“They Stood Like the Old Guard of Napoleon”
Jefferson Davis and the Pro-Bonaparte Democrats, 1815-1870

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Introduction

"The [1856] contest was known to be between democracy and the black republicans…. Grandly passed the constitutional Union through that most terrific of all our crisis; and where is that man who does not know… that the southern democracy saved the Union of equal rights? Yes, in that appalling emergency, when all we hold dear was jeopardized, they stood like the old guard of Napoleon, with the inscription written upon their brows, 'the old Guard knows how to die, but never surrenders!'"[1]

Jefferson Davis, 1857

Jefferson Davis and other Democrats in the ideological tradition of John C. Calhoun's "War Hawks" held the mutually-reinforcing principles of white supremacy and equality among whites to be the essence of American nationality. They did not believe that non-Democratic political foes or rival Democratic factions truly shared those principles even when they professed to do so. Aspiring to implement their principles on a continental scale, Davis and his allies yearned to pick up where Calhoun and his French Bonapartist allies left off in the War of 1812 by conquering abolitionist Britain's pro-racial equality empire in the Americas. Passing through a period of abeyance lasting from the early 1830s to the mid-1840s in which Davis's mentor Calhoun reluctantly allied with his old "Radical" Democrat opponents within the South in order to induce the northern Democracy to spurn Martin Van Buren's ostensibly recreant Democrats, the predominantly but not exclusively southern Democrats of War Hawk pedigree dominated the Democratic administrations of presidents Polk, Pierce, and Buchanan with Davis at the forefront.

The Pierce administration marked the apex of Davis's life. Franklin Pierce's election to the presidency seemed to be the culmination of the Mississippian's long-cherished desire to see his non-Democratic and Democratic political foes utterly defeated so that "true" Democratic ideology would become permanently dominant throughout the Union. There would thus be scant internal opposition when the United States eventually fought another but more successful War of

[1] "Speech at Jackson," May 29, 1857, in *The Papers of Jefferson Davis*, ed. Haskell M. Monroe, Jr., *et al.*, 13 vols. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1971-2002), 2:147-5 (hereinafter cited as *PJD*).

1812. Surmising that the Union had at last committed itself once again to fulfilling its "Manifest Destiny" *vis-à-vis* Britain, Davis strove to emulate Calhoun's policies and geopolitics as Pierce's Secretary of War. Prominent Bonapartists had moved to the U.S. and imparted their knowledge to Calhoun's War Department after Napoleon I's downfall, and Davis similarly acquired such advanced military technologies as the Minié ball from Napoleon III's new French Empire, which was "democratic," white supremacist, and increasingly hostile to the abolitionist British Empire.

Insisting that every white man within the Union ought to be an enfranchised citizen under the U.S. Constitution, Davis Democrats believed that the lowliest of whites ought to hold a higher station in society than any and all blacks. Blacks, they thought, were an inherently brutish and drastically inferior race which had to be subjected to slavery or some other form of white rule until they could be deported from the Union altogether in the distant future. The U.S. Constitution, moreover, had, in their view, established a state's rights federation that was neither a loose alliance like the Articles of Confederation nor a "consolidated" polity like Britain or the centralized monarchies of Europe, a federation in which the U.S. government did not usurp civilian-related powers reserved to the states and states did not infringe upon military-oriented powers delegated to the federal government. And they were convinced that an industrializing and expansive Union committed to their understanding of state's rights and American nationalism was destined to triumph over a British Empire which was intrinsically hostile to the U.S. as the principal proponent of racial equality and inequality among whites in the Americas.

Davis and his Democratic followers abhorred the British government. Britain, they thought, was determined to restrict suffrage to the wealthy, degrade lower-class whites, enrich a single metropole by means of a centralized empire, maintain a *de jure* aristocracy, raise "Anglo-Saxons" above other whites, and foster religious bigotry by forcing non-Protestants as well as

non-conforming Protestants to support established Protestant churches. They were especially incensed by Britain's abolitionists, who supposedly neglected the British Empire's many oppressed and exploited whites even as they called for black slaves to be not just immediately emancipated but also granted the same rights as whites of equivalent class. Davis Democrats also believed that the British and their non-white allies in the Americas were colluding to thwart U.S. expansion in all directions and hoping to destroy the Union altogether. During both the Revolution and War of 1812, after all, Britain had, as Davis's namesake Thomas Jefferson averred in the Declaration of Independence, "excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and… endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian Savages, whose known rule of warfare, is an undistinguished destruction, of all ages, sexes and conditions."

