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“Look here, my friend, before I forget it, why are you always talking of “a load of gratitude” — now suppose we say no more about this. Your visit to me gave me new life, induced me to go carefully over my favorite study, and made me and my family happy. We have therefore, been mutually obliged and gratified.”

(Written by John Bachman to Audubon from Charleston, December 23, 1831)
A Load of Gratitude: Audubon and South Carolina

by

Davy-Jo Stribling Ridge

Thomas Cooper Library
The University of South Carolina
Columbia, S.C.
1985
On the cover: Plate 231. Long-Billed Curlew
"A Load of Gratitude": Audubon and South Carolina serves as the catalogue to "John James Audubon and the South Carolina Connection," a commemorative exhibit at the University of South Carolina on the 200th anniversary of Audubon's birth. The exhibit (November 15, 1985 - January 26, 1986), co-sponsored by the McKissick Museum and the Thomas Cooper Library, emphasizes the work which Audubon did in South Carolina. Equally honored is the role played by South Carolinians in helping Audubon complete his ambitious project of drawing all the birds in America in life size.

The importance of Audubon's South Carolina connection has never received the recognition it deserves. It is well known that the encouragement of the Rev. John Bachman and the artistic assistance of Maria Martin were major factors in the successful completion of Audubon's project. However, many other South Carolinians gave vital support to the ornithologist by offering him the hospitality of their homes and services. Bird and botanical specimens were collected and preserved for his use in drawing and observations of various species were recorded and forwarded to him in England to be used in writing the text to accompany the paintings. His South Carolina admirers were so enthusiastic that Audubon did not hesitate to make frequent and persistent demands on their time and effort. The fact that the State of South Carolina was the first state to place a firm subscription to Birds of America is a tribute to the high intellect and foresight of its citizens. South Carolinians are justified in being proud of such a heritage.

The exhibit would not have been possible without generous grant support from the South Carolina Committee for the Humanities. Invaluable help for this publication was received from the staffs of the New-York Historical Society, the South Carolina Department of Archives and History, the University of South Carolina Archives, the South Caroliniana Library, the South Carolina Newspapers Project, the University of South Carolina Information Services and Kenneth E. Toombs, director, and staff of Thomas Cooper Library.
“Our Work will become important even long ere it is compleated; for this reason it is imperiously necessary that every exertion in our power should be kept up, with truth, firmness, dignity and consistency from beginning to end — that the World and Naturalists especially will become satisfied that when finished, Our Work will be the standard of American Ornithology, I have no doubt, this will in all probability only appear after my Death…”

(John James Audubon to his son, Victor, from Charleston, S.C., January 16, 1834)
"...but at last on Sunday last (a week this
day) we arrived at Charleston —..."

(Written by Audubon to his wife, from
Charleston, S.C., October 23, 1831)

When John James Audubon felt compelled to return to America from England in 1831 to broaden his ornithological observations and work for the massive *Birds of America*, he made what was perhaps the most fortunate decision in his career. He determined that he must travel to East Florida to study and draw species he had not been able to observe before. To assist him in his Florida expedition he acquired the services of Henry Ward, a young English taxidermist, who returned with him to America and George Lehman, a Swiss landscape painter whom he met in Philadelphia.

Audubon’s plan for the trip was to explore Florida and then continue to regions west of the Mississippi River, including Mexico and California. He hoped to cross the Rocky Mountains and pursue the Columbia River to the Pacific Ocean. However, his ambition as usual outran his financial ability and the western tour had to wait until twelve years later in 1843, after the completion of *Birds of America*.

Audubon, Ward and Lehman, loaded with the materials of their trades, including a bound copy of the first volume of *Birds of America*, left Philadelphia in early October 1831. They proceeded to Washington in hopes of obtaining passage on a government vessel but had to proceed by steamer to Richmond, Va. From Richmond they traveled south in “poor coaches, dragged through immense, deserted pine forests, miserable fare, and neither birds nor quadrupeds to be seen”.

On October 13th Audubon wrote Lucy, his wife, from Fayetteville, N.C.:

“We have had for compagnon de Voyage a Colonel Preston the nephew of the Large Colonel Preston which we knew at Louisville — an amiable Gentleman who resides at Columbia S.C. and whom we will see there for he hired a Gig last evening and pushed for home having no baggage except a carpet bag—"
Audubon arrives in Charleston

I shall stay at Columbia 2 days as Col/Preston thinks that the College at least will Subscribe. — Our baggage is all in good order as far as can Judge by the outside — I will write from Columbia."

His next letter to Lucy written on October 23rd does not mention Columbia and it can be assumed from his description of the Pee Dee River in flood stage that the trip was considered too hazardous to Columbia at that time and the group proceeded directly to Charleston.3

"We left the latter place on the day I wrote in a cramped Coach and passed over a flat level and dreary Country crossing at every half mile or so Swamps all of which might be termed truly dismal — no birds, no quadrupeds no prospect (save that of being Jostled) — The waters were all high — it took us 3 hours to cross the Pee Dee River in a Canoe &c &c but at last on Sunday last (a week this day) we arrived at Charleston — put up at a boarding house to the owner of which I paid 10½ Dollars for 3 meals and 2 nights rest — "

It is not known how knowledgeable Audubon was of Charleston and its climate. His letters to Lucy indicate his surprise at finding how hot the South Carolina low country could be in the late autumn.

"Charleston is less in size than Baltimore — it lays flat in front of the Bay — The population is about 30,000 — Politics run high with the Tariff men."

"We have had the weather extremely hot and in all excursions the sand flies have tormented us at a round rate. — In consequence of the heat and the Insects Henry's Face and Legs have been rendered so sore that the poor Fellow could hardly walk and his Skin is now coming off from all over him — he was fairly frightened and thought he was going to die."

One may speculate that Audubon had read up on the natural history of South Carolina from a reference he makes to the ornithological section of Lawson's well-known History of Carolina. In his description of the coot Audubon states that, "The appellation of "Flusterers" given to it by Mr. Lawson in his History of South Carolina never came to my ear during my visits to that state". In his description of the habits of the raven in the South Carolina mountains Audubon quotes a lengthy passage describing Table Rock Mountain (in Pickens County) from John Drayton's Views of South Carolina. 6

Of course, there is the possibility that he read these two books during his lengthy visits to Charleston where outstanding public and private libraries were available to him.
Charleston harbor during the 1830s. (Courtesy of the South Caroliniana Library)
Rev. Dr. John Bachman, of Charleston, Audubon's "dear friend."
(Courtesy of the South Caroliniana Library)
Audubon and his two assistants were overwhelmed by Southern hospitality and he quickly determined that South Carolinians were a breed apart! In his December 7, 1831 letter to G. W. Featherstonhaugh, he commented, 

“We at length approached Charleston, and the view of that city from across the bay was hailed by our party with unfeigned delight. Charmed, as we were, with having terminated our dreary journey, it did not occur to us to anticipate the extraordinary hospitality which awaited us there, and which led to a residence of a few of the happiest weeks I ever passed... It is impossible to do justice to the generous feelings of the Charlestonians, or to their extreme kindness towards me. Many of the gentlemen took the greatest interest in my pursuits; one, Dr. ——, presented me with an excellent New Foundland dog, and other valuable memorials of his regard. Another, Dr. ——, gave me a collection of shells, from the adjacent waters. The ladies presented me with a capital supply of snuff. Desirous of going to Cole's Island, distant about 25 or 30 miles, to look after some marine birds, a boat, four hands and a pilot, were immediately offered to me, free of all expense, with the liberty to detain them as long as was agreeable to me. It is not possible for me to express properly the sense I feel of the kindness I received from that warm-hearted and intelligent people.”

In his November 7th letter to Lucy, Audubon named the benefactors of the various gifts. The Newfoundland dog came from Dr. Samuel Wilson who also gave Audubon a handsome silver snuff box. Mr. William Kunhardt (spelled “Connart” by Audubon) gave Audubon six bottles of snuff and various Charleston ladies also brought him six bottles of snuff. Mr. Kunhardt gave Audubon the use of his boat, four negroes to row and his clerk to pilot...
under Audubon’s orders to make an overnight trip to Cole’s Island on November 8, 1831. Audubon wrote Lucy that Kunhardt was no sportsman but was anxious to help the progress of Audubon’s work.

Dr. Henry Ravenel gave Audubon “a fine mess of shells” and Audubon in return instructed Lucy to have Victor, his son, ship Dr. Ravenel a box of Ohio River shells. In this manner, Audubon assisted Dr. Ravenel who was a noted conchologist. Audubon also reciprocated the hospitality of another Charlestonian, John Edwards Holbrook, America’s first great herpetologist, by sending him specimens of snakes from the Island of Barataria in April 1837. Audubon evidently encouraged his assistant, Henry Ward, to sell his English bird skin collection to Prof. Robert W. Gibbes of South Carolina College to assist Dr. Gibbes’ research.

