Band & Co "E" & "H" 1st Arty "	RG 92 E 1003
Feb.27,1861	Feb.26,1861 Philadelphia	Col.Chas.Thomas	"Invoices(2) of supplies turned over this day for transfer & delivery to: Capt A.C. Gibson, 2d US Arty,Fort Delaware, Del. Col. D.D. Tompkins, A.Q.M. Genl.N.York City"	RG 92 E 1003

The Glorious Flag of Fort Sumter.

BY CHALMERS ROBERTS.

WHAT flag of the many now treasured can exceed in value, as a national heir-loom, the flag of Fort Sumter? It stands for the first movement towards the disintegration of the government. It remains to protest forever against another assault upon the standard and, as long as there is a shred or thread left of it, to tell the stirring story of the beginning of the longest and darkest period of its history.

MAJOR-GENERAL ROBERT ANDERSON.



This best record of the war's beginning is not with the other flags at the War Department. It is in even safer hands, for the widow of the brave soldier who fought to defend it treasures it as her dearest possession. Mrs. Eliza Bayard Anderson, widow of Brevet Major-General Anderson, the hero of Sumter, has lived for a number of years very quietly in Washington, having gone there from New York in search of a milder climate. Having the good fortune to hear of Mrs. Anderson's residence there, and of her possession of the famous flag, I went on a patriotic pilgrimage to touch the tattered folds of this glorious "Old Glory," and to hear from her the story of its experiences.

The flag, which shows its age, spends more than the half of its time in the vaults of a safe deposit company, and is only taken out on occasion, to be kept the while very closely in the care of its owner. It is not a fine flag, but of coarse-meshed, strong bunting, made to wrestle with the storm winds and stout from the start, even though its makers little thought that it would have to bear the first assaults of a war between its own people. There was need of a strong wind to bear it out fully from the staff, it is so large, being ten feet wide by fifteen feet long. Still its coloring was good, and is bright even now, and but for its pitiful holes and tatters, would yet be a gorgeous symbol of freedom in the sunlight aloft.

There were two flags at Fort Sumter which had been carried there by Major Anderson when he evacuated Fort Moultrie; one known as the Garrison flag, and the other the Storm flag. The finer garrison flag, used in fair weather, is not the flag of Sumter. Bad weather during the April of 1861 gave this good fortune to its coarser companion, and while Mrs. Anderson keeps both of the good flags in company, it is the storm flag which will always be the valued relic, and which some day should come into the care of the government, to be kept with those things it holds most worthy of watchful preservation.

Mrs. Anderson has been very jealous of these treasures, and has very seldom parted with them. In fact, since her husband's death in 1871, only once has the Sumter flag been out of her keeping. This was at a recent celebration of the raising of the flag again over Sumter in 1865, and for this occasion it was given into the guardianship of the old Anderson Zouaves of New York, a veteran company, raised at the opening of the war and named in honor of the commander of Fort Sumter. Before Major Anderson's death the flag had been prominent in several celebrations, and was an appropriate pall when its defender was buried at West Point.

The flags first came into Major Anderson's possession when, after his return to New York following the evacuation of Sumter, he made the usual garrison invoice to the War Department, including the two flags in the list of returns. With fine sentiment, the Secretary of War sent back the flags with the statement that they could be in no better keeping than in the hands of the man who had so gallantly defended them. They were thereupon placed in a strong box by Peter Hart, a humble hero in the story, and for four years remained in the vaults of the Metropolitan bank.

But on the fourth anniversary of the evacuation of the fort, April 14, 1865, the flag was again raised over Sumter by Major-General Anderson in the midst of an important peace celebration. There was prayer, a brief address, and the singing of patriotic songs. General Anderson had arranged the exercises under order of Secretary of War Stanton, and when the flag was handed to him by brave Peter Hart, and he pulled it aloft, there were cheers and tears and many expressions of rejoicing.

Chaplain Matthias Harris, who had been with the command at the evacuation of Moultrie, and who had offered a prayer at the raising of the flag over Sumter, on this later occasion prayed that Heaven would forever after bless and protect from assault the flag of the fathers. Henry Ward Beecher delivered the oration. The ceremonies were closed with a salute to the flag of a hundred guns from Sumter, and a national salute from every one of the surrounding batteries which had fired upon the flag four years before.

What a story the flag could tell! It floated first from the old staff at Fort Moultrie, which had been raised by General Moultrie at the beginning of the Revolutionary war. It was transferred to Fort Sumter after Major Anderson had cut down the Moultrie flag-staff in order, he said, that no flag of new design should disgrace it. It had received the first shots of a long war. It had been borne out of Sumter after a bombardment of two days, with beating drums and a salute of fifty guns.

Four years later, in the celebration of welcome peace, it had gone aloft to fly over the same old fort, with thanksgiving and song.

Like all important relics of the war, this old flag has not been without attack, and there have been, as is usual in such cases, several spurious flags or pieces of flags passing about the country as the Sumter flag. The controversy began as far back as 1863, when much correspondence went the rounds of the army and navy press upon the subject. One story was that in capturing a boat's crew in the unsuccessful assault upon the fort a flag was captured, which Gen: Beauregard believed to be the flag of Sumter, and which was carried back into the fort with great joy by the Confederates.

Another story is that the little band of seventy soldiers, after the lowering of the flag, cut it up into seventy small pieces as mementoes, and many of the spurious fragments are in existence to-day. Of course it is probable that Major Anderson did cut some small bits from the flag for gifts to friends, but this did not in any way affect its size or condition. It is very probable that these pieces were taken from the edge, already torn and ravelled. There are only the rents made by shells in the body of the flag, and in spite of the thick rain of shot which poured upon it, twice cutting the staff and also the halliard, no star was blotted out, but they were all left in the undivided Union which was to survive four years of war.

The story of the flag of Sumter is not to be told without giving some attention to the career of the man who made it, he who, cast upon his own resources by an administration containing three secession cabinet officers, so valiantly and wisely held up the honor of the government in spite of difficult surroundings and in spite of ties often more powerful than patriotism.

It is almost impossible, in writing of the time between the election of President Lincoln in November and the assault on Sumter in April, to reproduce any kind of an idea of the extent of public feeling and excitement or to give any impression of the bitterness existing in the South against those who for one reason or another might have been expected to join the side of the South but did not.

There were many reasons why Southern soldiers had counted on Robert Anderson of Kentucky, already a distinguished veteran of the Mexican War, as one of the men who would leave the Northern army and become one of the great generals of the South. Appointed to West Point from Kentucky, the state of his nativity, he graduated from the Academy in the early twenties as a second lieutenant of artillery. His service was not conspicuous until the Black

MRS. ELIZA BAYARD ANDERSON.

Hawk war in 1832, when he received honorable mention at the Battle of Bad Ax. He was breveted Captain in 1838 for distinguished services in the Seminole War in Florida, and again advanced to brevet major for his work under Scott in Mexico. He was in the thick of the fighting at the siege of Vera Cruz, and in the battle of Cerro Gordo, and was desperately wounded at the battle of Molino del Rey.

When Lincoln was elected, Major Anderson was on detail in New York, and as the rumblings in the South grew more threatening he was ordered by the Secretary of War to take command of the garrison in Charleston harbor, then located at Fort Moultrie. It was said at the time that this order was in itself treasonable and that the secession members of the Buchanan cabinet sent Anderson to Charleston because they believed that in the event of secession he could be expected to come out of the Union with his own people and that he would easily surrender this important port to the Southerners. As his wife's family, the Clinches of Georgia, were very prominent secessionists, and as they frequented Charleston, it was expected that Major Anderson's brother-in-law might have some influence with him.

In leaving New York Major Anderson had left his wife and five small children, one a babe in arms, at the Brevoort House, thinking it best to examine first the quarters to be had in the new post, and expecting also to send to his wife orders for carpets and such furniture as would be necessary in the new Southern station. But he had scarcely reached his post before it became evident that Moultrie was no place for women and babies.

Secession had by this time been declared, and armed forces were gathering for the defense of the new sovereignty of South Carolina. Before the organization of the Confederate Government, it must be remembered that South Carolina held herself to be an independent sovereignty, and held also that the presence of Major Anderson, with his little garrison, in the harbor, was the presence of an armed enemy. Therefore active preparations were made to demand the surrender of Moultrie. Fortifications were thrown up along the shore, hundreds of recently enlisted soldiers occupied them, and an attack upon Moultrie seemed imminent.

Therefore, upon his own responsibility, on December 26 Major Anderson moved his garrison to Fort Sumter. It was at this time that he cut down the old flag-staff at Moultrie, to the great infuriation of the citizens of Charleston, in order that the new flag might not be raised upon it. He

MRS. ANDERSON'S WASHINGTON RESIDENCE.

carried with him the now famous flag, and raised it over Sumter at noon on December 27, with prayers by the chaplain and patriotic music.

Secretary of War Floyd, a Virginian, sent the following telegram to Major Anderson, on receipt of the news of his evacuation of Moultrie: "Intelligence reached here this morning that you have abandoned Fort Moultrie, spiked your guns, burnt the carriages, and gone to Fort Sumter. It is not believed, because, there was no order for such a movement!" This was immediately answered: "The telegram is correct. I abandoned Fort Moultrie because I was certain that, if attacked, my men must have been sacrificed and the command of the harbor lost. I spiked the guns and destroyed the carriages to keep the guns from being turned against us. If attacked, the garrison would never have surrendered without a fight."

Of course, Major Anderson's action created great indignation in the South, and it became unsafe for him to go on shore, and although his action created the greatest enthusiasm in the North and made him the hero of the hour, he was evidently in great disfavor at Washington, and was left deserted and unaided. In fact, while it would have been very easy to reinforce the garrison at Sumter, no effort was made to do so, and the soldiers there suffered all sorts of neglect at the hands of the Federal government.