Davis Democrats were appalled to witness the rise of Anglophile attitudes within the Union. Historians have ably analyzed pro-British sentiment in the antebellum North, but they have overlooked or minimized the persistence of intense hostility toward Britain among Democrats in general and Davis's supporters in particular.[2] Like Calhoun, Davis identified New England's "Yankee" Federalists and their consolidation-minded but anti-expansionist National Republican, Whig, Know-Nothing, and Republican heirs as the principal font of British abolitionism inside the Union. Believing thanks to the 1794 Jay Treaty that the wealthy

[2] See, for instance, Anne C. Rose, *Victorian America and the Civil War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); Sohui Lee, "Hawthorne's Politics of Storytelling: Two 'Tales of the Province House' and the Specter of Anglomania in the 'Democratic Review,'" *American Periodicals*, vol. 14, no. 1 (Spring 2004), 35-62; Cree LeFavour, "'Jane Eyre' Fever: Deciphering the Astonishing Popular Success of Charlotte Brontë in Antebellum America," *Book History*, vol. 7 (2004), 113-41; Elisa Tamarkin, *Anglophilia: Deference, Devotion, and Antebellum America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007); Tom F. Wright, "Listening to Emerson's 'England' at Clinton Hall, 22 January 1850," *Journal of American Studies*, vol. 46, no. 3 (August 2012), 641-62; and Christopher Hanlon, *America's England: Antebellum Literature and Atlantic Sectionalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013). For the greater prevalence of Anglophobia in the U.S. before the 1830s, see David Waldstreicher, *In the Midst of Perpetual Fetes: The Making of American Nationalism, 1776-1820* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997); Todd Estes, *The Jay Treaty Debate, Public Opinion, and the Evolution of Early American Political Culture* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2006); Sam W. Haynes, *Unfinished Revolution: The Early American Republic in a British World* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2010); and Karian Akemi Yokota, *Unbecoming British: How Revolutionary America Became a Postcolonial Nation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

northeastern Anglo-Protestant Federalists who admired many aspects of contemporary Britain would have brought the U.S. into Britain's orbit and denied the franchise to lower-class whites even as blacks gained both freedom and citizenship if not for Jefferson's electoral victory in 1800, Democrats dreaded the prospect of living in a pro-British Union. Many New England Federalists, after all, looked to Britain for protection from Bonapartist France even as they accused Calhoun and his Democratic supporters of being pawns of Napoleon. As the staunch Massachusetts Federalist William Cunningham, Jr. remarked in an 1811 letter to his distant cousin the former Federalist U.S. president John Adams, "Buon[a]parte is at ease about the conquest of this Country, for he knows how many faithful Ceneas' are at work for him."[3] And by vociferously opposing the War of 1812, a few northeastern Federalists exacerbated and seemingly confirmed Democratic suspicions as to their true intentions by going so far as to call for the New England states to secede and align with Britain at the 1814-15 Hartford Convention.

The "Yankee" descendants of the New England Federalists alarmed Calhoun and Davis as they migrated throughout the North and found allies in the upper South among Henry Clay's supporters. They built a devoutly Protestant "Benevolent Empire" which seemed congenial to British abolitionism by the early 1830s, for its votaries not only denounced slavery as a sinful institution but openly empathized with Indians and blacks, castigating Democratic Indian removal policies while defying the U.S. Constitution to help runaway slaves attain freedom and equality in British North America.[4] Warning that the emergence of an "Anglo-Saxon" North

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[3] "William Cunningham, Jr. to John Adams," Fitchburg, April 18th. 1811, Adams Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.

[4] See Whitney R. Cross, *The Burned-Over District: The Social and Intellectual History of Enthusiastic Religion in Western New York, 1800-1850* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1950); Mary P. Ryan, *Cradle of the Middle Class: The Family in Oneida County, New York, 1790-1865* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981); Keith J. Hardman, "Charles G. Finney, the Benevolent Empire, and the Free Church Movement in New York City," *New York History*, vol. 67, no. 4 (October 1986), 410-35; Ronald G. Walters, *American Reformers, 1815-1860*, ed. Eric Foner (1978; revised ed., New York: Hill and Wang, 1998); and Oleta Pinsloo, "'The Abolitionist Factory': Northeastern Religion, David Nelson, and the Mission Institute near Quincy, Illinois, 1836-1844," *Journal of the*

dedicated to re-making the Union in Britain's abolitionist image would drive southern Democrats into secession, Calhoun and Davis excoriated northern Democrats affiliated with Martin Van Buren and, later, Stephen Douglas for appeasing and facilitating rather than confronting and suppressing the burgeoning Benevolent Empire. In their view, Van Buren and his successors were advancing such ideological heresies as the restriction of slavery in U.S. territories, protective tariffs, and purely civilian rather than military-oriented federal internal improvements.

Anglophile attitudes, however, were not confined to the North. A different kind of pro-British antebellum sentiment emerged throughout the South thanks to Calhoun's Old Republican antagonists within the Democratic Party. Old Republicans opposed strong governments at both the state and federal levels to protect the sacrosanct property (slaves especially) and independence of each plantation fiefdom in the name of what Calhoun called "Radical" state's rights.[5] And such historians as Roland G. Osterweis, Eugene D. Genovese, and Bertram Wyatt Brown have expertly explicated the process by which the influential Virginia Anglophile John