Audubon was entertained in various homes in South Carolina. Some invitations he had to decline so that he could continue his work. One such invitation was that of Dr. Ravenel of November 6, 1831 to spend several weeks at his plantation 40 miles from Charleston. Audubon did visit “Round O” plantation later to observe the Common Egret. A favorite resort for Audubon was “Liberty Hall,” the plantation home of Dr. C. Desel at Goose Creek. He was also entertained in the home of Joel R. Poinsett. Audubon recorded in his journal that he and Lucy spent a night in the home of Prof. Gibbes in Columbia in October, 1833.

Audubon was also indebted to M. Noisette who had an extensive botanical garden near Charleston and who furnished some botanical specimens for the Birds of America.

In his November 7th letter to Lucy, Audubon also boasted that “the Papers here have blown me up sky high.” Indeed the Charleston Mercury devoted considerable space to a very laudatory article on October 20, 1831 about the “celebrated Ornithologist, who recently arrived in this city, from New Orleans.” The article further states that Audubon “has deposited a volume of his work in the Charleston Library for public inspection. — Those who may examine it, we think, will acknowledge themselves amply rewarded for the trouble.” The article goes on to describe in detail the magnificence of the work as well as the fact that it will be appreciated by connoisseurs as well as “those who would be less capable of judging correctly” such art. One might well suspect that the source of this extremely favorable article was the Rev. Dr. John Bachman.

From London, on July 9, 1836, Audubon wrote Dr. John Bachman that he was bringing the Charleston Natural History Society a collection of European, Asian, African and South American bird skins which he would present in person. This gesture was obviously done in appreciation for the previous kindnesses of Charlestonians to him.

Audubon was so grateful for the hospitality of South Carolinians that when he discovered a smaller Southern specie of the Blackcapped Chickadee he immortalized his feelings by naming it the “Carolina Titmouse” (Plate 160). He wrote,

“My drawing of the Carolina Titmouse was made not far from New Orleans late in 1820. I have named it so, partly because it occurs in Carolina, and partly because I was desirous of manifesting my gratitude towards the citizens of that State, who by their hospitality and polite attention have so much contributed to my comfort and happiness, whenever it has been my good fortune to be among them.”
The printer's proof Plate 160, Black-capped Titmouse showing Audubon's handwriting changing the name to "Carolina Titmouse" to honor South Carolinians who assisted him. (Courtesy of the New-York Historical Society)
Rev. Bachman's house in Charleston where the Audubon family lived while in South Carolina.
(Courtesy of Thomas Cooper Library)
The combined hospitality toward Audubon of all other South Carolinians did not equal that of the Reverend Dr. John Bachman. No one of all Audubon's acquaintances throughout his life had more of an influence on Audubon and the completion of his great work than did Dr. Bachman. After reading Audubon's text to the *Birds of America*, the *Ornithological Biography* (London, 1831-1839), his journals and his and Dr. Bachman's correspondence, one is strongly tempted to theorize that had Audubon not come to Charleston and by chance met John Bachman, *Birds of America* would have never been completed. John Bachman, pastor of the St. John's Lutheran Church in Charleston, was not only a learned theologian but a respected American naturalist. He had the formal scientific education which Audubon lacked and of which Audubon took immediate advantage.

On October 17, 1831, the day after arriving in Charleston, Audubon delivered letters of introduction to a Mr. Lowndes (who apparently did not show enthusiasm) and to Rev. Samuel Gilman, Unitarian minister, who had arranged cheaper lodgings for Audubon. As they were walking together, Gilman "presented me in the street to the Revd Mr. Bachman! — Mr. Bachman!! why my Lucy Mr. Bachman would have us all to stay at his house — he would have us to make free there as if we were at our own encampment at the headwaters of Some unknown Rivers — he would not suffer us to proceed farther South for 3 weeks — he talked — he looked as if his heart had been purposely made of the most benevolent materials granted to man by the Creator to render all about him most happy — Could I have refused his kind invitation? No! — It would have pained him as much as if grossly insulted. We removed to his house in a crack — found a room already arranged for Henry to skin our Birds — another for me & Lehman to Draw and a third for..."
In his letter to G.W. Featherstonhaugh six weeks later Audubon was still ecstatic about meeting Bachman:14

"I had passed but one night in the city when I was presented to the Rev. Mr. —. This benevolent man, whom I am proud to call my friend would not suffer the "American Woodsman" to repose anywhere but under his roof; and not him alone—all his assistants too. When I tell you that he was an old friend of Alexander Wilson, that he shoots well, is an ornithologist, a philosophical naturalist, and that during the time we enjoyed his hospitality, he took us all over the country with his carriages and servants, in search of specimens, and that he was every thing a kind brother could be to me, you may suppose that it is with great sincerity I say, and ever shall say, God bless him! When I first saw this excellent man, he was on horseback, but upon my being named to him, he leaped from his saddle, suffered his horse to stand at liberty, and gave me his hand with a pressure of cordiality that electrified me. I saw in his eyes that all he said was good and true; and although he spoke of my labours in terms far exceeding what is due to them..."

Bachman, on the other hand, was just as delighted to meet Audubon and felt that his hospitality did not pay for the benefits he received from having Audubon and his assistants stay in the Bachman home. On November 15, 1831, Bachman wrote a letter to Lucy Audubon in which he extolled Audubon’s virtues:19

"How gratifying was it, then, to become acquainted with a man, who knew more about birds than any man now living — and who, at the same time, was communicative, intelligent, and amiable, to an extent seldom found associated in the same individual. He has convinced me that I was but a novice in the study; and besides receiving many lessons from him in Ornithology, he has taught me how much can be accomplished by a single individual, who will unite enthusiasm with industry. For the short month he remained with my family, we were inseparable. We were engaged in talking about Ornithology — in collecting birds — in seeing them prepared, and in laying plans for the accomplishment of that great work which he has undertaken. Time passed rapidly away, and it seems but as yesterday since we met, and now, alas! he is already separated from me..."

He wrote Audubon,

"A month in your society would afford me a greater treat than the highest prize in a lottery."20

After three weeks living in the Bachman home and taking bird trips with Bachman, Audubon did not hesitate to leave the bound volume of *Birds of America* with Bachman to keep until Audubon’s return from Florida. Audubon so notified Lucy,21

"I leave my most excellent Friend the Revd John Bachman my agent for my Work and to his care the charge of my first Volume of Plates. — I know him so well and know him to be so uprightly good that I feel quite assured that all will go on well with him—"

The close friendship lasted twenty years until Audubon’s death in 1851. Bachman referred to Audubon as “old Jostle” and later to Audubon’s son John as “Young Jostle” or “Jostle No. 1”. Victor, Audubon’s second son, Bachman called “Jostle No.
To Audubon, Bachman was always “my friend Bachman”. The relationship of the two men was further cemented by the marriages of the two Audubon sons to two of the Bachman daughters.

In April, 1832 Rev. Bachman discovered a new sparrow near Parker’s Ferry on the Edisto River. Audubon painted the bird on June 25, 1832 and immortalized his devotion to Rev. Bachman by naming the bird “Bachman’s Pinewood-finch” (Sparrow). Audubon stated,

“In honouring so humble an object as this Finch with the name of BACHMAN, my aim is to testify the high regard in which I hold that learned and most estimable individual, to whose friendship I owe more than I can express on this occasion.”
Audubon’s first letters to his wife from Charleston clearly indicate that he began working immediately.23

“I have 3 drawings under way — about 80 skins — some insects & Lehman and Henry [Ward] behave well.”

“...had I time or Inclination to visit the great folk I might be in dinner parties from now until Jany next. — however I have other fish to fry...I have drawn 9 Birds since here which make 5 Drawings when finished.”

Four of the five drawings can be identified by Audubon’s pencilled notations on the original drawings. It is probable that the first finished drawing Audubon made in South Carolina was the Yellow-Crowned Night Heron (Plate 336) which was painted on October 23, 1831. Audubon recorded,

“The adult bird represented in the plate was shot by my friend, Dr. Bachman, a few miles from Charleston, while I was in his company; and the drawing of the plant was made by his amiable sister-in-law, Miss Martin.”

The “Miss Martin” mentioned by Audubon is Maria Martin, Bachman’s sister-in-law, who lived with the Bachmans and whose artistic contributions to the Audubon work were extensive.

In Audubon’s letter to Lucy of October 30, 1831 he said, “the Ground Dove of which I have drawn 5 on a Wild Orange branch is one of the sweetest birds I have ever seen!”. He probably observed them at close range in the aviary of Dr. Samuel Wilson for in his description of the doves’ habits he stated,

“I have seen a pair which, having been caught at the time when their young were quite small, and
Long-billed Curlew

placed in an aviary, at once covered the little ones, and continued to nourish them until full-grown."

Lehman is responsible for the drawing of the wild orange on which the birds are sitting (Plate 182).

Audubon also wrote his wife in the October 30th letter that "I have just finished a drawing of 2 Large Curlews". He, of course, is referring to the Long-Billed Curlew (Plate 231) which, with Charleston in the background, is so cherished by South Carolinians. It is interesting to note that although Audubon wrote Lucy he had finished the Curlews on October 30th, he states in the text describing the curlew that he and several friends including Bachman and Kunhardt left Charleston on November 10th to visit Cole's Island and the "Bird Banks" to observe and secure curlews. Excerpts from his description indicate the trip to be very satisfying.