No one, in fact, went to him but Mrs. Anderson, who, left behind in New York, and knowing his serious peril, made a most difficult journey through a hostile country to see her husband. She left her little children behind, and took with her Peter Hart, who had formerly served as a sergeant under Major Anderson in the Mexican war and who had subsequently married the Andersons' cook.

It was on the 12th of April, 1861, that the bombardment of Fort Sumter was begun by the surrounding forces of the Confederacy, and this is generally called the first gun of the war. At any rate, this was really the beginning of hostilities between the United States and the Confederate States, and under the folds of this flag, then fired upon, the gallant Major Anderson and his little garrison won immortal fame. Hot shot and shell came down upon Sumter from triangular siege works, arranged by the rebel forces. The day was dark and cloudy, and, as if in feeling for its own disgrace, the old flag hung its head and was wrapped around the flagstaff. Seven times during the first day of the bombardment the flagstaff was struck.

Early in the day several vessels of the Federal fleet were observed off the bar, and orders were given to dip the flag to them. This was done, and the salute was returned, but while the flag was being hoisted after the third dip, a shell burst near the flagstaff and cut the halliard. The part of the halliard thus cut was so connected with the flag that it must have come down with a run, had not the end of the rope caught in the shivered staff, and kept the Star Spangled Banner aloft. There it remained for a long night of active bombardment and fierce illumination.

This is the incident to which Major Anderson referred when he afterwards said: "God Almighty nailed that flag to the mast, and I could not have lowered it if I had tried." At one o'clock of the second day, the flag-staff, having been hit twice before, that morning, was again struck and fell. The flag was immediately secured by Lieutenant Hall, and so soon as it could be attached to a temporary staff, was again hoisted on the parapet by Lieutenant Snyder of the engineer corps, assisted by the faithful Peter Hart.

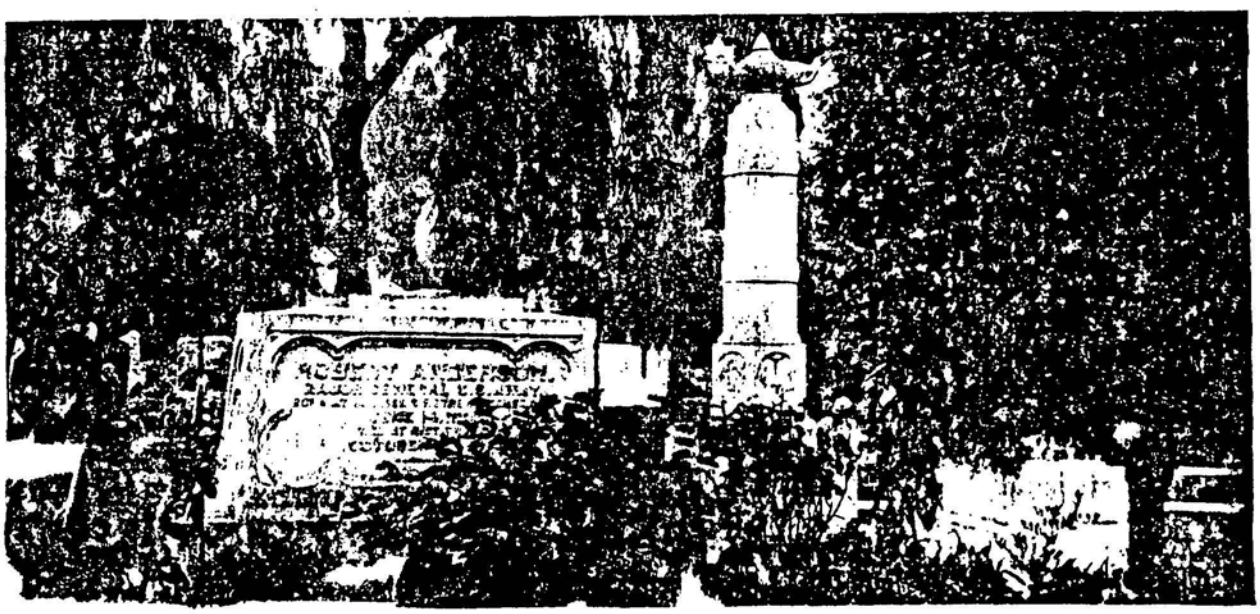
But with an army of thousands against a few score men there was no hope for the besieged. Major Anderson tells his own story in his report: "Having defended Fort Sumter for thirty-four hours, until the quarters were entirely burned, the main gates destroyed by fire, the gorge walls seriously injured, and the magazine surrounded by flames, and its doors closed from the effect of heat, four barrels and three cartridges of powder only being available, and no provisions remaining but pork, Fort Sumter was evacuated, and the little garrison 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."

The Confederate General Beauregard said, referring to Major Anderson: "With such material for an army, if properly disciplined, I would consider myself invincible against any forces not too superior."

Gen. Abner Doubleday claims the honor of having fired the first shot from Sumter in defence of the old flag. Edmund Ruffin, of Virginia, claimed that he fired the first Confederate gun at Sumter. Others have disputed with him this claim to notoriety. It is needless to say that, on his return to New York on the steamship "Baltic," General Anderson found himself a national hero.

He was particularly invited to call and see the President, and was personally thanked by Mr. Lincoln. After the greeting the President said: "You don't remember ever seeing me before, Major Anderson?" "No, Mr. President, I never had that pleasure." "Well, you have," answered the President, "even if you forget it. You mustered Abraham Lincoln into the volunteers during the Blackhawk war, and I remember you very well."

Soon after Major Anderson was made Brigadier-General in the army, but was unable to serve throughout the war on account of failing health, and was finally retired. He died in 1871, in Nice, when abroad in search of health. But his name, so indelibly associated with the old flag of Sumter, will remain equally long cherished in the heart of the Union.



MAJOR-GENERAL ROBERT [illegible] CAVE AT WEST POINT.

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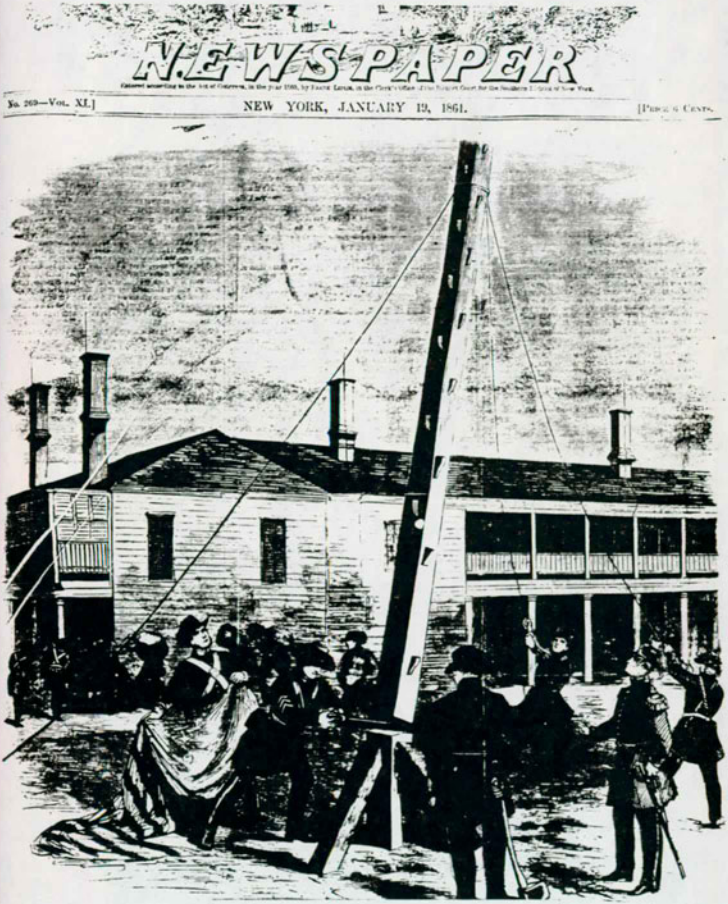


Fig. 1- Cutting down Fort Moultrie flagstaff. Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper

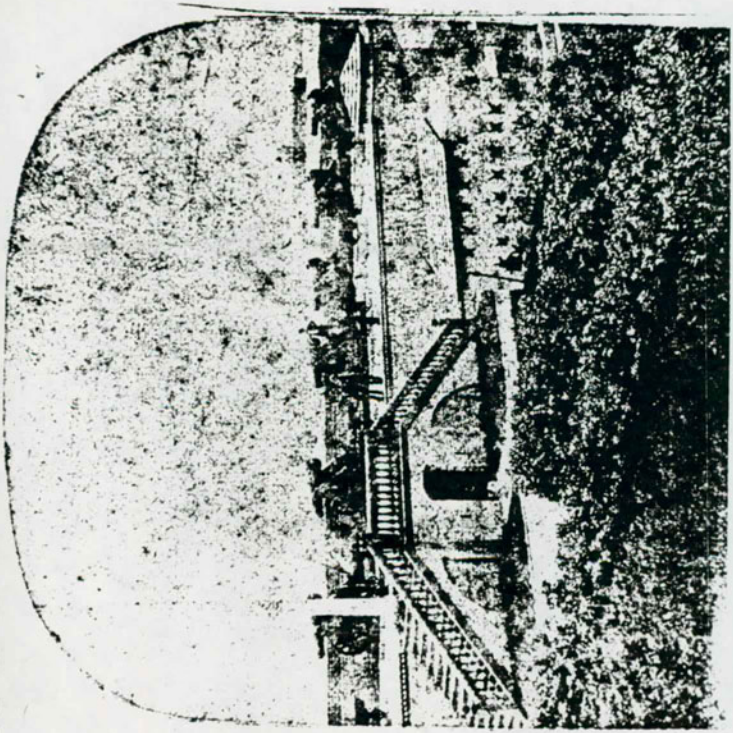
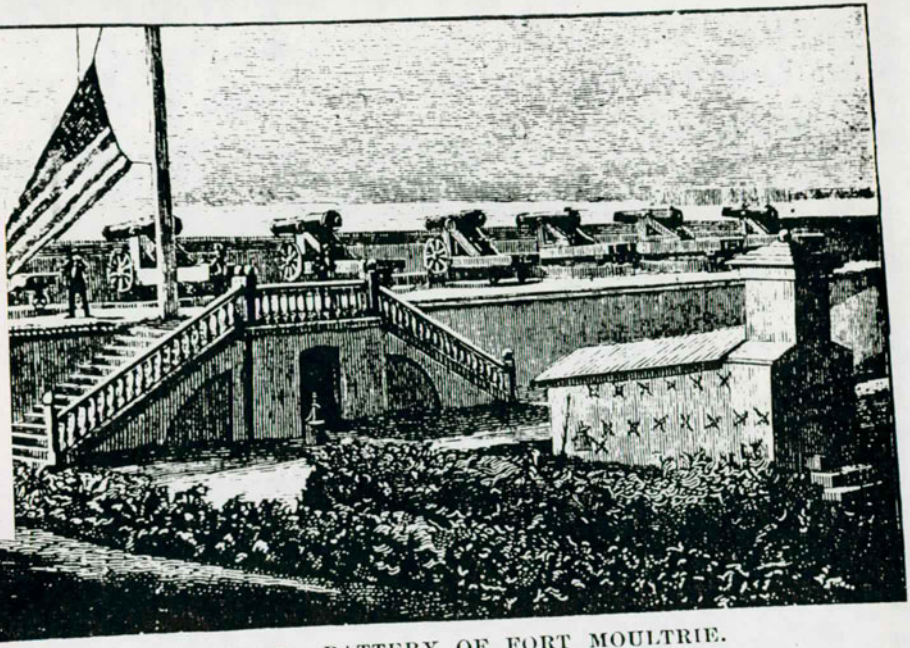