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Illinois State Historical Society, vol. 105, no. 1 (Spring 2012), 36-68. Also see Fred S. Rolater, "The American Indian and the Origin of the Second American Party System," *The Wisconsin Magazine of History*, vol. 76, no. 3 (Spring 1993), 180-203; Scott C. Martin, "Interpreting 'Metamora': Nationalism, Theater, and Jacksonian Indian Policy," *Journal of the Early Republic*, vol. 19, no. 1 (Spring 1999), 73-101; Mary Hershberger, "Mobilizing Women, Anticipating Abolition: The Struggle against Indian Removal in the 1830s," *The Journal of American History*, vol. 86, no. 1 (June 1999), 15-40; Christian B. Keller, "Philanthropy Betrayed: Thomas Jefferson, the Louisiana Purchase, and the Origins of Federal Indian Removal Policy," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, vol. 144, no. 1 (March 2000), 39-66; Monique Patenaude Roach, "The Rescue of William 'Jerry' Henry: Antislavery and Racism in the Burned-over District," *New York History*, vol. 82, no. 2 (Spring 2001), 135-54 (the "Racism" in Roach's title refers to the predominantly Democratic denizens of upstate New York who endeavored to apprehend and return fugitive slaves throughout the antebellum period); and Rebecca Jaroff, "Opposing Forces: (Re)Playing Pocahontas and the Politics of Indian Removal on the Antebellum Stage," *Comparative Drama*, vol. 40, no. 4 (Winter 2006-07), 483-504.

[5] For Calhoun's use of the term "Radical" state's rights when identifying opponents within the southern Democracy, see, for instance, "To Ogden Edwards, New York City," Washington, 2d May 1823, in *The Papers of John C. Calhoun*, ed. Robert L. Meriwether, *et al*., 28 vols. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1959-2003), 8:45 (hereinafter cited as *PJCC*). Also see "To J[oseph] G. Swift," Washington, 26th Oct[ober] 1823, *PJCC*, 8:329. For the worldview of the Old Republicans, see Norman K. Risjord, *The Old Republicans: Southern Conservatism in the Age of Jefferson* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1965).

Randolph of Roanoke and his fellow Old Republicans combined Radical state's rights with a new kind of "Southron" proto-national identity based upon British Romanticism in the 1820s.[6]

Randolph and his Radical protégés were inspired by the writings of Edmund Burke, Sir Walter Scott, Thomas Carlyle, and other British Romantic critics of the French Revolution and Napoleonic France to conserve and venerate the "Anglo-Norman" or "Cavalier" ethos of the English past and colonial South. Romanticizing the "peculiar institution" as a benevolently patriarchal and paternalistically Christian relationship akin to the "organic" harmony which supposedly bound English lords and their peasant *Volk*, Radicals came to insist that slavery in perpetuity was not only a "positive good" for both masters and slaves in the South, but also that "slavery-in-the-abstract" was the best way to organize every society, including all-white nations. As the leading slavery-in-the-abstract theorist George Fitzhugh explained in 1857, slavery was "a normal, natural, and, *in general*, necessitous element of civilized society, without regard to race or color."[7] The "Cavalier" South, moreover, was, the Radicals held, inherently antagonistic to the "Roundhead" North, and they blamed Cromwell's "Puritan" descendants on each side of the Atlantic for societal trends which they loathed in both the U.S. and Britain, trends including governmental centralization, anti-slavery agitation, industrialization, large-scale urbanization, and suffrage extension. Aspiring to revive Cavalier values among the British, they hoped to see an incipiently pro-slavery Britain emerge as the agricultural South's cotton-hungry protector *vis-à-vis* the North even if southerners opted not to form a new league of seceded slave states, for

[6] See Rollin G. Osterweis, *Romanticism and Nationalism in the Old South* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1949); Eugene D. Genovese, *The World the Slaveholders Made: Two Essays in Interpretation* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1969); and Bertram Wyatt-Brown, *Hearts of Darkness: Wellsprings of a Southern Literary Tradition* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2002). Also see Robert Dawidoff, *The Education of John Randolph* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1979).
[7] George Fitzhugh, "Southern Thought," *De Bow's Review*, vol. 23, no. 4 (October 1857), 347.

while "Fire-Eater" Radicals yearned to secede, other Radicals feared that re-fighting the English Civil War against the "Roundhead" North would destroy both Radical state's rights and slavery.[8]

The Radical minority within the Democracy assailed other southern Democrats for being insufficiently pro-slavery, condemning them as well for betraying their Anglo-Protestant heritage in favor of such alien French notions as *égalité*, *sécularité*, and *bonapartisme*.[9] Yet historians have often over-estimated the extent to which the Radicals convinced or coerced most southern whites to adopt their worldview by the 1840s.[10] After northern Democrats elevated Van Buren to the presidency in 1836, many Radicals abandoned a Democratic Party which they now