"Accompanied by several friends, I left Charleston one beautiful morning, the 10th of November, 1831, with a view to visit Cole's Island, about twenty miles distant. Our crew was good, and although our pilot knew little of the cuttings in and out of the numerous inlets and channels in our way, we reached the island about noon. After shooting various birds, examining the island, and depositing our provisions in a small summer habitation then untenanted, we separated; some of the servants went off to fish, others to gather oysters, and the gunners placed themselves in readiness for the arrival of the Curlews. The sun at length sunk beneath the waterline that here formed the horizon; and we saw the birds making their first appearance. They were in small parties of two, three, or five, and by no means shy. These seemed to be the birds which we had observed near the salt-marshes, as we were on our way... But when we followed them to the Bird Banks, which are sandy islands of small extent, the moment they saw us land, the congregated flocks, probably amounting to several thousand individuals all standing close together, rose at once, performed a few evolutions in perfect silence, and re-aligned as if with one accord on the extreme margins of the sand-bank close to tremendous breakers. It was now dark, and we left the place, although some flocks were still arriving... The next morning we returned a little before day; but again as we landed, they all rose a few yards in the air, separated into numerous parties, and dispersing in various directions, flew off towards their feeding-grounds, keeping low over the waters, until they reached the shores, when they ascended to the height of about a hundred yards, and soon disappeared.

Now, reader, allow me to say a few words respecting our lodgings. Fish, fowl, and oysters had been procured in abundance; and besides these delicacies, we had taken with us from Charleston some steaks of beef, and a sufficiency of good beverage. But we had no cook, save your humble servant. A blazing fire warmed and lighted our only apartment. The oysters and fish were thrown on the hot embers; the steaks we stuck on sticks in front of them; and ere long every one felt perfectly contented. It is true we had forgotten to bring salt with us; but I soon proved to my merry companions that hunters can find a good substitute in their powder-flasks. Our salt on this occasion was gunpowder, as it has been with me many a time; and to our keen appetites, the steaks thus salted were quite as savoury as any of us ever found the best cooked at home. Our fingers and mouths, no doubt, bore marks of the "villainous saltpetre," or rather of the charcoal with which it was mixed, for plates or forks we had none; but this only increased our mirth. Supper over, we spread out our blankets on the log floor, extended ourselves on them with our feet towards the fire, and our arms under our heads for pillows. I need not tell you how soundly we slept."
Shortly before Audubon left Charleston for Florida he probably completed a drawing of the American Golden-Crested Kinglet (Plate 183). He comments that "the 23rd of January, while in company with my friend John Bachman, I saw great numbers of them in the woods near Charleston..." George Lehman drew the thalia on which the birds are perched. Audubon says he "was indebted to Mr. Noisette" for the thalia specimen.

On November 15, 1831, Audubon left Charleston to continue his trip to Florida by ship. The Bachman home must have reeked of the efforts of Henry Ward, the taxidermist, for he had "skinned and preserved 220 specimens of 60 different species of Birds... I will pack a certain portion of my bird skins and leave the rest to be packed when dry by my good friend Bachman!"
Plate 336
Yellow-Crowned Heron
(Yellow-Crowned Night Heron)

Plate 182
Ground Dove
Plate 183
American Golden-Crested Kinglet
(Golden-Crested Wren)
(Golden-Crowned Kinglet)
Audubon returned to Charleston in early March, 1832 after spending four months exploring East Florida. He and Bachman continued their observations of birds together until mid-June when Audubon returned to Philadelphia. With three exceptions the subjects Audubon drew at this time were wading birds. It is probable that the first bird he drew was Wilson’s Snipe (Common Snipe). In his description he records that “while travelling eastward from Charleston, in the month of March, I found this Snipe perhaps more abundant near the Great Santee river than anywhere else. We could see them with ease from the carriage as they were walking over the rice fields... In some fields well known to my Charleston friends, as winter retreats of the Snipe, it is shot in great numbers... It is not rare to find some of these birds in the immediate vicinity of Charleston when they are pursued by the younger gunners... I have seen eight or ten procured by one person in a short time between that city and the race-ground, which is scarcely a mile distant. Lehman painted the landscape of a South Carolina rice plantation in the drawing (Plate 243).

On March 25th Audubon painted the Snowy Heron (Egret). Audubon wrote that by the “15th thousands were seen in the marshes and rice-fields, all in full plumage... While in the Carolinas, in the month of April, the egret resorts to the borders of the salt-water marshes, and feeds, principally on shrimps.” The drawing shows a South Carolina plantation by Lehman who included a tiny figure of a hunter who might well be Audubon or Bachman (Plate 242).

Also in late March Audubon and Lehman combined efforts to draw the Blue Heron (Plate 307). Audubon lamented in his description that he “could not manage to get so much as a chance of killing one” due to their cautious nature. This occasion was on the 15th of March in the company of Bachman when they “saw a large flock about sunset arising...
from across the river, and circling over a large pond, eight miles distant from Charleston." Lehman's landscape of the countryside near Charleston is one of his better South Carolina landscapes.

Although Audubon had drawn the Boat-Tailed Grackle twice before, he painted a far superior drawing in Charleston in the spring of 1832. In his description he quotes a lengthy observation by Bachman and Logan of a colony of Grackles near Charleston. He reported that Dr. Samuel Wilson had been unsuccessful in attempting to raise the birds. Lehman placed the pair of Grackles on a live oak limb draped in Spanish-moss (Plate 187).

It was during the spring of 1832 that Audubon-Lehman produced what is considered the finest of the South Carolina landscapes in the Birds of America — the Yellowshank Tatler (Lesser Yellowlegs) (Plate 288). Audubon wrote "I have represented one of these birds on the fore ground of a little piece of water a few miles distant from Charleston in South Carolina, on the borders of which, in the company of my kind friend John Bachman and others, I have spent many a pleasant hour, while resting after fatiguing rambles in the surrounding woods."

It is generally felt today that George Lehman probably painted both the bird and the habitat near Charleston.

In the spring of 1832 Bachman discovered Swainson's Warbler near the banks of the Edisto river. The painting of the bird was really done by Audubon's son John. Audubon writes that the "azalea and butterfly accompanying the figure of the species were drawn by my friend's sister, Miss Martin, to whom I offer my sincere thanks" (Plate 198).

In June, 1832 Audubon drew the Black-Crowned Night Heron (Plate 236). He relates that "My friend John Bachman is acquainted with a place on Ashley river, about four miles distant from Charleston, where, among the branches of a cluster of live-oak trees, he has for the last fifteen years found a flock of about fifty of these birds during the winter. I have observed it to alight in the ponds in the suburbs of Charleston towards evening, and feed there."

He also tells of visiting the breeding places of the bird in the company of Bachman a few miles from Charleston. He reported that he had "observed it to alight in the ponds in the suburbs of Charleston towards evening and feed there". Lehman probably drew the habitat which includes a frog and the Zephyr lily.

In June of 1832 Audubon made his third rendering of the Great American Egret (Common Egret). He probably was inspired to draw a better representation after seeing these egrets on the large rice plantations. He related that they were killed in large numbers for their ornamental plumes.

"The long plumes of this bird being in request for ornamental purposes, they are shot in great numbers while sitting on their eggs, or soon after the appearance of the young. I know a person who, on offering a double barreled gun to a gentleman near Charleston, for one hundred White Herons fresh killed, received that number and more the next day."

He also quoted an account by Bachman of a visit to the "Round O" plantation forty miles from Charleston with several of his friends to kill egrets for stuffing and to make fans of their feathers.

"We brought home with us forty-six of the large White Herons, and three of the Great Blue. Many more might have been killed, but we became tired of shooting them."
The horned lizard in the painting was drawn by Maria Martin (Plate 386).

Before Audubon left for Philadelphia he completed a drawing of a rare sparrow discovered by Bachman in April. In his description Audubon included a lengthy statement by Bachman about the habits of the sparrow and Audubon named the bird Bachman’s Pinewood-finch to honor its discoverer. Audubon said the drawing represents “a male in full summer dress, which was presented to me, while yet quite fresh, by my friend Bachman.” The branch of the fever-tree on which the bird is perched was drawn by Lehman from a tree in the “beautiful botanic garden of M. Noisette, a few miles from Charleston” (Plate 165, shown on page 16).