Fig.2- Fort Moultrie sea battery, pre-war photograph. S.C. Historical Society



THE SEA BATTERY OF FORT MOULTRIE.
FROM A PHOTOGRAPH TAKEN BEFORE THE WAR.

Fig. 3- Fort Moultrie sea battery, from pre-war photograph. Battles & Leaders

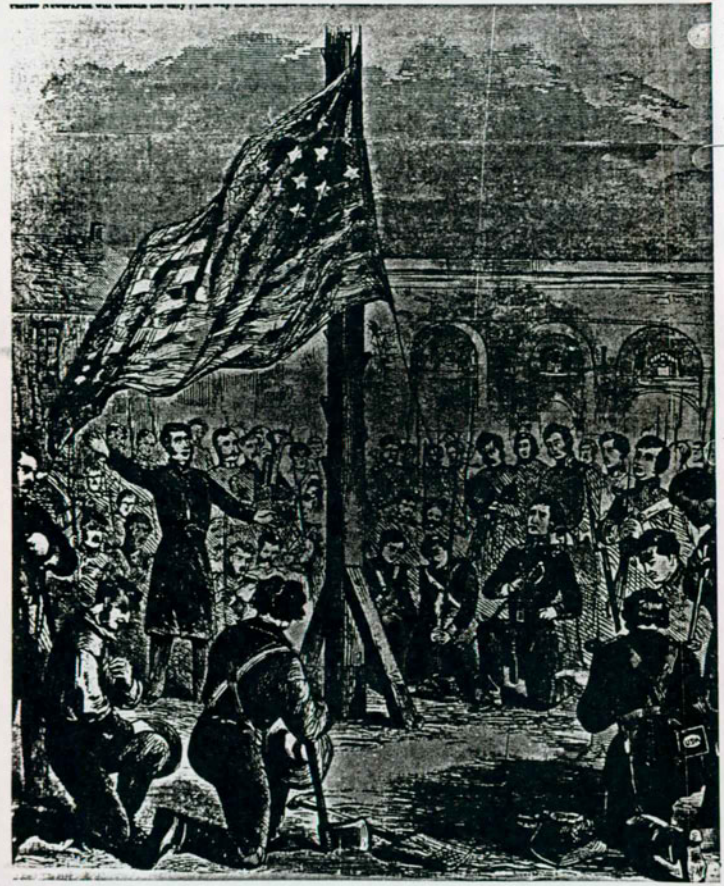


Fig. 4- Fort Sumter flag raising, Dec.27, 1860.
Frank Leslie's

HOISTING GUNS ON THE PARAPET, FORT SUMTER.

Fig. 5- From Crawford, Genesis of the Civil War

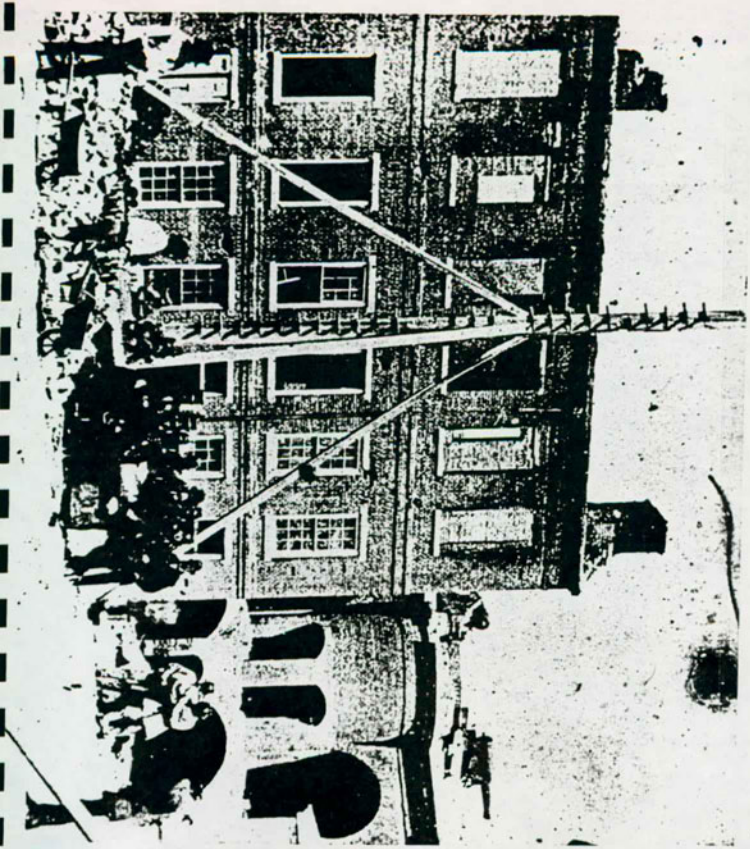
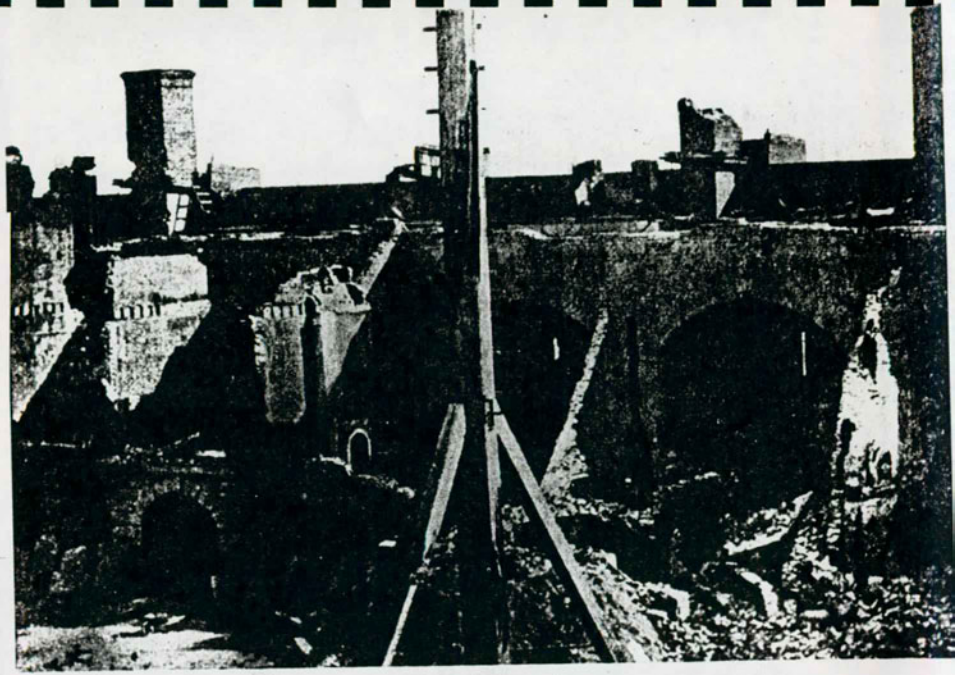


Fig. 6- Interior Fort Sumter, c.April 17,1861, showing base of flagstaff.



5—Ruins of the casemates near the sallyport, and of the flagstaff—1861

Fig. 7 - Interior Fort Sumter, c. April 17, 1861, showing flagstaff.