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[8] See W. J. Cash, *The Mind of the South* (1941; reprint, New York: Vintage Books, 1991); Louis Hartz, *The Liberal Tradition in America* (1955; reprint, New York: Harcourt Brace & Company, 1991); William R. Taylor, *Cavalier and Yankee: The Old South and American National Character* (1961; reprint, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993); David M. Potter, "The Historian's Use of Nationalism and Vice Versa," *The American Historical Review*, vol. 67, no. 4 (July, 1962), 924-50; John McCardell, *The Idea of a Southern Nation: Southern Nationalists and Southern Nationalism, 1830-1860* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1979); Drew G. Faust, "A Southern Stewardship: The Intellectual and the Proslavery Argument," *American Quarterly*, vol. 31, no. 1 (Spring 1979), 63-80; Larry E. Tise, *Proslavery: A History of the Defense of Slavery in America, 1701-1840* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1987); Drew G. Faust, *The Creation of Confederate Nationalism: Ideology and Identity in the Civil War South* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1988); William W. Freehling, *The Road to Disunion: Secessionists at Bay, 1776-1854* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990); Stephen W. Berry II, *All that Makes a Man: Love and Ambition in the Civil War South* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003); Edward B. Rugemer, "The Southern Response to British Abolitionism: The Maturation of Proslavery Apologetics," *The Journal of Southern History*, vol. 70, no. 2 (May 2004), 221-48; Elizabeth Fox-Genovese and Eugene D. Genovese, *The Mind of the Master Class: History and Faith in the Southern Slaveholders' Worldview* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Adam L. Tate, *Conservatism and Southern Intellectuals, 1789-1861* (Columbia: Missouri University Press, 2005); Elizabeth Fox-Genovese and Eugene Genovese, *Slavery in Black and White: Class and Race in the Southern Slaveholders' New World Order* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008); Charles F. Irons, *The Origins of Proslavery Christianity: White and Black Evangelicals in Colonial and Antebellum Virginia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008); Michael T. Bernath, *Confederate Minds: The Struggle for Intellectual Independence in the Civil War South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010); and Paul Quigley, *Shifting Grounds: Nationalism and the American South, 1848-1865* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011). Also see Kevin Gilmartin, *Writing against Revolution: Literary Conservatism in Britain, 1790-1832* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

[9] See William J. Cooper, Jr., *The South and the Politics of Slavery, 1828-1856* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1978); and Lacy K. Ford, Jr., *Deliver Us from Evil: The Slavery Question in the Old South* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

[10] See Clement Eaton, *The Freedom-of-Thought Struggle in the Old South* (New York: Harper & Row, 1964); Manisha Sinha, *The Counterrevolution of Slavery: Politics and Ideology in Antebellum South Carolina* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000); Manisha Sinha, "The Caning of Charles Sumner: Slavery, Race, and Ideology in the Age of the Civil War," *Journal of the Early Republic*, vol. 23, no. 2 (Summer 2003), 233-62; and William W. Freehling, *The Road to Disunion: Secessionists Triumphant, 1854-1861* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007). In contrast, see Drew G. Faust, *A Sacred Circle: The Dilemma of the Intellectual in the Old South, 1840-1860* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977); Lacy K. Ford, Jr., "Making the 'White Man's Country' White: Race, Slavery, and State-Building in the Jacksonian South," *Journal of the Early Republic*, vol. 19, no. 4 (Winter 1999), 713-37; and Robert E. Bonner, *Mastering America: Southern Slaveholders and the Crisis of American Nationhood* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

deemed the principal threat to Radical state's rights, allying instead with National Republican northerners and Henry Clay supporters to form the Whig Party. Historians have often but mistakenly claimed that Calhoun jettisoned "War Hawk" ideology at that point and joined the Radicals.[11] As Michael O'Brien has observed, the South Carolinian's "supposed apostasy" was projected on him by historians who saw his putative ideological transformation as "emblematic of the South's change of status and mind" in the 1830s.[12] Yet Calhoun and his ideological heir Davis never did become Radicals. Preferring state and federal governments that were strong and active but confined to their proper jurisdictions, they adhered to Calhoun's "conservative" state's rights and sought to pressure northern Democrats into ideological conformity by cooperating with Radicals, whom they promised to discard if the northern Democracy repudiated Van Buren and his successors.[13] And so they rejected the Radical state's rights and slavery-in-the-abstract doctrines of the southern Anglophiles even as they excoriated consolidation-minded, abolitionist-friendly Anglophiles of the North, who were, like the Radicals, hostile to Napoleon III's France.

A large majority of southern whites became Radicals to one degree or another according to most scholars, suggesting that Radical Whigs re-made the moribund southern Democracy in

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[11] See Charles M. Wiltse, *John C. Calhoun: Nationalist, 1782-1828*, vol. 1 (Indianapolis, IN: Bobbs-Merrill, 1944); Gerald M. Capers, "A Reconsideration of John C. Calhoun's Transition from Nationalism to Nullification," *The Journal of Southern History*, vol. 14, no. 1 (February 1948), 34-48; Charles M. Wiltse, *John C. Calhoun: Nullifier, 1829-1839*, vol. 2 (Indianapolis, IN: Bobbs-Merrill, 1949); Charles M. Wiltse, *John C. Calhoun: Sectionalist, 1840-1850*, vol. 3 (Indianapolis, IN: Bobbs-Merrill, 1951); August O. Spain, *The Political Theory of John C. Calhoun* (1951; reprint, New York: Octagon Books, 1968); William W. Freehling, *Prelude to Civil War: The Nullification Controversy in South Carolina, 1816-1836* (New York: Harper & Row, 1966); Merrill D. Peterson, *The Great Triumvirate: Webster, Clay, and Calhoun* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987); and Irving H. Bartlett, *John C. Calhoun: A Biography* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1993). John Niven emphasizes ideological continuity in Calhoun's career, but he claims that the South Carolinian was more of an Old Republican than has usually been thought from the start. See John Niven, *John C. Calhoun and the Price of Union: A Biography* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1988). Also see H. Lee Cheek, *Calhoun and Popular Rule: The Political Theory of the Disquisition and Discourse* (2001; reprint, Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2004).

[12] Michael O'Brien, *Conjectures of Order: Intellectual Life and the Old South, 1810-1860*, 2 vols. (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 924.