Audubon’s East Florida expedition depleted his funds and he could not continue to afford the services of Lehman and Ward. George Lehman returned to Philadelphia. Henry Ward remained in Charleston having obtained a position at the Charleston Museum of Natural History. He left Charleston in disgrace by September, 1833. Audubon wrote Victor in London on September 23, 1833.26

“Young Henry Ward of dear recollection sailed for London in [———] he has cheated my good Friend Bachman and the Society of [Nat———] of Charleston prodigiously — give him nothing and be aware of his cant and Hypocrisy — I have letters from John Bachman that almost tempted me to have the fellow arrested with his collections here. —”

25
Plate 367
Blue Heron
(Little Blue Heron)
Plate 243
Wilson's Snipe
(Common Snipe)
Plate 236
Black-Crowned Night Heron
(Night Heron or Qua Bird)
Plate 288
Yellowshank Tatler
(Lesser Yellowlegs)
Plate 386
Great American Egret
(Common Egret)
Audubon returned to Charleston with Lucy, his wife, and John, his son, in October 1833 and remained with the Bachmans until March 1834. Since he had no artist's assistant to help him, he relied more on Maria Martin and his son John to draw the habitats for his birds. He did not complete as many drawings as the previous visit as he was devoting a great deal of time to writing the text to accompany the drawings.

It was possibly during the early part of this visit that Audubon completed the drawing of Bachman's Swamp-Warbler (Plate 185). Audubon wrote, "My friend Bachman has the merit of having discovered this pretty little species of Warbler, and to him I have the pleasure of acknowledging my obligations for the pair which you will find represented in this plate, accompanied with a figure of one of the most beautiful of our southern flowers, originally drawn by my friend's sister, Miss Martin."

The drawing is equally noteworthy for Maria Martin's painting of the Franklinia, a rare bush discovered by John and William Bartram on the Southern travels in 1765 and named for Benjamin Franklin. Although it is cultivated today, it has not grown in the wild since the late 18th century.

In December, 1833 Audubon's son John drew MacGillivray's Shore-Finch (Seaside Sparrow). Audubon stated that the bird was "rather rare in South Carolina." The species continues to be extremely rare and limits its habitation to salt-water marshes and rivers. Audubon stated that "My friend Dr. Bachman informs me that none of these Finches remain in South Carolina during winter, and that they generally disappear early in November, when the weather is still very pleasant in the maritime portions of that state... Rather rare in South Carolina from which it migrates in autumn."
Maria Martin assisted John by drawing the reeds and butterflies (Plate 355).

John Audubon probably assisted his father during the winter of 1833-34 with the drawing of the Pine Grosbeak (Plate 358). The son would have had a particular interest in this drawing since he killed a number of Pine Grosbeaks in Newfoundland when he accompanied Audubon on the expedition to Labrador in 1833. The pine branch in the drawing may also be the younger Audubon's work. Audubon was indebted to four South Carolina friends for the specimens of the Black-Shouldered Hawk (White-Tailed Kite) which he drew in February 1834. In his description Audubon acknowledged the help of his friends and included Bachman's observation.

"On the 8th of February, 1834, I received one of these birds alive from Dr. Ravenel, of Charleston, who had kept it in his yard for eight days previously, without being able to induce it to take any food. The beauty of its large eyes struck me at once, and I immediately made a drawing of the bird, which was the first I had ever seen alive. It proved to be a male, and was in beautiful plumage...

On the 23d of the same month I received another fine specimen, a female, from FRANCIS LEE, Esq., who had procured it on his plantation, forty miles west of Charleston...

Mr. H. Ward found this species breeding on the plantation of Alexander Maycock Esq. on the Santee River, early in the month of March, and shot three, two of which, a male and a female are now in my possession...

My friend John Bachman has seen this species fly in groups at a very great height, in the beginning of March, and thinks that it is only of late years that they have located themselves in South Carolina, where however five of them have been procured in one year."

The original drawing includes a beetle which is probably the work of Maria Martin, but the engraver did not use it for the print (Plate 352).

During the winter of 1833-34 Audubon drew three members of the Rail family. He completed a drawing of the King Rail (Plate 203) which was begun in Kentucky about 1815 by including a second bird which he may have acquired in Charleston. Audubon said "the Fresh-water Marsh-hen is abundant in South Carolina." He gave a lengthy description of its habits which both he and Bachman had observed. He also included some additional episodes told by Bachman.

"My friend Bachman once killed a large moccasin snake, on opening which he found an old bird of this species, that had evidently been swallowed but a short time before...

...my friend Bachman, in a note addressed to me, 'while placed on a stand for deer, I saw a wild cat creeping through a marsh that was near to me, evidently following by stealthy steps something that he was desirous of making his prey. Presently he made a sudden pounce into a bunch of grass, when I immediately heard the piercing cries of the Marsh hen, and shortly after came passing by me the successful murderer with the bird in his mouth.'"

Audubon commented that he had killed King Rails in corn fields with Bachman and Paul H. Lee and that Bachman had unsuccessfully tried to domesticate the birds. At the end of his description Audubon somewhat chided Bachman for not getting some King Rail eggs for him!

"I regret that I am obliged to conclude this account, without being able to describe the eggs, which, although well known to my friend John Bachman, have not yet come under my inspection."
Audubon next drew the Clapper Rail (Plate 204). He gave a detailed account of the procedures for hunting this bird by Charlestonians from September to February. He wrote,

"About Charleston, in South Carolina, the shooting of Marsh-hens takes place from September to February, a few days in each month during the spring-tides... My friend Bachman has shot so many as sixty in the course of four hours, and others have killed double that number in double the time."

The Virginia Rail (Plate 205) is the third of the species drawn by Audubon in 1833-34. He wrote that this Rail is good to eat.

"Whilst at Charleston, in South Carolina, I frequently saw little strings of these birds exposed in the market, at a very low price; and they are excellent eating during autumn and winter."

Audubon probably drew the Red-Breasted Merganser (Plate 401) in 1833-34. The original drawing had no habitat (He missed the services of George Lehman!) and the engraver added aquatic plants.

The Horned Grebe was a winter resident observed by Audubon "on the rivers about Charleston...in considerable numbers". Audubon drew the Grebe in the winter 1833-34. The simple habitat in the drawing looks like the work of his son John (Plate 259).

Shortly before the Audubons left Charleston in March, 1834, he consented to exhibit 50 of his original drawings at a benefit sponsored by the Ladies Lutheran Society, the proceeds of which would go to the Lutheran Theological Seminary. The exhibition was held at Segle's Rooms on King Street and was originally scheduled for February 26-27 in the evening. The admission was 25 cents. Both the Charleston Mercury and The Courier had ads for the exhibition. The Mercury also printed a statement recommending attendance to have the opportunity to see the original drawings. The weather on February 27th was such that the exhibit was continued also on February 28th. Apparently the first evening of the exhibit was attended by a large crowd for the Courier carried a notice the next day which stated, "Owing to the difficulty of exhibiting the Drawings of Mr. Audubon last evening, in consequence of the crowd, he has kindly consented to attend at Segle's between the hours of 11 and 12, today..." It takes little imagination to realize that "my friend Bachman" played a role in this event.
Plate 358
Pine Grosbeak

Plate 352
Black-Shouldered Hawk
(White-Tailed Kite)
Plate 203
King Rail
(Fresh-water Marsh-hen)
Plate 204
Clapper Rail
(Salt-water Marsh-hen)
Plate 401
Red-breasted Merganser
Audubon and his son John spent the winter of 1836-37 in Charleston while awaiting passage on a government vessel to the West Coast of Florida and the coastal area of Texas. During the period between November 16, 1836 and March 1837, Audubon drew seventy birds, most of which he had never seen. He was dependent on bird skins sent to him by Thomas Nuttall and Dr. John Kirk Townsend from the Western States. The seventy birds all together total 24 plates of *Birds of America* as Audubon placed several birds in most of the drawings. Five of the plates did have birds with Southern connections. The Glossy Ibis (Plate 387) was drawn from a bird observed in Florida in 1832 as was the Limpkin (Plate 377). The Sharp-Shinned Hawk (Plate 374) was copied from two earlier drawings. The Winter Wren (Plate 360) was observed by Audubon in Charleston.

“The having lately spent a winter at Charleston, in South Carolina, with my worthy friend John Bachman, I observed that this little Wren made its appearance in that city and its suburbs in December. On the 1st of January I heard it in full song in the garden of my friend, who informed me that in that state it does not appear regularly every winter, but is sure to be found during very cold weather.”

Of the Scarlet Tanager (Plate 354) Audubon cites an observation by Bachman.

“My friend Dr. Bachman informs me that they are seldom met with in the maritime districts of South Carolina; and that there they follow the mountain range as if were for a guide.”

The habitats of eleven of the plates were drawn by Maria Martin. She had become an able artist’s assis-
Maria Martin becomes artist's assistant

Audubon valued the friendship of Maria Martin and trusted her to be responsible for his original drawings when he was away from Charleston. In his letter to Lucy Audubon of November 15, 1831, Bachman wrote that “he taught my sister, Maria, to draw birds; and she has now such a passion for it...”

Maria Martin assists with the Quadrupeds

Maria was also given the responsibility of forwarding important mail to Audubon as he traveled. He wrote his family in 1837, “I leave all my finished Drawings here in the hand and care of Mrs. Bachman’s Sister — Miss Martin, a most kind Friend of ours believe me.”

Maria was also responsible for the Quadrupeds of North America having recently married Bachman after the death of his first wife, her sister. On June 30, 1849, Bachman wrote Victor Audubon, “Maria copies carefully. She lops off to the right and the left with your notes and mine; she corrects, criticizes, abuses, and praises us by turns.”