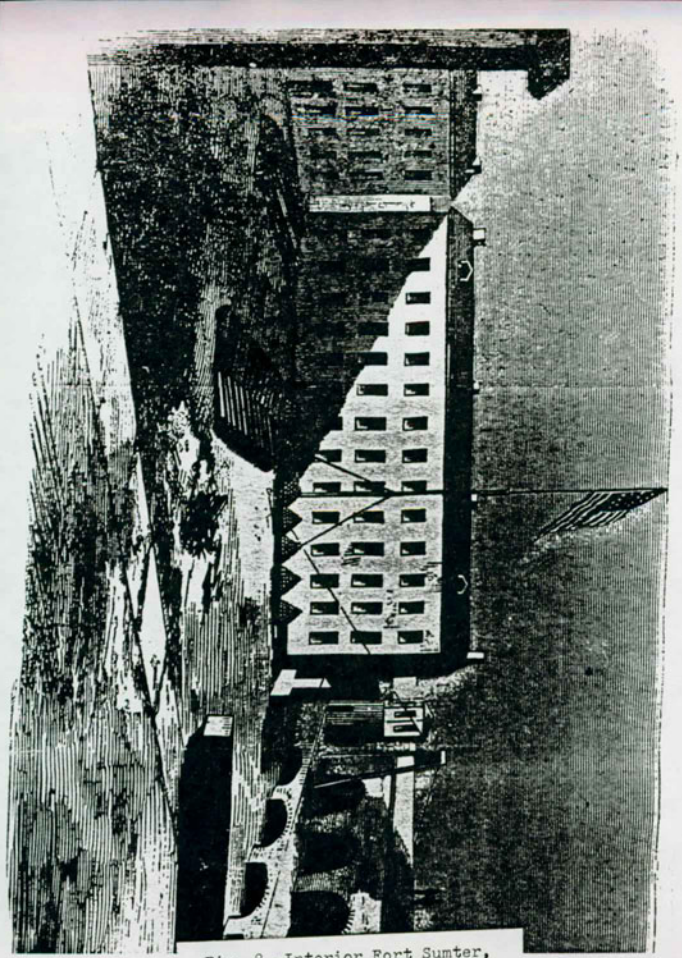


Fig. 8 -Interior Fort Sumter, drawn by one of Anderson's officers. Harper's Weekly, Jan. 26, 1861.

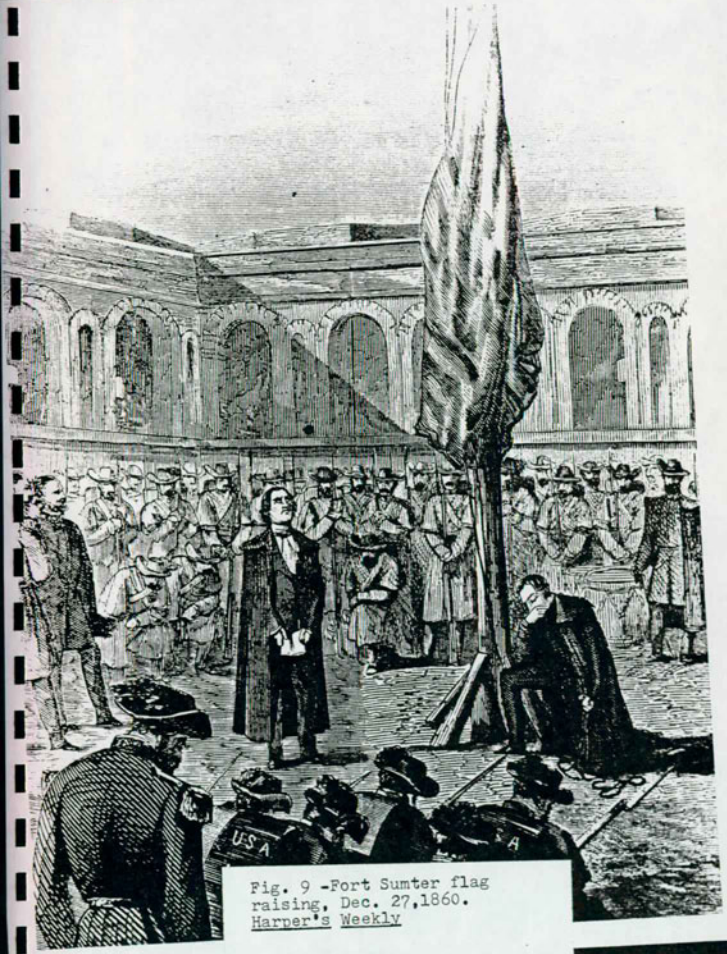
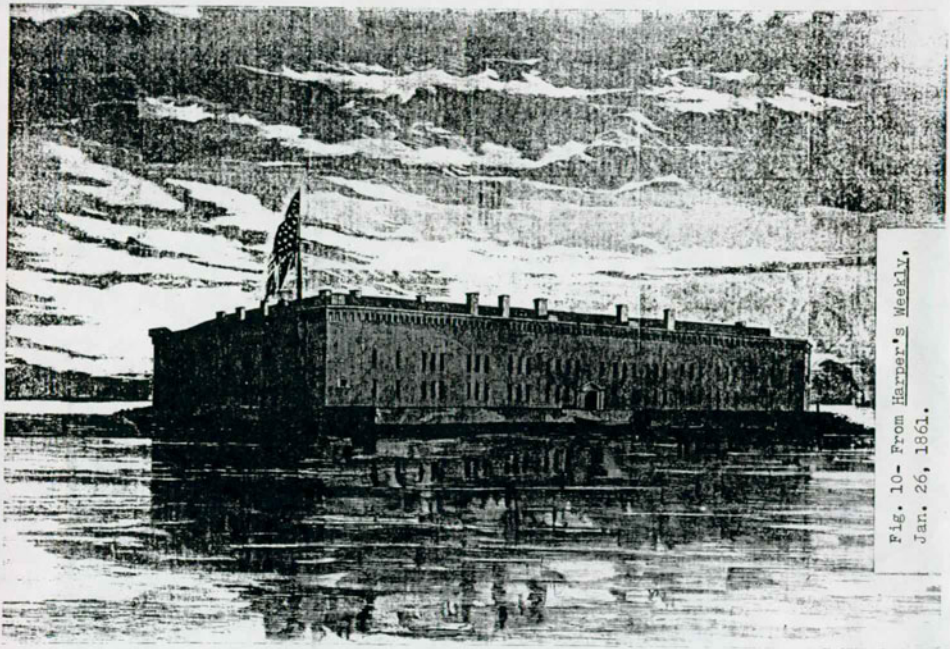


Fig. 9 -Fort Sumter flag raising, Dec. 27,1860. Harper's Weekly



FORT SUMTER, SEEN FROM THE REAR, AT LOW WATER.—From a Sketch by an Officer of Major Anderson's Command.—[See Page 45.]

Fig. 10- From Harper's Weekly, Jan. 26, 1861.

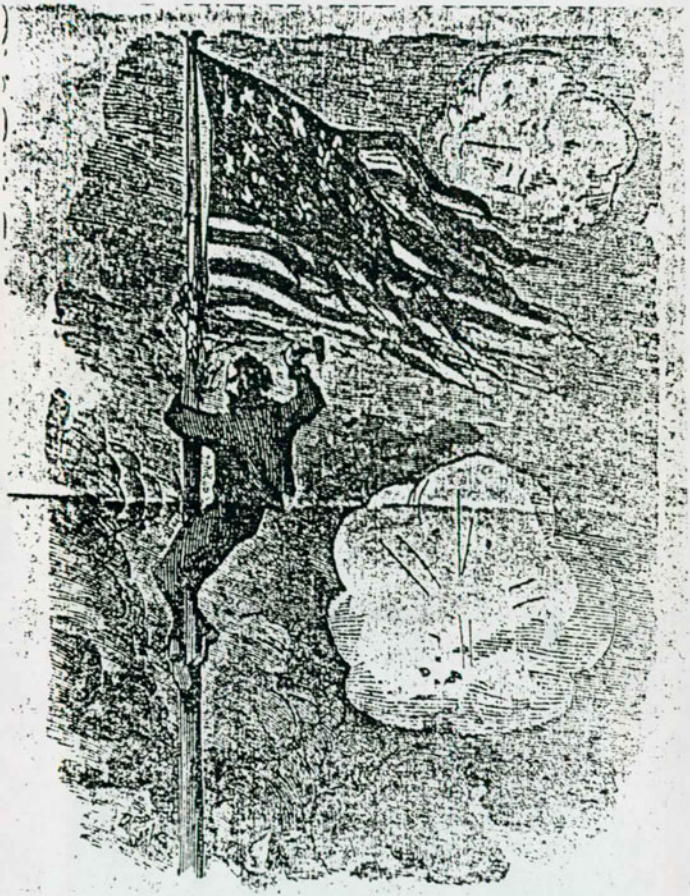


Fig. 11 - From Within Fort Sumter, By One of the Company

Fig. 12- Trapier Battery
bombarding Fort Sumter,
April 12, 1861.

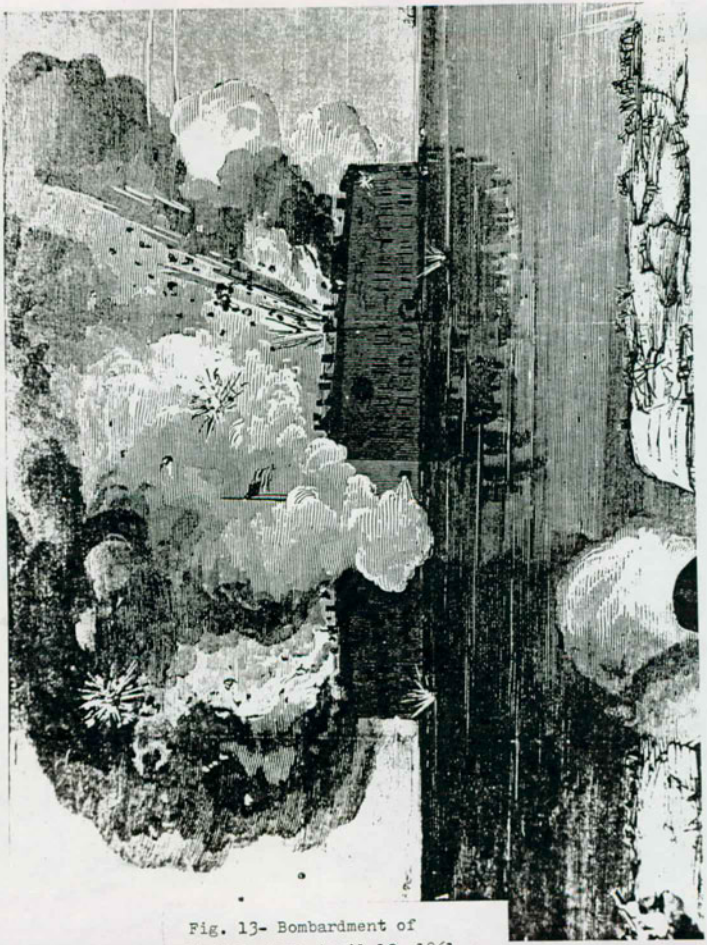


Fig. 13- Bombardment of
Fort Sumter, April 13, 1861.
Harper's Weekly

Fig. 14- Sgt. Hart nailing the flag, by Gilbert Gaul. From Charles C. Coffin, Drumbeat of a Nation.