[13] See "To S[amuel] D. Ingham, [New Hope, Pa.?], Washington, 3d April, 1836, *PJCC*, 13:138; and "Second Speech on the Bill for the Admission of Michigan," [In the Senate, January 5, 1837], *PJCC*, 13:350. Also see Jeffrey L. Zvengrowski, "Conservative vs. Radical States' Rights and John C. Calhoun's Legacy in the Confederacy," *Southern Historian*, vol. 35 (Spring 2014), 22-46.

their image after they broke with the increasingly anti-slavery northern Whigs in the early 1850s.[14] By the same logic, historians have claimed that northern Democrats of the 1850s could not have had much in common with a Radical-dominated southern Democracy, concluding that Van Buren's heirs in the northern Democracy were the heart and soul of the party. They have accordingly dismissed northern Democrats who were personally and politically close to Davis as having little motivation beyond placating belligerent slaveholders and reveling in the spoils of office.[15] Davis's allies within the northern Democracy, however, believed just as much as he did in equality among whites, imperial white supremacy, anti-British Manifest Destiny, and alliance-building with Bonapartist France, the emperor of which predicated his rule upon plebiscites in which every white Frenchman could vote and had, after his acclaimed visit to the U.S. in 1837, endorsed Manifest Destiny in his well-known 1839 *Napoleonic Ideas* as follows: "La Providence a confié aux États-Unis d'Amérique le soin de peupler et de gagner à la civilisation tout cet immense territoire qui s'étend de l'Atlantique à la mer du Sud, et du pôle nord à l'équateur."[16]

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[14] See Ronald T. Takaki, *A Pro-Slavery Crusade: The Agitation to Re-open the African Slave Trade* (New York: The Free Press, 1971); Eric W. Walter, *The Fire-Eaters* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1992); Thomas E. Jeffrey, *Thomas Lanier Clingman: Fire Eater from the Carolina Mountains* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1999); Wallace Hettle, *The Peculiar Democracy: Southern Democrats in Peace and Civil War* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2001); David C. Keehn, *Knights of the Golden Circle: Secret Empire, Southern Secession, Civil War* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2012); and Holt Merchant, *South Carolina Fire-Eater: The Life of Laurence Massilon Keitt, 1824-1864* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2014).

[15] See David Meerse, "Buchanan's Patronage Policy: An Attempt to Achieve Political Strength," *Pennsylvania History*, vol. 40, no. 1 (January 1973), 36-57; John Ashworth, "The Democratic-Republicans before the Civil War: Political Ideology and Economic Change," *Journal of American Studies*, vol. 20, no. 3 (December 1986), 375-90; Jean H. Baker, *Affairs of Party: The Political Culture of Northern Democrats in the Mid-nineteenth Century* (Bronx, NY: Fordham University Press, 1998); Edward L. Widmer, *Young America: The Flowering of Democracy in New York City* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999); Leonard L. Richards, *The Slave Power: The Free North and Southern Domination, 1780-1860* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2000); Sean Wilentz, *The Rise of American Democracy: Jefferson to Lincoln* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2005); Yonathan Eyal, *The Young America Movement and the Transformation of the Democratic Party, 1828-1861* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007); and Christopher Childs, *The Failure of Popular Sovereignty: Slavery, Manifest Destiny, and the Radicalization of Southern Politics* (Lawrence: Kansas University Press, 2012). In contrast, see Jere W. Roberson, "The Memphis Commercial Convention of 1853: Southern Dreams and 'Young America,'" Tennessee Historical Quarterly, vol. 33, no. 3 (Fall 1974), 279-96.

[16] Louis-Napoléon Bonaparte, *Des idées Napoléoniennes* (Londres: Henri Colburn, Libraire, 1839), 8.

Yet to maintain or cultivate alliances with northern Democrats and French Bonapartists, Davis and his supporters within the southern Democracy had to insist that white supremacy was slavery's *raison d'être*, for while northern Democrats and French Bonapartists rejected the "immediatism" and racial egalitarianism of British abolitionism, they regarded the institution as a "necessary evil" at best. The Radicals, to be sure, induced Calhoun and Davis to break with Jefferson's own original "necessary evil" position by vindicating slavery as a "positive good." But they both refused to go so far as to endorse slavery-in-the-abstract, insisting instead that they were only willing to uphold the institution as a mere means to the end of white racial dominance.

Tensions between slavery-in-the-abstract Radicals and southern Davis Democrats mounted in the 1850s thanks to Napoleon III's support for "scientists" who endorsed white supremacy but deemed slavery atavistic, "scientists" who had influenced such Democrats as the South Carolinian Josiah C. Nott, who completed his medical studies at Paris and founded a state-supported medical college in 1833 upon moving to Mobile.[17] Nott was a Foreign Associate of the Anthropological Society of Paris and justified slavery wholly on the basis of race – as a proven method by which to render ostensibly brutish and lazy blacks docile and productive.[18] To that end, he published a translated work by Bonapartist France's well-known diplomat and racial theorist Arthur Comte de Gobineau in 1856, for while the Frenchman disliked slavery as an institution, he was "penetrated by the conviction that the racial question overshadows all other

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[17] For France's anti-slavery but white supremacist and usually pro-Bonaparte French racial theorists during the interregnum between the Napoleons, see Martin S. Staum, *Labeling People: French Scholars on Society, Race, and Empire, 1815-1848* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003).