Maria also assisted with the editing of the text for the Audubon/Bachman Quadrupeds of North America.

Maria was also asked to draw habits for the octavo edition of Birds of America and many of those plates show her style of work.

“I much wish that your Dear Sister our Sweetheart, would draw plants, and branches of Trees for Me to the Number of 15 or 20 Drawings for small plates... our Son Victor would know how to use them by placing them to Birds which I have drawn without plants...”

Maria was requested by Audubon to draw habits for the octavo edition of Birds of America and many of those plates show her style of work.

In a letter to Audubon on November 11, 1832, Bachman informed him that “Maria has figured for you the “White Hibiscus,” and, also a red one, both natives, and beautiful; a Euonymus in seed, in which our Sylvia is placed; the white Nondescript Rose, the Gordonica, a Begonia, &c. She is prepared to send them to you—shall she ship them at once to Boston?”

The Gordonica mentioned was used by Audubon in his drawing of the Fork-Tailed Flycatcher (Plate 168). He wrote that it was drawn from a twig from Mr. Noisette’s garden near Charleston and that Noisette “liberally afforded me all the aid in his power for embellishing my plates.” The “red hibiscus” was used by Audubon in Plate 425 of Anna’s Hummingbird.

The “Begonia” was used by Audubon in his drawing of the Mango Humming-bird (Black-Throated Mango). Bachman sent Audubon two skins of the hummingbird which he had received from Dr. Strobel who collected them at Key West and Audubon drew the birds in the summer of 1832. (Plate 184)

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hope soon, to assist you. When you are here, I will be quite at your disposal — I will be your amanuensis, painter or anything else that will be an assistance to you; not forgetting the darning of socks, which you know was my employment on a former occasion, during the absence of your good wife."

Several times Audubon mentioned in his letters that he was sending Maria art materials. On April 16, 1834 he wrote:

"—The brushes are all those which Victor purchased at London, therefore you will find only a few of French make that are really good. — Victor writes to us dated Feb 26th that he has shipped a fine Port folio and some Drawing paper for you which I hope you will soon receive and accept from your old constant friend."

In the final year of his work, Audubon reciprocated her devotion by naming what he thought was a newly discovered woodpecker for her. He called it Maria's Woodpecker (Plate 417). In his dedication to her, he wrote:

"In honouring this species with the name of Miss Maria Martin, I cannot refrain from intimating the respect, admiration, and sincere friendship which I feel towards her, and stating that, independently of her other accomplishments, and our mutual good will, I feel bound to make some ornithological acknowledgement for the aid she has on several occasions afforded me in embellishing my drawings of birds, by adding to them beautiful and correct representations of plants and flowers."

The bird, however, is not unique but the northern subspecies of the Hairy Woodpecker.
Plate 377
Limpkin
(Scolopacidae Courlan)
Plate 354
Scarlet Tanager
(Louisiana Tanager)
(Western Tanager)

Plate 168
Forked-Tailed Flycatcher
Plate 184
Mango Humming-bird
(Black-Throated Mango)

Plate 425
Anna’s Hummingbird
Plate 260
(Royal Octavo Edition)
Hairy Woodpecker
(Maria's Woodpecker)
Through his association with Bachman, Audubon became more confident in writing the *Ornithological Biography*. In a letter to Victor on February 15, 1834, Audubon boasted, "I have written as much of the Biography as I could and I am a hundred times better prepared to arrange this for Publication than I was when I wrote the first Volume."

Bachman's devotion to Audubon was sorely tested from the time of their meeting until the *Quadrupeds* were finished. During the periods when Audubon was in England overseeing the progress of the *Birds* he wrote Bachman long letters instructing him to write up observations of the habits of various species and to get certain friends to help such as Dr. Gibbes, Dr. Strobel, Dr. Wilson and the Lee family. In his letter from Edinburgh of December 10, 1834, Audubon urged,"I now send you a least of queries to which I particularly beg of you to attend to, and in which I trust and hope you will not be slow — Respecting Habits... Make all enquiries from good and true men and note down their sayings for future corroborations — and "do not put off until tomorrow what can be done to day!" Ask the Lee family to note down whatever they meet with in Alabama... Where is Benjn Strobel, can he not assist us? Write to Docr Gibbes and ask him to bear us a hand also."

Audubon continued to send lists of observations which he needed in 1835 and 1836 and he even urged Bachman to put an ad in the Charleston papers requesting bird specimens in January, 1836."

"Now what I ask of you, to me appears quite a simple affair. — Carolinians are Carolinians still, and well I remember how Kindly I was and hope still to
be treated by them. — Write a circular to each of our Friends, request of them to go "A shooting" twice or thrice. Nay if you please put a general advertisement in the News Papers of Charleston (and I know they are all friends of Science through their Editors) and request every Man, to send you Specimens In.""

The text accompanying the Birds of America is the proof of Bachman's response to Audubon's pleas. There are at least 110 references in the text to observations and specimens furnished by Bachman, Dr. Samuel Wilson, James Smith Rhett, Joel R. Poinsett, Mr. Magwood, Francis and Paul Lee, Benjamin Logan, William Kunhardt, Dr. Robert W. Gibbes, John Edward Holbrook, Henry Ravenel, Benjamin Strobel and Alexander Mayzck. The references to Bachman's help are found in descriptions of eighty species. Without Bachman's response to Audubon in England from 1834 to 1838, the five volume Ornithological Biography might never have been completed to compliment the Birds of America. Bachman continued his efforts to secure specimens for the Quadrupeds and continued to solicit the help of other naturalists. On March 4, 1842, he acknowledged a shipment from Dr. John P. Barratt, Abbeville, S.C. 42

"Mr. Audubon read the skins & specimens you had the kindness to send, the Alabama Hare (?) he thinks has been very genteely figured — indeed a friend who saw it thinks it admirable. The other specimens — especially the reddish Fox Squirrel were also of use. Indeed nothing in the shape of the four legged beast comes amiss just now."

Bachman was a highly respected naturalist and his deep involvement with Audubon's ornithological work gave it the credibility it needed if Audubon was to be recognized by the scientific world. Some of Audubon's observations were considered false or ridiculous by "closet naturalists" who controlled scientific opinion in the 19th century. Audubon's drawing of the Mockingbird defending its nest against a climbing rattlesnake with slightly recurved fangs stirred up a controversy in scientific journals and societies on both sides of the Atlantic. He also maintained that the Turkey Buzzards discovered their food by sight and not by smell as scientists had always thought.

Bachman felt compelled to vindicate Audubon and he did so by writing a powerful defense which appeared in 1834 both in Louden's Magazine of Natural History (London) and the Boston Journal of Natural History. 43 He related observations of various American naturalists who certified that rattlesnakes climb. He wrote that he even had an unpublished account from Dr. Thomas Cooper, President of South Carolina College. The Cooper account was a short letter to Audubon written in Columbia on October 21, 1833 and was obviously requested by Audubon when he visited Cooper. 44

"Mr. Audubon
Dear Sir

About three weeks ago, my son and two of my black servants, observed a very large rattle snake climbing up the fence that separates my garden from the road, at my country house. The snake put himself in the attitude of striking; whereupon one of the men ran for a gun, and shot the snake on the last rail but one of the fence. The snake was 4.3 long; as thick as my wrist, and had seven rattles.

I am Dear Sir
Your obedient servant
Thomas Cooper"

The larger part of Bachman's article related in detail his own experiments with the Turkey Buzzard
to prove that their sight governed how they located food. These experiments were carried out during December, 1833 while Audubon was visiting Bachman and were witnessed by Faculty from the Medical College of South Carolina and South Carolina College, physicians, and others. The experiments proved Audubon to be correct and Audubon wrote Victor on December 21, 1833, that the results would be published soon in London.

"A copy will be sent to be read at the Linnean or Royal Society of London & the Royal Institutes of France — then let those laugh who are winners!" 46

In an effort to assure the subscribers that his ornithology was a creditable work Audubon had 200 copies of the experiments printed and sent to those who had subscribed to Birds of America. The original notes by Bachman are at the Charleston Museum.

Although Bachman made a concerted effort to defend Audubon when he thought the ornithologist was correct, he did not hesitate to point out Audubon's errors. Audubon admitted in his description of the Yellow-Poll Wood-Warbler (Plate 95) that Bachman had pointed out to him that the bird in Children's Warbler (Plate 35) was merely an immature Yellow-Poll Wood-Warbler. Bachman also convinced him that the birds of Plates 145 and 163 — the Yellow Red-Poll-Warbler (Palm Warbler) — were the same bird in different states of plumage.

"I most willingly acknowledge the error under which I laboured many years, in believing that this species and the Sylvia palmarum of Bonaparte, are distinct from each other. To the sound judgment of my good friend John Bachman, I am indebted for convincing me that the figure given by the Prince of Musignano is that of our present bird, at a different period of life, and therefore with different plumage."