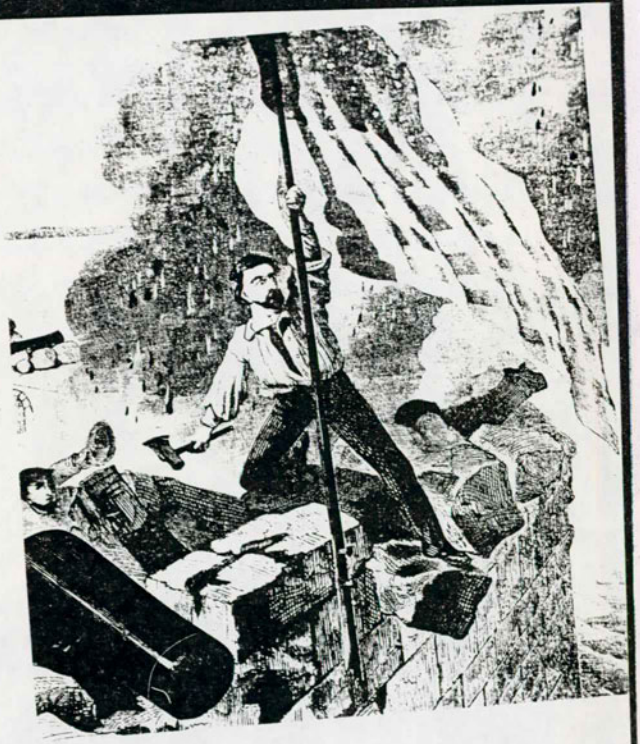


Fig. 15- Sgt. Hart nailing the flag. Harper's Weekly

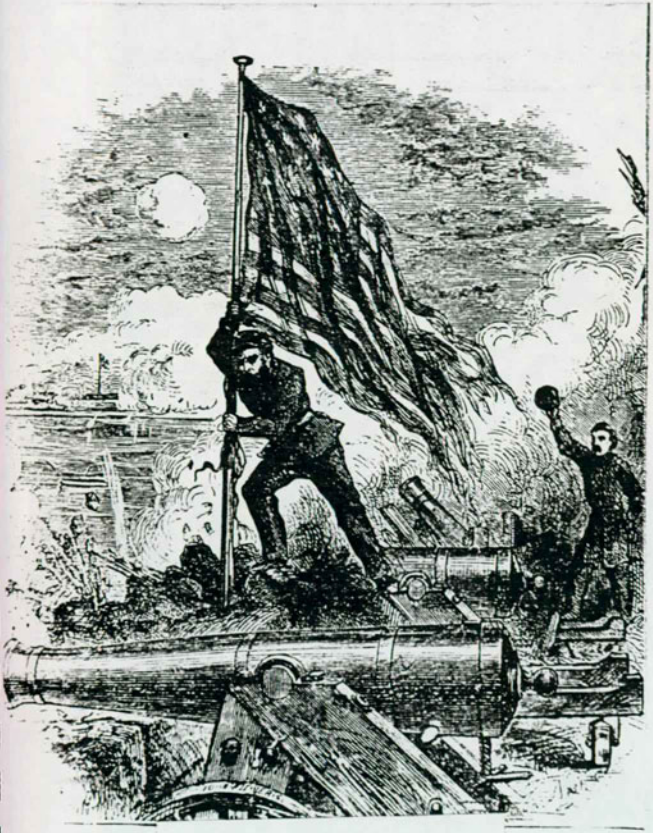


Fig. 16- Sgt. Hart planting the colors on the parapet.
Mass-MOLLUS, USAMHRI

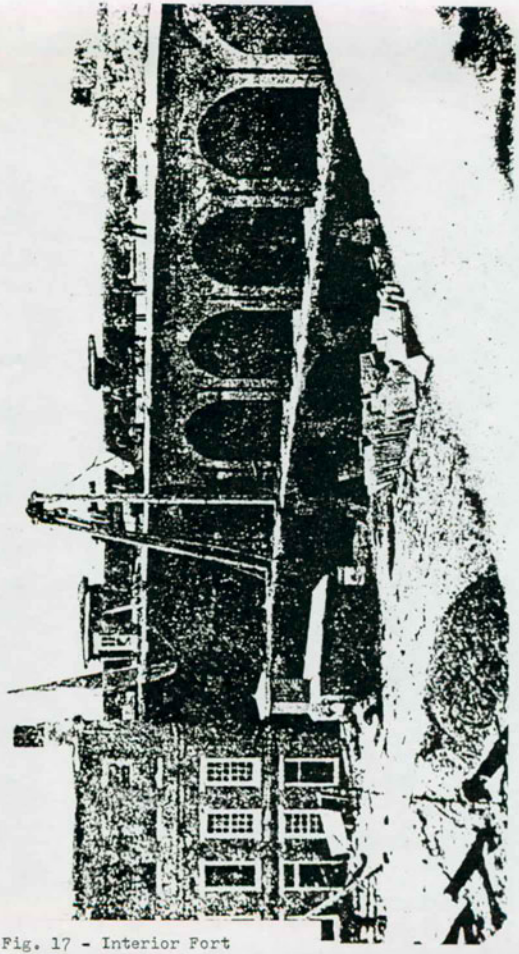


Fig. 17 - Interior Fort Sumter, c. April 16, 1861, showing flag on gun carriage.

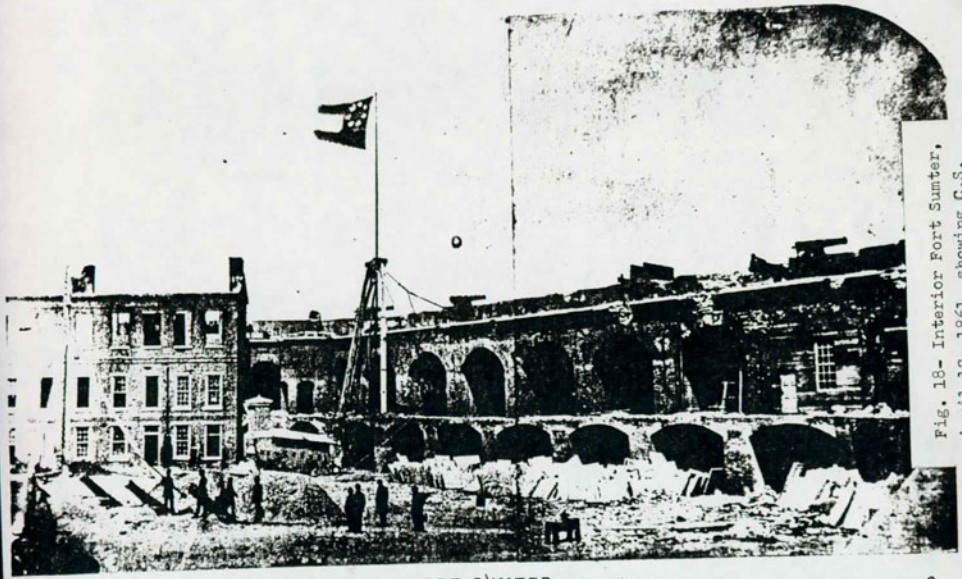


Fig. 18- Interior Fort Sumter, April 17, 1861, showing C.S. flagstaff lashed to derrick.

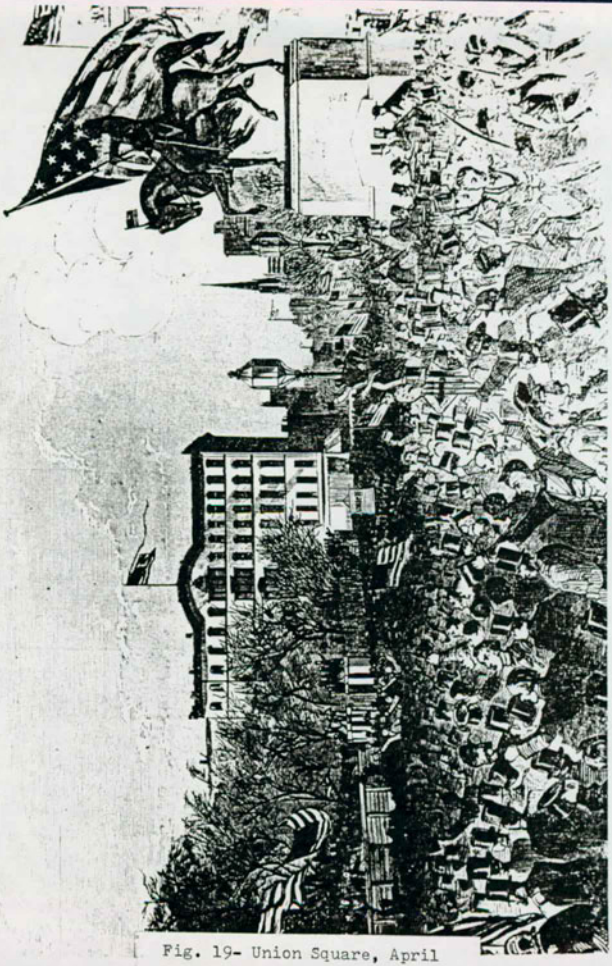


Fig. 19- Union Square, April 20, 1861. Harper's Weekly

GREAT MASS MEETING AT UNION SQUARE, NEW YORK. (See page 16.)