[18] For Nott's life and career, see Reginald Horsman, *Josiah Nott of Mobile: Southerner, Physician, and Racial Theorist* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1987). Nott's Francophile brother Henry Junius, moreover, was a devotee of French literature. See O'Brien, *Conjectures of Order*, 240. Also see Louis-Ferdinand-Alfred Maury, Josiah Clark Nott, Ferencz Aurelius Pulszky, James Aitken Meigs, and George Robins Gliddon, *Indigenous Races of the Earth, Or, New Chapters of Ethnological Inquiry: Including Monographs on Special Departments* (London: Trübner, 1857). Maury was a renowned French scholar, physician, and director-general of the Imperial Archives who helped Napoleon III research his 1865 *Histoire de Jules César*, which contended that democracies were imperial by nature and hence fittingly embodied by a great military leader. See S. M. I. Napoleon III, *Histoire de Jules César*, 2 vols. (New York: D. Appleton et Cie. Libraires-Éditeurs, 1866).

problems of history…."[19] Nott was, in Michael O'Brien's words, perhaps "the most famous Southern intellectual of his day…," and he rose to fame by polemicizing Radicals, who were irked that a future South in which slavery but not white rule had been phased out was an acceptable though hardly desirable outcome for Nott and other Bonaparte-friendly Democrats.[20]

The secular-minded Nott was particularly loathed by southern Protestant Whig ministers like South Carolina College's Whig *cum* Know-Nothing Presbyterian president James H. Thornwell, an old political foe of Calhoun's who despised Democratic secularists, Catholics, and Baptists alike; deemed slavery a divinely-sanctioned institution suited for all societies even as he urged masters to be more paternalistic toward their slaves; detested Napoleon III; and deplored the idea of white supremacy *sans* slavery. "Science, falsely so called," he declared in 1847 with reference to blacks, "may attempt to exclude [them] from the brotherhood of humanity," but "the Negro is of one blood with ourselves," and he was "not ashamed to call him our *brother*" because he, like many other Radicals, viewed blacks not so much as brutes or savages but rather as humble, faithful, and child-like charges.[21] Some historians have even interpreted Thornwell's desire to reform slavery and ambivalence toward white supremacy as indicative of nascent anti-

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[19] Quoted in Michael Denis Biddiss, *Father of Racist Ideology: The Social and Political Thought of Count Gobineau* (New York: Weybright and Talley, 1970), 112-13. See Count A. de Gobineau, *The Moral and Intellectual Diversity of Races, with Particular Reference to their Respective Influence in the Civil and Political History of Mankind*, ed. Henry Hotze and Josiah C. Nott, trans. Henry Hotze (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1856). Also see Josiah C. Nott, *Two Lectures on the Natural History of the Caucasian and Negro Races* (Mobile: Dade and Thompson, 1844); and Josiah C. Nott and George R. Gliddon, *Types of Mankind: Or, Ethnological Researches, Based Upon the Ancient Monuments, Paintings, Sculptures, and Crania of Races, and Upon Their Natural, Geographical, Philological and Biblical History, Illustrated by Selections from the Inedited Papers of Samuel George Morton (Late President of the Academy of Natural Sciences at Philadelphia) and by Additional Contributions from L. Agassiz; W. Usher; and H. S. Patterson*, 7th ed. (Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo, & Co., 1855).

[20] O'Brien, *Conjectures of Order*, 242. See ibid., 240, 248-49, 252. Also see Josiah C. Nott, "Diversity of the Human Race," *De Bow's Review*, vol. 10 (February 1851), 113-32.

[21] James Henley Thornwell, "The Christian Doctrine of Slavery [1847]," in *The Collected Writings of James Henley Thornwell, D.D., LL.D., Late Professor of Theology in the Columbia University Seminary at Columbia, South Carolina*, ed. John B. Adger, D.D., and John L. Girardeau, D.D. vol. 4 (Richmond: Presbyterian Committee of Publication, 1873), 403. See James Henley Thornwell, "Slavery and the Religious Instruction of the Colored Population," *Southern Presbyterian Review*, vol. 4 (1850), 105-41; and O'Brien, *Conjectures of Order*, 125-26, 1114-56. Also see Kimberley R. Kellison, "Toward Humanitarian Ends? Protestants and Slave Reform in South Carolina, 1830-1865," *The South Carolina Historical Magazine*, vol. 103, no. 3 (July 2002), 210-25.

slavery sentiment on his part, but he affirmed slavery-in-the-abstract by declaring in 1860 that "[w]e cherish the institution," for "[i]n its last analysis, Slavery is nothing but an organization of labour, and an organization by virtue of which labour and capital are made to coincide."[22]