While at Charleston, in the winter and spring of 1833-4. I became convinced of my error, after examining a great number of specimens, in different states of plumage." 47

In a letter written January 20, 1833, Bachman tried to persuade Audubon not to publish the drawing of the "Blue-headed Pigeon." 47

"I should not like you to publish a single error, if you can avoid it, and therefore express my fears that the "Blue-headed Pigeon," may not frequent any of the Florida Keys. I have, as yet, found no one who ever saw them there; and, as you did not kill any of the birds, you might possibly have been mistaken — your reputation is worth more than a dozen new species of birds."

Audubon in this case ignored Bachman and the drawing appeared as Plate 172.

As they began their work on the Quadrupeds Bachman cautioned Audubon that they must do exact research if Bachman's name was to be associated with the finished product. 48

"Don't flatter yourself that the quadrupeds will be child's play. I have studied them all my life. We have much, both in Europe and America, to learn on this subject. The skulls and the teeth must be studied, and color is as variable as the wind; down, down in the earth they grovel, while we, in digging and studying, may grow old and cross. Our work must be thorough. I would as soon stick my name to a forged Bank Note as to a mess of Soupmaigre."

Bachman also on occasion gave Audubon some unsolicited advice on how to run his business! On November 11, 1832 he wrote," 48

Bachman vindicates Audubon's Turkey Buzzard theory

Bachman cites Audubon's errors

Audubon's errors
Bachman gives Audubon business and legal advice

“If your son Victor can do nothing in Europe, you must go there yourself, and sooner than let the work suffer, you must go on a pilgrimage throughout all the great cities of our Union.”

When Audubon became involved in a law suit in Charleston, apparently brought by former creditors in Kentucky, Bachman advised him on a proper lawyer, Benjamin F. Dunkin, future Chief Justice of the S.C. State Supreme Court. Soon after Audubon left Charleston in 1834, James L. Petigrue tried to intervene for Audubon. Audubon wrote Bachman from New York on April 5, 1834: “I really & truly know nothing of your query respecting Mr. Petigrue! I never spoke to him on the subject of any suit — all I can guess at is that perhaps, believing on his part that I had no friend in whose hands the present case had been placed, he as in the case of a Person thought fit to Work for me as for the Church “for Gods sake only”, — Respecting the suit let me tell you (and this you must repeat to Friend Dunkin) that I went to Gaol at Louisville after having given all up to my Creditors, and that I took the benefit of the Act of Insolvency at the Louisville Court House Kentucky before Judge Fortunatus Cosby & Many witnesses, and that a copy of the record of that step can easily be had from that Court. — I wish Friend Dunkin to do all he can to put a conclusive stop to this matter, for it makes me sick at heart! —”

When he learned that Audubon was planning to issue a small octavo edition of Birds of America, Bachman wrote of his concern on September 13, 1839, stating that Audubon needed to get more organized before proceeding with the smaller work. “I am glad that you are about to do something with regard to the “Small Edition of Birds.” But are you not a little fast in issuing your prospectus of The Birds and Quadrupeds, without having numbers of both works, by which the public can judge of their merits? My idea, in regard to the latter, is that you should carefully get up, in your best style, a volume about the size of “Holtbrook’s Reptiles.” This would enable you to decide on the terms of the book. I think that two thousand subscribers at $1.00 for each number might be obtained. But it must be no half­way affair.”

Several months later he urged Audubon to abridge the text for the octavo edition by removing the references from “My friend Bachman” and added that he felt the smaller set would sell well in South Carolina. “I think that your “Birds of America,” will be a standard work for centuries; ere then, we will be among the planets studying something else. The descriptions in the “Small Edition of Birds,” will have to be abridged — your “worthy friend” and other humbugs may be left out to advantage. I am not at all surprised at your success in getting subscribers; but let me say, cities are not the only places to obtain them. Birds sing and nestle among the groves of the country — The planters and farmers are the men to become subscribers. An intelligent planter from the up country said, a few days ago, that if the right person would thoroughly canvass the whole State of South Carolina, he would insure three hundred subscribers to the “Small Work.”

The later subscription list shows 71 South Carolina subscribers.
Audubon acknowledged his indebtedness to Bachman by presenting the Bachman family Volume I of *Birds of America*. Audubon wrote Bachman on April 5, 1834.\(^3\)

"You have the superb bound Book — have you? — I am heartily glad of it and must beg of you to accept it from your old friend in part atonement for the troubles I have given you and the leatherings which you may yet receive at my hands at Chess!!"

The next day he wrote Maria,

"The great volume which Majr Glassel did fortunately return into your hands, I give with all my heart to my valued friends the Bachmans, and I shall try to furnish them with the sequel in like binding."

There is no record, however, of Bachman receiving more than the first volume as a gift from Audubon.
Plate 106
Black Vulture
(Turkey Buzzard)
Plate 172
Blue-headed Pigeon
(Blue-headed Quail Dove)
Audubon could continue his ornithological work only if he sold sufficient subscriptions to obtain funds to support the project. It was necessary for him to canvass learned societies, libraries, museums, state legislatures, and wealthy individuals in America and Europe in an effort to secure backing for *Birds of America*. He came to South Carolina in 1831 not only to draw birds but to sell the book.

By November 7, 1831 Bachman was actively trying to help Audubon secure subscriptions as Audubon indicated to Lucy,

"My Friend Bachman has six Subscription papers distributed among his acquaintance each to be filled with twelve names at 5 Dollars per annum and 19 Dollars cash to pay for the first Volume — he expects by that means to procure half a dozen Subscribers, Companies, to the Work — Some of the lists which were delivered only a few days ago have already 4 or 5 names and he thinks that in the course of next week they will all be filled." —

By November 13th Audubon had secured two subscriptions in Charleston — those of the Charleston Society of Natural History and the Charleston Library Society. The list of subscribers for the Natural History Society were:

1. Rev. John Bachman D.D.
2. Rev. Samuel Gilman D.D.
3. James Moultrie M.D.
4. J. Bellinger M.D.
5. W. J. Ramsay M.D.
6. H. R. Frost M.D.
7. Samuel Henry Dickson M.D.
8. Edmund Ravenel M.D.
10. Hon. Benjamin Faneul Dunkin, Legislature
11. Wm. Clarkson, Esq.

Audubon had been told by Col. William P. Preston, who traveled with Audubon in the coach to
South Carolina, that he thought the South Carolina Legislature would subscribe. Preston and Dr. Gibbes exhibited the drawings and Audubon wrote his wife on March 29, 1832,

"The Legislature of this State has written to Mr. Berthoud for their Volume & I suppose will pay him N.B. for it when they receive the volume."*

Other subscriptions followed and on December 25, 1833, the Charleston Courier carried the following announcement,

"Audubon's Ornithology. — We learn that a copy of this splendid and invaluable Work has been recently subscribed to by Wm. J. Rees, Esq. of Sumter district. This, we believe, is the only instance of individual patronage having been extended to Mr. Audubon's Ornithology, in this State, and reflects credit upon the taste and liberality of Mr. Rees. — Post."**

Of the Rees copy Audubon wrote Victor in early 1834,**

“One of the 2 Volumes you sent is also received here and I have sent John to deliver it to Mr. Rees’ agent who expect will pay John.”

"Also a Box containing a 2d Volume for Mr. Rees, and the numbers for Charleston & Columbia — All those deliver and receive the money for — as soon as you can!”

Audubon wrote Bachman from Edinburgh on October 20, 1835,

"We ship to your care from London a Second Volume of the Birds for R.O. Anderson Esqr of George Town S.C. the amount of which 220 Dollars will be paid to you on Demand."***

A few days later he notified the engraver Robert Havell that

"Mr Berthoud of New York writes that a new subscriber has received the first vol from him, his name is R.O. Anderson Esqr of George Town South Carolina — put him on the list, and forward a Second Volume half Bound as usual as soon as you can (Tinned &c) to the Reverend John Bachman direct to Charleston South Carolina…"****

By early 1834 the Citizens Private Library in Charleston had also subscribed. The last South Carolina subscription was secured from Dr. Eli Geddings whose name appeared on Audubon's collecting list in early 1837. In October of the same year, Audubon wrote Bachman from London regarding the Geddings subscription,

"I wish you would ask Doctor Geddings for Money for Me — when I last saw him at Charleston he fairly promised to pay you on my account for the Birds of America, of which he has three Volumes***

There were difficulties shipping the subscription numbers to Charleston. Many references in Audubon's letters tell the story:**

"to my surprise on my arrival here I was told that not a single set of No's 26, 27, 28, 29, 30 & 31 had ever been received by J. Bachman or any of the Societies. 3 sets of each of these Numbers are now wanted here to compleat the parts they have received, making in all 18 Numbers…

…the first Volume for Mr Rees which is also arrived here…"
This day we shipped to you via New York a box containing the Nos. for Charleston you will see that I have published 10 in 1834 and you will see the 47 no in that box... this year 1835...

I shipped to New York and thence for you to be distributed; Nos. 59 & 60, with Two Third Vols of Illustrations for Col Rees and R.O. Anderson, with volume 2 of Biographies for those concerned with shipment."