Fig. 20 - Union Square April 20, 1861. From Pictorial War Record

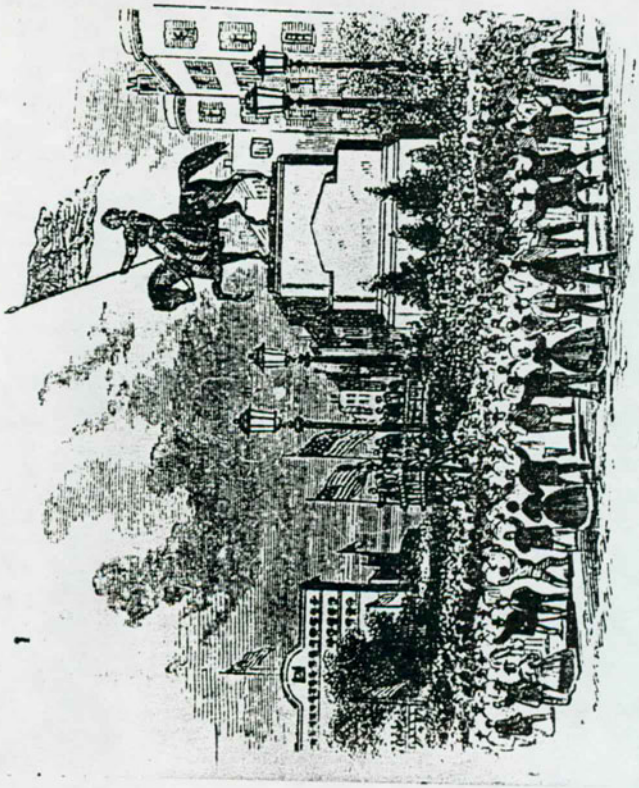


Fig. 21- Union Square, April 20, 1861. From Lossing, History of the Civil War.

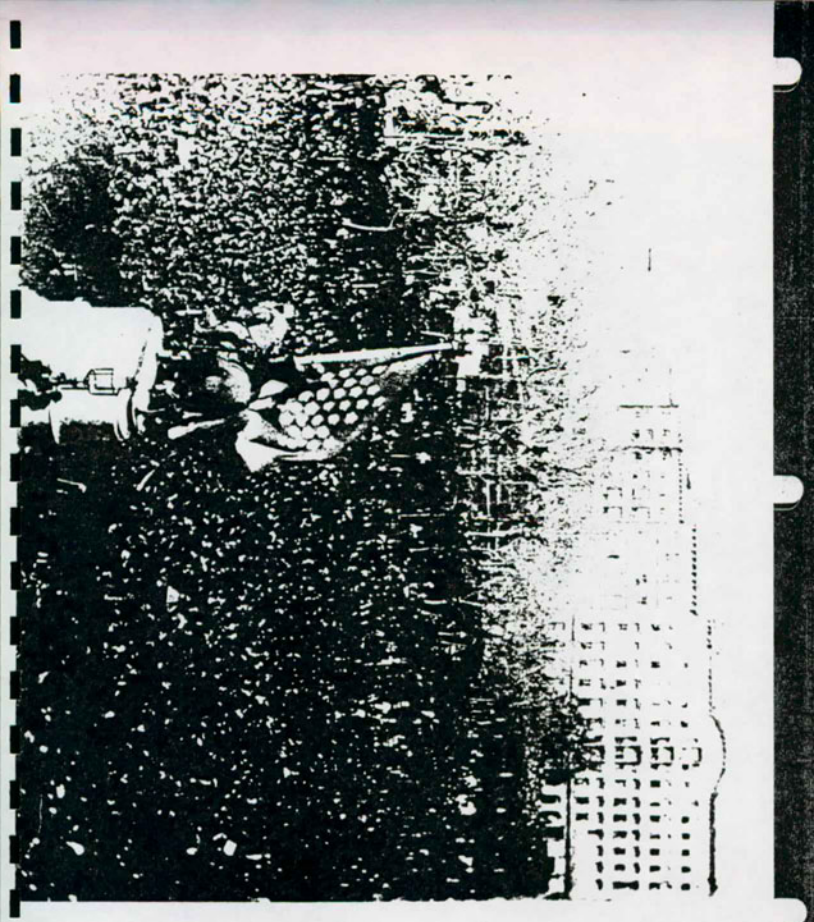


Fig. 22- Garrison Flag in Union Square. New York Historical Society

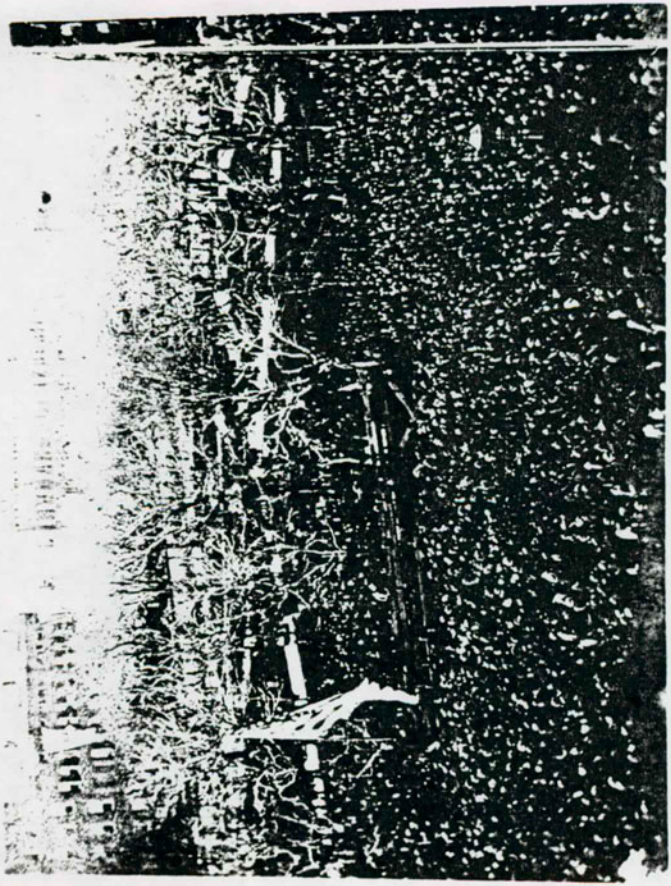


Fig. 23 - Storm Flag
in Union Square. Library
of Congress

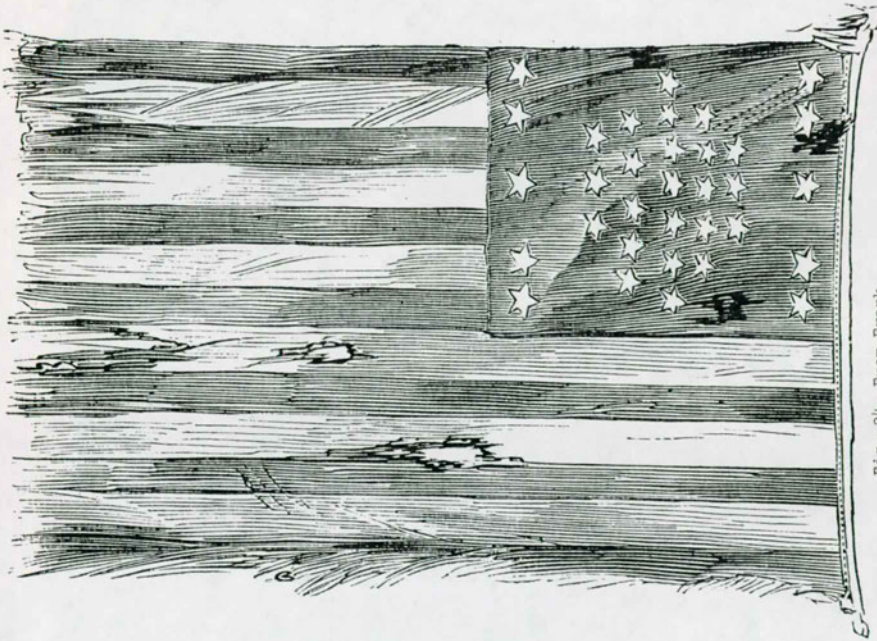
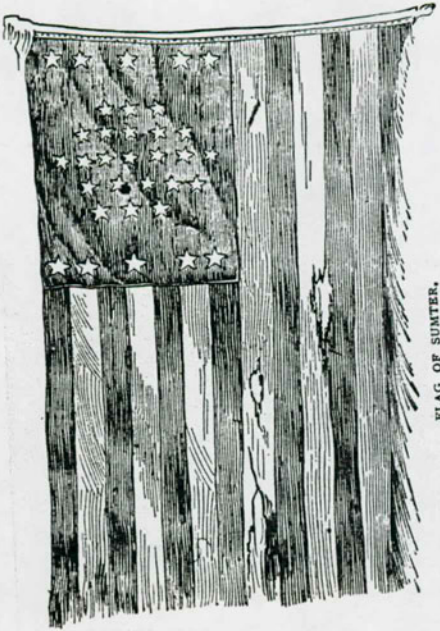


Fig. 24- From Frank Leslie's Pictorial History of the American Civil War of 1861

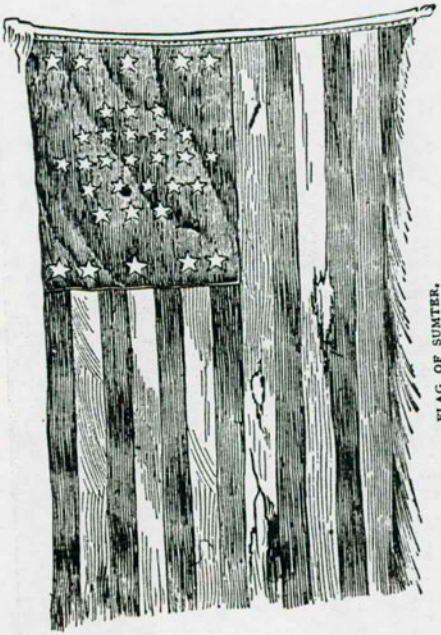
No. 1.—THE FLAG OF FORT SUMPTER AFTER THE BOMBARDMENT.