The Radicals had also been discomfited when Calhoun urged southern state governments to industrialize the South during the 1830s and '40s even as he cooperated with Radicals at the federal level to enervate the U.S. government. The Radicals, after all, were unsettled by or even hostile to such emerging trends in the South as corporate and governmental use of slave labor in factories, mines, and railroad construction; extensive immigration from Europe and the North; and pell-mell urbanization, trends which accelerated exponentially in the 1850s much to Davis's delight.[23] They were accordingly appalled by the Mississippian's efforts in the 1850s to augment the U.S. military, construct such vast internal improvements of military value as transcontinental railroads, and re-unite the Union by threatening the British Empire. North Carolina's Whig *cum* Radical Democrat U.S. senator Thomas Lanier Clingman therefore denounced Senator Davis's proposal to build massive coastal fortifications near the important British port of Vancouver in 1860 as an aggressive scheme "intended not so much to protect us as to menace Great Britain."[24]

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[22] James Henley Thornwell, "Sermon on National Sins [1860]," in *The Collected Writings of James Henley Thornwell*, 539. See William W. Freehling, "James Henley Thornwell's Mysterious Antislavery Moment," *Journal of Southern History*, vol. 57, no. 3 (August 1991), 383-406; and O'Brien, *Conjectures of Order*, 1155.

[23] See Ernest M. Lander, Jr., "The Iron Industry in Ante-Bellum South Carolina," *The Journal of Southern History*, vol. 20, no. 3 (August 1954), 337-55; Robert Starobin, *Industrial Slavery in the Old South* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971); Ronald Lewis, *Coal, Iron, and Slaves: Industrial Slavery in Maryland and Virginia, 1715-1865* (New York: Praegar, 1979); Frank Towers, *The Urban South and the Coming of the Civil War* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2004); Aaron W. Marrs, *Railroads in the Old South: Pursuing Progress in a Slave Society* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009); and *The Old South's Modern Worlds: Slavery, Region, and Nation in the Age of Progress*, ed. L. Diane Barnes, Brian Schoen, and Frank Towers (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011). Virginia, in fact, laid more track than any other state from the Mexican War to 1861, by which year only New York and Pennsylvania had more rail mileage. See Aaron Sheehan-Dean, *Why Confederates Fought: Family & Nation in Civil War Virginia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 19.

[24] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Army Appropriation bill. June 2, 1860," in *Jefferson Davis, Constitutionalist: His Letters, Papers and Speeches*, ed. Dunbar Rowland, 10 vols. (New York: J. J. Little & Ives Company, 1923), 4:417 (hereinafter cited as *JDC*).

Davis and his allies were shocked and saddened to conclude that they would actually have to follow through with their secession threats when the Republicans won the 1860 election thanks to Douglas, who had, in their view, split the Democracy along largely sectional lines by refusing to step aside in favor of an ideologically-sound candidate such as Pierce or John C. Breckinridge. Secessionist Radicals were initially pleased to see the South's Davis Democrats join them in calling for the creation of a southern Confederacy, but they were soon frustrated to learn that President Davis had not embraced Radical ideology in the process. Historians have generally assumed or argued that the Radical worldview dominated the Confederate States of America (C.S.A.) as an all-encompassing "synthesis," explaining disputes among Confederates as spats between Radical purists and comparatively pragmatic Radicals who were willing to compromise principles for the sake of victory.[25] Yet several historians have shown of late that many a Confederate wished to build a powerful modern nation from 1861 onward.[26] C.S. Radicals like the ex-Whig Confederate vice president Alexander Stephens opposed and denounced Davis administration policies not because the C.S. president was a more practical version of themselves, but rather because he was still espousing principles and goals associated

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[25] See James Oscar Farmer, Jr., *The Metaphysical Confederacy: James Henley Thornwell and the Synthesis of Southern Values* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1986). Also see Frank L. Owsley, *State Rights in the Confederacy* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1924); Raimondo Luraghi, *The Rise and Fall of the Plantation South* (New York: New Viewpoints, 1978); Emory M. Thomas, *The Confederacy as a Revolutionary Experience* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1992); George C. Rable, *The Confederate Republic: A Revolution against Politics* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994); Drew Gilpin Faust, *Mothers of Invention: Women of the Slaveholding South in the American Civil War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996); Eugene D. Genovese, *A Consuming Fire: The Fall of the Confederacy in the Mind of the White Christian South* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1998); William C. Davis, *The Union that Shaped the Confederacy: Robert Toombs and Alexander Stephens* (Lawrence: Kansas University Press, 2001); and Anne Sarah Rubin, *A Shattered Nation: The Rise and Fall of the Confederacy, 1861-1868* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007).

[26] See Gary W. Gallagher, *The Confederate War* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997); Nicholas Onuf and Peter Onuf, *Nations, Markets, and War: Modern History and the American Civil War* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2006); and John Majewski, *Modernizing a Slave Economy: The Economic Vision of the Confederate Nation* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009).

with "[t]he Democratic party of the United States" as embodied by "Mr. Pierce in 1852."[27] Davis insisted that he was simply exercising powers which the Confederate Constitution had delegated to the C.S. government. Confederate Radicals, however, excoriated him for practicing tyrannical consolidation and even accused him of creating a Bonaparte-like military dictatorship.