A more serious problem was collecting the money from the subscribers as shipments were received. The financial panic of 1837 and several years afterward prevented subscribers from having available funds. Audubon wrote Victor that he had realized "the Slow process of all the Southerners in money matters". "The letters reveal the history of collecting in South Carolina from 1832 to 1840."*4

"The Charleston Library has subscribed to the Birds of America & ere I leave this place I will receive $600 for the 3 subscriptions of this City..."

"Mr Rees of Sumter County has paid me 220 Dls for first Volume — one of the 2 Vol you had sent."

"I have received 200 Dolls for the 2d Volume from the Charleston Natural Hys. Society. — I expect to collect the rest ere I leave this."

"I collected 200 Dollars for the 2d Volume from the Charleston Library — 200 Do for 2d of the Natural History Society there. — and but 140 Dolls from the Citizens private Library and that on a/c of the first Volume 1/2 bound — so that that last Society is in arrears 80 Dollars for the first Volume and 150 for 15 Nos of the 2d Vol. delivered to them. I received 220 Dolls for the 1st Volume 1/2 bound from Mr. Rees..."

"I give you here the names of those from whom I have received money, as follows. —

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Liby. — of</th>
<th>Do. —— Do</th>
<th>Do. 1stDo.</th>
<th>Rees Do. 1stDo.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Natural Hys. Charleston 2d Volume</td>
<td>200$</td>
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<tr>
<td>Citizens P. Library Do.</td>
<td>140</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rees Do. 1stDo.</td>
<td>220</td>
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</tr>
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"I have not received any money on account of the Charleston Citizens private Library, except through John Bachman the sum of $160 Dollars. 90 Dls for the Charleston Library, Anderson 200, Col Rees 220. Docr Geddings also 140$."

From the statement above it is possible that Audubon reclaimed the copy subscribed to by the Citizens Private Library. No record of it has been found. The copies purchased by Rees, Anderson and Geddings have also vanished, either through fire, confiscation during the Civil War or by cannibalization.

On the 200th anniversary of Audubon's birth, there are four copies of the Elephant Folio Edition of Birds of America in South Carolina. Three remain in the possession of original subscribers. They are the Charleston Library Society, The Charleston Museum (the copy originally subscribed to by the Charleston Natural History Society), and the University of South Carolina. The fourth copy is in the College of Charleston Library and was a recent gift of Mr. John Henry Dick, Meggett, S.C., to that Library. The Volume given to Bachman by Audubon is now in the possession of the H. J. Lutcher Stark Memorial Library of Orange, Texas.
South Carolina College Library in the 19th century. *Birds of America* was housed here for 100 years.

(Courtesy of the South Caroliniana Library)
The subscription from the South Carolina Legislature was the first definite commitment by a state to the Audubon project. On November 13, 1831, Audubon wrote Lucy:

"I have sent my Book to Columbia College care of a Professor Gibbs to whom Ward has sold his English Bird skins for 50 Dollars. Doctor Cooper the President of that College is the son of Mr. Cooper who came to England with thy Father and Doctor Priestly who knows thee well!"...67

From that date the history of the acquisition of the Birds of America for South Carolina College (University of South Carolina) is well documented. On January 16, 1832 Audubon excitedly wrote his wife,

"Dost Know that the legislature of South Carolina has subscribed to our Work? — It is So and was effected through my good Friend Bachman."...68

On December 23, 1831 Bachman wrote Audubon in East Florida the details of his involvement.

"I arrived in Columbia, S.C. almost too late, for the "House" had just resolved that the State was too poor to subscribe for Audubon's work. I felt that it would be a disgrace to the State; and, for the first time in my life, I turned to electioneering. And now, behold me among the back countrymen, spinning long yarns. The thing, however, took, and your book is subscribed for. In addition to this, a party, from the interior, has given his name, and Professor Gibbes has hopes that our plan of twelve subscribers for a copy, will secure another set for Columbia. I can, at least, say our prospects are brightening; but I dare not be too sanguine, as I do not want to promise more than I can perform."...69

The official accounts from the legislative journals follow:87

South Carolina Legislature subscribes for South Carolina College

Bachman lobbys for the Birds
Mr. Petigru submitted a resolution directing the Committee on Education to inquire into the expediency of purchasing one or more copies of Mr. Audubon's work on American ornithology for the use of the College Library — which was considered and agreed to.

December 7, 1831, p. 64

Mr. Player from the committee on Education made a report on a resolution recommending the purchase of Mr. Audubon's work on American ornithology.

Ordered for consideration on tomorrow.

December 16, 1831, p. 150-151

The Committee on Education to whom was referred a resolution to enquire into the expediency of purchasing one or more copies of Mr. Audubon's work on American ornithology, have considered the same and ask leave to Report, that upon inspection they find the work of Mr. Audubon above highly creditable to American genus and fully worthy to patronize of the State. The terms are as follows, to wit, two hundred and twenty dollars on the delivery of the first volume, and a yearly subscription of sixty dollars, until its completion. The work to be completed and comprehend all the birds of America drawn of the size of life and accurately coloured in four volumes — It is expected that the whole work when completed will not exceed eight hundred dollars — The College library already contains, all other works on American Ornithology and your Committee feel satisfied that the work above referred to is necessary to perfect the class of work on that subject. — They also find that the tuition fund altho at this time exhibiting a surplus is subject to drafts which will entirely absorb it, which renders it necessary, to put the contract with Mr. Audubon beyond contingency, that an appropriation shall be made from the Treasury upon the terms embraced within the following resolution, to wit,

Resolved that the sum of two hundred and twenty dollars is hereby appropriated to purchase from Mr. Audubon so much of his work on American Ornithology as has already been published, and that the annual sum of sixty dollars be appropriated subject to the draft of Audubon or his agent, to be paid in annual installments, provided the number are regularly delivered until the work shall be completed, and provided also that said appropriations do not exceed in gross eight hundred dollars.

December 17, 1831, p. 189

On the question to agree to the clause in the said Bill making an appropriation to purchase Mr. Audubon's work on American Ornithology, the yeas and nays were acquired and are as follows, viz.

Yeas 51
Nays 50

Journals of the Senate of South Carolina

December 17, 1831, p. 147-148

The House of Representatives sent for concurrence A Report of the Committee on Education on the Resolution relating to the purchase of Mr. Audubon's Book on American Ornithology.

On concurring in the Report the Yeas and Nays were called for and ordered and are as follows

Yeas 23
Nays 11
Ordered to be returned to the House of Representatives.
The final item in the budget of the State of South Carolina for 1831 read as follows.1

N. 2554 An Act to make appropriations for the year one thous. Eight Hundred and thirty-one; and for other purposes.
[...for the purchase of Audubon on American Ornithology, for the use of the College Library, eight hundred dollars, to be drawn for, as the work is delivered, by the treasurer of the College; Provided that this appropriation be paid in such proportions as is directed by the report on that subject, agreed to by both branches of the Legislature.

Unfortunately, for Audubon, the problems with the South Carolina College subscription did not end with getting an affirmative vote in the legislature. Bachman wrote Audubon on October 20, 1832 that “the book for the South Carolina College is on board of the vessel at quarantine and shall be attended to.”72

When Audubon opened an early shipment to South Carolina College on January 16, 1834, he found errors in the legends under the pictures.

"16th — This morning I brought Nos 34 & 35 for the subscribers here, & the Columbia College — I have opened them, and I tell you with pleasure that I think them very fine. all I regret is the errors in nomenclature, which however may be corrected so that you may have them correct for those persons who have not yet been supplied. — as follows — plate [—] instead of Grey Tyrant have Tittit Fly Catcher — Muscicapa Matinatus — Plate [—] Muscicapa Cooperii — also have the black headed Titmouse as follows (for it is a new Species) The Lesser black headed Titmouse — Parus Carolinensis. My letter press will do the rest. — I write to Havell. — ""73

Lucy Audubon remembers that with forty dollars of the money he hired a carriage to travel to Charleston rather than proceed by the railway.

On May 7, 1840 Audubon wrote Victor in London, “Until the next meeting of the Legislature of this State no appropriation of money to pay us can be expected.”74

The minutes of the Board of Trustees of South Carolina College for 1839-1840 document how Audubon got the final payment for the South Carolina College subscription. It began with a letter from Victor G. Audubon to the Librarian of the College [Elias Hall or Thomas Park] written May 3,
1839. The letter was appended to the report of the Committee on the Library, chaired by R. W. Barnwell. Minutes of the Board of Trustees of South Carolina College.

November 27, 1839
Committee on the Library — R.W. Barnwell, Chr.

Accompanying this report is a letter from V.G. Audubon son of the ornithologist informing the library committee of his having forwarded the remaining vol. of his father’s ornithology and annexing a charge of five hundred and five 50/100 dollars is the bal. due by the library for that work — as the ornithology was a present from the legislature to the College this balance is due by that body. The Committee would request your honorable body to bring the subject to the notice of the legislature.