FLAG OF SUMTER.

Fig. 25 - From The Memorial War Book

Fig. 26 - Fort Sumter flag raising, April 14, 1865. From The Trip of the Steamer Oceanus



FLAG OF SUMTER.

Fig. 25 - From The Memorial War Book

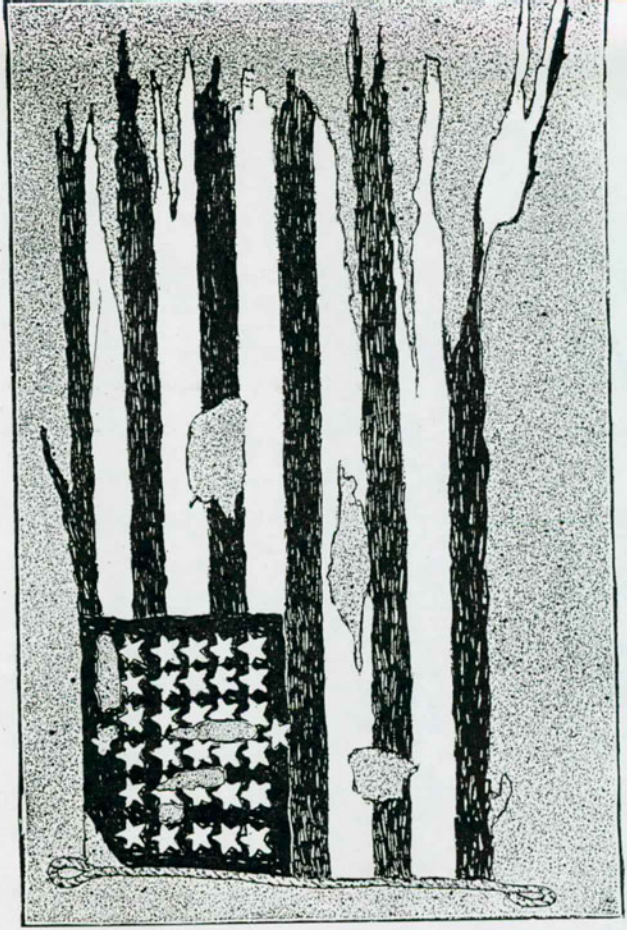


Fig. 27 - The Fort Sumter Flag, by Chalmers Roberts

Fig. 28- The Fort Sumter Flag, by George Alexander Ross

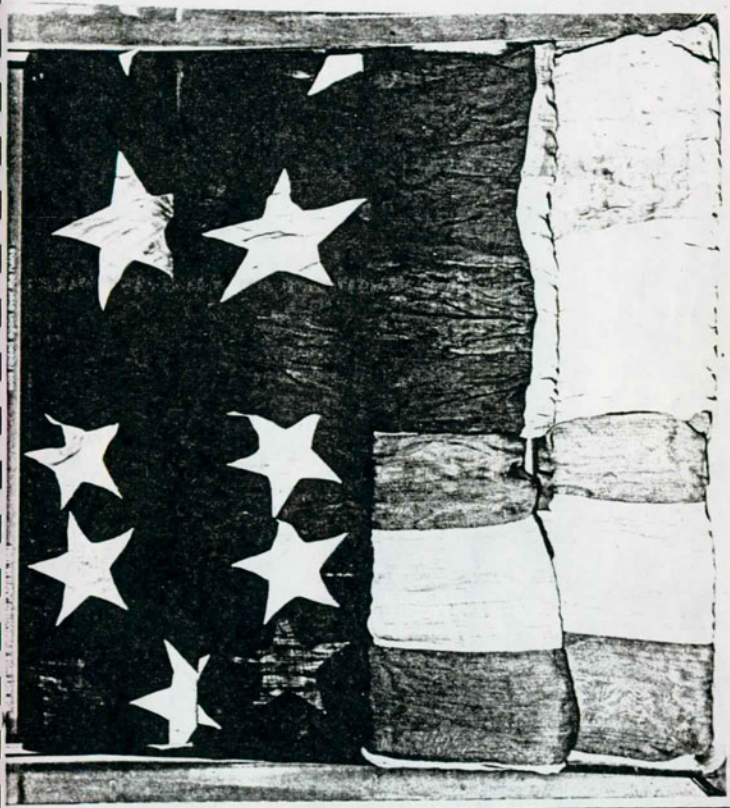


Fig.29- Garrison and
Storm Flags in case,
Fort Sumter, c. 1954.

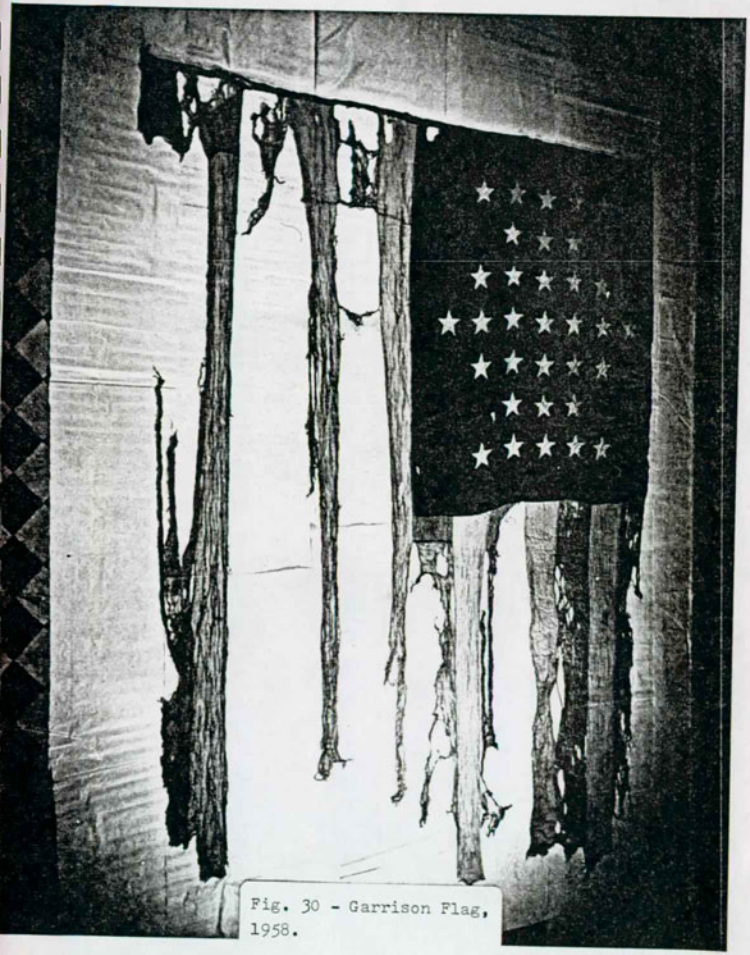


Fig. 30 - Garrison Flag, 1958.

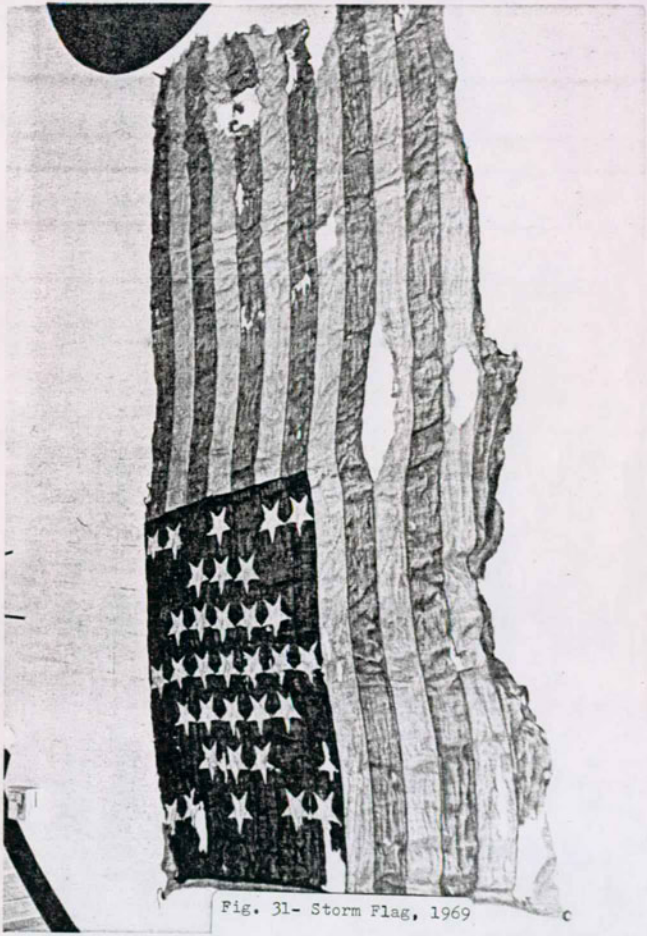


Fig. 31- Storm Flag, 1969

Fig. 32- Storm Flag,
January, 1975

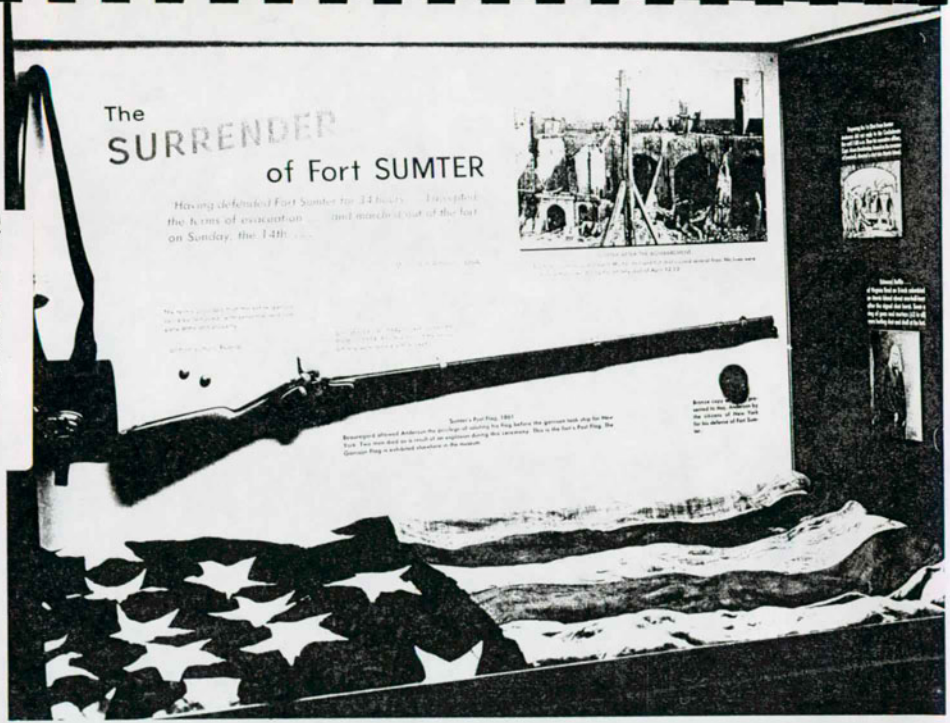


Fig. 33- Storm Flag,
January, 1975

Fig. 34- Garrison Flag, January, 1975.