(The attached letter and bill)

Charleston, May 3, 1839
Dear Sir,

I have taken measures to forward to you by waggon from this place, the remaining parts of my father’s work the “Birds of America”, for the Columbia College, viz, up to No. 87. and also the 4th vol. of “ornithological Biography”.

I now annex an a/c of the balance due my father, and will thank you to forward it to me, to the care of the Rev. Jn. Bachman of this city, or if you cannot do so, to let me know how I am to apply for it & to whom.

At the same time please inform me if the Waggoner delivers his charge correctly & all is right. I must beg you to excuse the trouble I am giving you, as I do not know how else to forward these numbers to the College.

Respectfully your most obt. servant,
V.G. Audubon

The Columbia College S.C.
To John J. Audubon

For the “Birds of America” first volume
(20 numbers)
full bound in Russia leather —— $250.00
Number 21-87, viz 67 numbers @ 10$ — $670.00
4th vol Ornithological Biography —— 5.50

———Credits———
By cash paid J.J. Audubon —— 420.00
Balance due —— 505.00

E.E.
Charleston, S.C. May 3, 1839

Please let me know if the work is all on hand, as the 3 first vols of the Book (letter/misc) can be forwarded from here if not already rec’d.

November 25, 1840
On motion of Mr. Barnwell — Mr. Audubon’s account was referred to a committee consisting of the Honorable Chancellor [Dunkin] & D.J. McCord, Esq.

December 2, 1840
The committee to whom the account of Mr. Audubon was referred beg leave to Report
That by the terms of the original subscription the work was to be published in eighty numbers, and the subscription price was eight hundred dollars. The numbers were not to be bound or rather this sum did not include the expense of binding.

Before the completion of the work, as the Committee are informed, several new birds were discovered, and Mr. Audubon undertook to finish seven additional numbers which included these birds.
The account of Mr. Audubon is for $925.50, which includes the price of binding the first vol. in Russia leather, the seven additional numbers, and the 4th vol Ornithological Biography at 5.50. He has been paid the sum of $420, leaving a balance due him of $505.50, which your committee respectfully recommends to be paid from the fund at the disposal of the Board without applying to the Legislature for a specific appropriation.

Benj. F. Dunkin

December 2, 1840 —
Judge John Belton Oneall submitted the following resolution which was adopted.

Resolved that the Governor be requested to ask from the Legislature an appropriation for the sum paid and to be paid by this Board for the subscription by the Legislature for the Audubon work.

December 8, 1840
Mr. McCord submitted the following resolution which was adopted.

Since the report made and confirmed in relation to Mr. Audubon's account, it has been ascertained that $800 was appropriated by the Legislature for Mr. Audubon & that he has received of the Treasury $722 and that the balance of $78 remaining subject (?) to his order.

Therefore resolve that the sum of one hundred and twenty-five dollars & twenty-five cents be appropriated to pay the balance of his account in full. Further resolved that the former order confirming the report for the payment of $505.50 be rescinded.

After paying Audubon the difference between the Legislative appropriation and the final cost of the finished work, the College had the additional expense of having plates No. 91 - No. 435 bound into three volumes. The College Treasurer's 1853 Account Book and the Receipts Files record that the binder, P.M. Johnson, was paid $50.00 in cash on January 1, 1853 for binding and repairing the three volumes of Audubon's work. The Minutes of the Board of Trustees record that the binder kept the volumes three to four years before completing the task. Apparently, the 345 unbound prints were kept in a loose state in the library for thirteen years after the final delivery from Audubon. In 1965 the entire set was disbound and repaired and is housed in custom-built portfolio cases.
Dr. Thomas Cooper, President of South Carolina College (1821-1834) and close friend of Audubon's father-in-law. (Courtesy of the South Caroliniana Library)
XI

"...The College library already contains, all other works on American ornithology...the work above referred to is necessary to perfect the class of work on that subject —..."

(Journal of the House of Representatives of South Carolina, December 16, 1831)

When the Assembly of the State of South Carolina debated the issue of whether it should spend the money to subscribe to *Birds of America*, the convincing argument was made that Audubon's work would enhance the ornithology collections already in the South Carolina College library. Once Audubon's Elephant Folio work was part of the library's collections, it became the focal point of the rare book collections at the College library.

South Carolina College opened a new library building in 1840 which was the first separately built academic library building in America. The most noteworthy item in the new library was Audubon's *Birds of America*. It continues to be the most valuable item in the University's library collections today. On viewing the magnificent prints, South Carolinians are as enthusiastic today about Audubon as they were when he lived and worked among them. Due to their generosity, variant editions of Audubon's work have been added to the Library's rare collections. Three variant issues (Lizars, Havell and Bien) of Audubon's "Wild Turkey" are displayed permanently together in the Rare Book Room of Thomas Cooper Library as gifts of Mrs. Jennie Haddock Feagle. Mrs. Feagle has also donated additional Havell and Bien Elephant Folio prints to the ornithology collections. A complete set of the 1970 Amsterdam facsimile of the Elephant Folio was donated to the library by Col. Glenn A. West. The rare collections also include a fine set of the small Royal Octavo edition of *Birds of America* published by Audubon in 1840 and containing 500 hand-colored plates.

Alexander Wilson's *American Ornithology* (1808) with its supplement by Charles Bonaparte (1825) was in the South Carolina College Library when the Legislature subscribed to Audubon's work. In fact, it was the ornithology referred to in the House Resolution. No ornithology of consequence was added to library collections during the 19th century.
after the acquisition of Audubon, mainly due to the Civil War and its aftermath.

Since 1950 noteworthy additions to the rare ornithology collections have been acquired, many of which have hand-colored plates. Some of the works in the collection published prior to 1800 containing uncolored woodcuts or engraved illustrations are volumes by G. L. L. Buffon, Pierre Belon, William Hayes, Mark Catesby, Joannes Jonstonus, and Francis Willughby. Major 19th century works in the collections are those by Spencer F. Biard, Thomas Bewick, Frans Blaauw, John Cassin, Elliot Coues, Charles B. Cory, John Gould, Edward Lear, Francis O. Morris, and Prideaux John Selby. Works by Rex Brasher, Louis Agassiz Fuertes and J. Fenwick Lansdowne are noteworthy 20th century ornithologies recently added to the collections.

The Audubon and ornithology collections at the University of South Carolina will continue to grow in the future; however, no work will ever equal the awesome *Birds of America* in magnificence or proud association with South Carolina and its people. John Bachman wrote Audubon in 1840 that “Your ‘Birds of America’ will be a standard work for centuries; ere then, we will be among the planets studying something else”. On the 200th anniversary of John James Audubon’s birth, Dr. Bachman’s prediction has proven to be true. South Carolinians take pride in the role their forebears played in making a grand dream become a reality.


3. Ibid, p. 143

4. Ibid, p. 144

5. Ibid, p. 147


11. Ibid, p. 147


14. *Charleston Mercury*, 20 October 1831, p. 2


17. Audubon. “Letter to the Editor”

18. Bachman, C.L., p. 95-96

19. Ibid, p. 102


23. Ibid, p. 146

24. Ibid, p. 147, 150

25. Ibid, p. 147, 150
"Charleston Mercury, 26 February 1834, p. 2
"Charleston Courier, 26 February 1834, p. 3
"Charleston Mercury, 26 February 1834, p. 2
"Charleston Courier, 27 February 1834, p. 2
"Bachman, C.L., p. 96
"Bachman, C.L., p. 106
"Audubon, Letters, p. 123
"Bachman, C.L., p. 270
"Ibid, p. 144
"Audubon, Letters, Vol. II, p. 21
"Ibid, p. 9
"Ibid, p. 56-57
"Ibid, p. 111
"Unpublished letter in South Caroliniana Library, The University of South Carolina
"Bachman, C.L., p. 126
"Ibid, p. 182
"Ibid, p. 107
"Bachman, C.L., p. 180-181
"Ibid, p. 181-182
"Ibid, p. 21
"Ibid, p. 190
"Charleston Courier, 25 December 1833, p. 2
"Audubon, Letters, Vol. II, p. 6, 28
"Ibid, p. 99
"Ibid, p. 95
"Ibid, p. 142
"Ibid, p. 187
"Ibid, vol. I, p. 190; Vol. II, p. 8, 9, 11, 18, 142, 224, 270
"Ibid, p. 151 (Audubon did not realize the College President was the same Cooper who was Priestly's friend.)
"Bachman, C.L., p. 100
"Journals of the House of Representatives and the Senate of South Carolina, 1831. South Carolina Department of Archives and History (Unpublished)
"Bachman, C.L., p. 102
"Audubon, Lucy, p. 380
"South Carolina College. Board of Trustees. Minutes, 1839-40. University Archives, McKissick Museum, University of South Carolina. (Unpublished)
"South Carolina College. Treasurer's Accounts and Receipts, 1853. University Archives, McKissick Museum, University of South Carolina (Unpublished)
"South Carolina College. Board of Trustees. Minutes, May 1853. University Archives, McKissick Museum, University of South Carolina. (Unpublished)
"Bachman, C.L., p. 181.