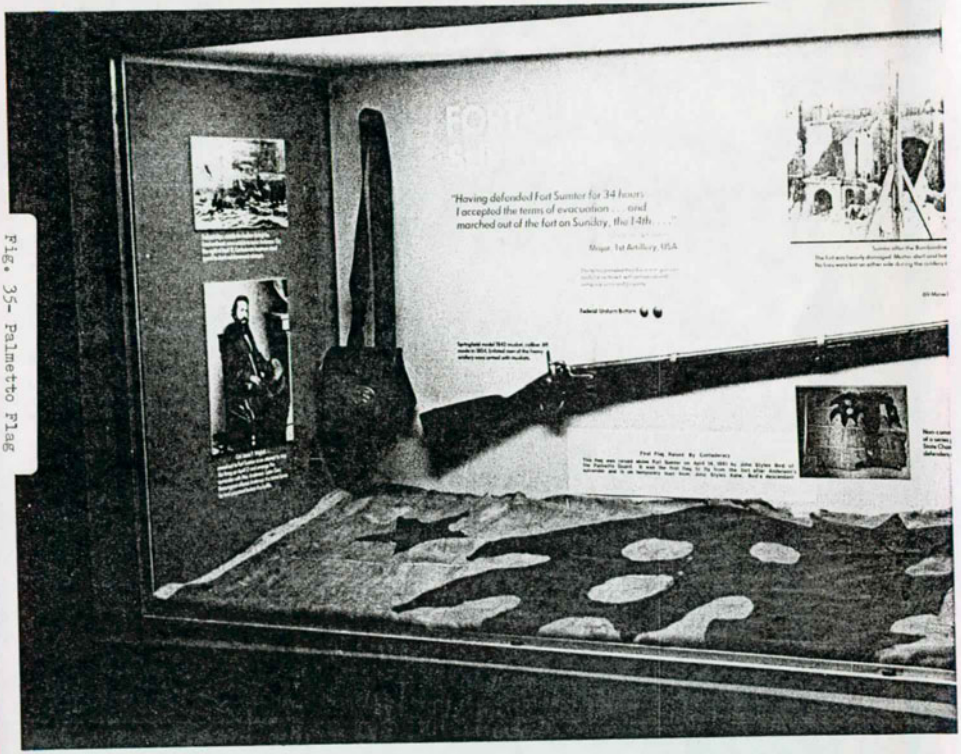


Fig. 35- Palmetto Flag in case in place of Storm Flag, Dec., 1979

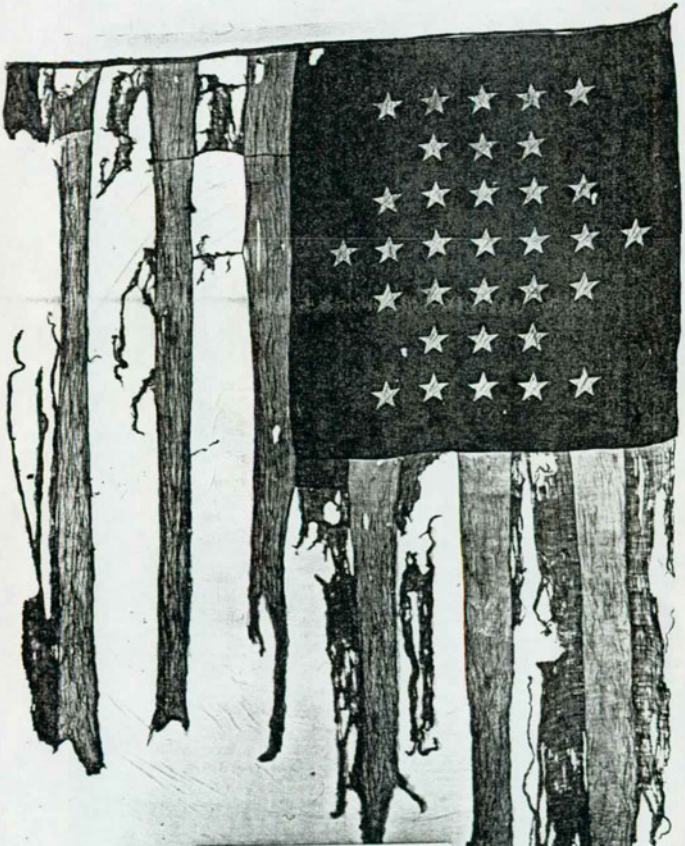


Fig. 36- Garrison Flag, National Guard Armory, Martinsburg, W.Va., Sept. 1981.

Fig. 37- Storm Flag,
National Guard Armory
Martinsburg, W.Va.,
Sept., 1981

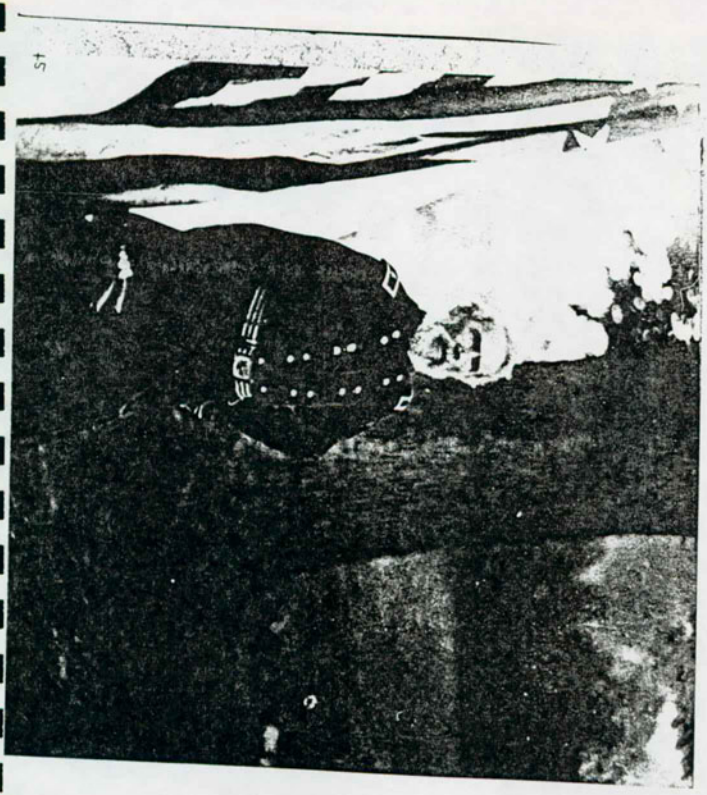


Fig. 38- Gen. E.V. Sumner
with headquarters flag,
Mass-MOLLUS,USAMHRI

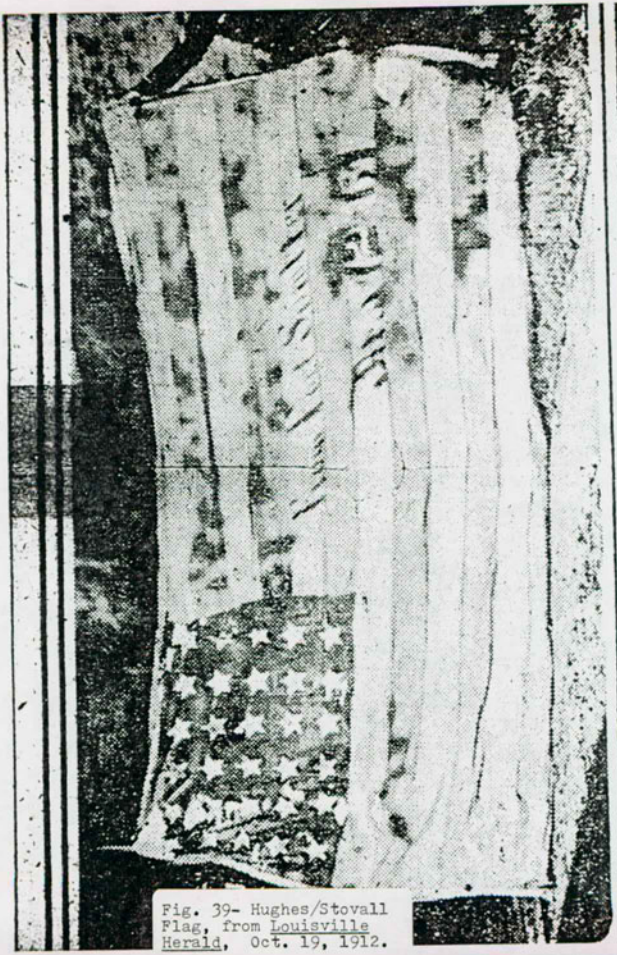


Fig. 39- Hughes/Stovall Flag, from Louisville Herald, Oct. 19, 1912.