The southern Confederacy envisioned by the Radicals would have been opposed to universal suffrage among white men; strictly patriarchal toward white women; committed to Radical state's rights; dedicated to Anglo-Protestant dominance as against other whites; pro-British in orientation; hostile to anti-slavery but white supremacist northern Democrats in addition to Republicans; and the world's principal exponent of slavery-in-the-abstract. Stephens hence declared slavery to be the Confederacy's "cornerstone" and hailed England as "the mother country" in 1861.[28] Davis's Confederate States of America, however, stood for Calhoun-style rather than Radical state's rights; appealed to non-Anglo and non-Protestant southern whites; sought to win over as many northern Democrats as possible; encouraged white women to enter the "public sphere" in order to bolster the war effort; took Britain for an ally of the Republican "Yankee" enemy; and grudgingly offered a very gradual emancipation to Napoleon III in hopes of securing French intervention, for while Davis was definitely not anti-slavery, he was willing to attenuate the institution of slavery so as to save the Confederacy and hence white supremacy.[29]

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[27] "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Montgomery, April 29, 1861, *JDC*, 5:73. See James Z. Rabun, "Alexander H. Stephens and Jefferson Davis," *The American Historical Review*, vol. 58, no. 2 (January 1953), 290-321.

[28] Alexander Stephens, "Cornerstone Address," from the Savannah *Republican*, March 22, 1861, in *Southern Pamphlets on Secession, November 1860-April 1861*, ed. Jon L. Wakelyn (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 411.

[29] Ervin L. Jordan is hence mistaken to assert in an otherwise excellent book that "[s]lavery was the only condition for blacks as far as Confederate president Jefferson Davis was concerned." Ervin L. Jordan, *Black Confederates and Afro-Yankees in Civil War Virginia* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1995), 150.

Stephens did draw back from slavery-in-the-abstract to conciliate pro-Davis Confederates in his 1861 "Cornerstone" speech, which equated slavery with black "subordination to the superior race." He and his fellow Radicals, however, were not open to living in a white supremacist South *sans* slavery, whereas Davis was prepared though certainly not eager to sacrifice slavery if doing so was the only way to secure victory and independence for the Confederacy, the defeat of which at Republican hands would, he thought, bring about the destruction of slavery, white rule, and perhaps even the white race itself within the South. As the C.S. president reticently moved to enlist and manumit – though certainly not to enfranchise – slave soldiers in late 1864, his old political and personal enemy the Radical Mississippi Democrat *cum* Know-Nothing C.S. congressman Henry S. Foote thus accused him of scheming to render the Confederacy a debased French puppet bereft of slavery. Recalling in 1866 that "[i]t was stated in my hearing repeatedly, by several special friends of the Confederate president, that *one hundred thousand French soldiers* were expected to arrive within the limits of the Confederate States by way of Mexico...," Foote also wanted to limit C.S. citizenship to "Anglo-Americans," affronted Davis's friend the Jewish Confederate Secretary of State Judah P. Benjamin using ethnic and religious slurs, and made his way to the U.S. capital in early 1865 to see if the Republicans would let slavery survive if the Confederacy were to promptly surrender.[30]

Davis had not just ideological and sentimental but also strategic reasons for seeking foreign recognition and support from French Bonapartists rather than British abolitionists during what he took to be a new American Revolution, having concluded by the early 1860s that Britain was no longer "the greatest military Power on the face of the globe" due to the rise of Napoleon III's France, which he and nearly everyone else on both sides of the Atlantic perceived at the

[30] Henry S. Foote, *War of the Rebellion; or, Scylla and Charybdis* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1866), 375. (Foote's "Scylla and Charybdis" referred to the North and the Davis administration).

time as, in Wolfgang Schivelbusch's words, "the Bonapartist conqueror state it had been before the Franco-Prussian War...."[31] Napoleon III, after all, sent his elite Zouaves and tens of thousands more French soldiers to Mexico in 1861 to overthrow Benito Juárez's mestizo-led and pro-Republican regime. Yet historians have persisted in claiming that the C.S. government was focused upon winning British support, either ignoring the key role of French Bonapartists in the Civil War entirely or mistakenly assuming that Napoleon III's France was a second-rate and submissive crony of Britain despite the fact that the French emperor had warned the British ambassador in 1860 shortly after Britain protested France's recent annexation of Nice and Savoy even though confirmatory plebiscites were held in the two new provinces that "if public opinion in France, which… I shall do my best to control, should render a rupture necessary I will make war on England with such vigour and such means as shall at once put an end to the affair."[32]

As the pro-Davis Confederates expected, Britain did far more to help the Union than the Confederacy during the war. The C.S. cause, to be sure, appealed to quite a few Britons when framed in Radical terms, but Charles Darwin himself condemned the C.S.A. as an abolitionist sympathizer who would later single out Josiah C. Nott's racial theories for criticism in *The Descent of Man*.[33] To the shocked disappointment of Davis and his supporters, however, France

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[31] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the special message on affairs in South Carolina. Jan. 10, 1861," *JDC*, 5:19; and Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *The Culture of Defeat: On National Trauma, Mourning and Recovery*, trans. Jefferson Chase (2001; reprint, New York: Metropolitan Books, 2003), 223.

[32] Quoted in Henry Richard Charles Wellesley Cowley, *Secrets of the Second Empire: Private Letters from the Paris Embassy*, ed. Frederick Arthur Wellesley (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1929), 215. See, for instance, Frank L. Owsley, *King Cotton Diplomacy: Foreign Relations of the Confederate States of America* (1931; revised ed., Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2008); Charles M. Hubbard, *The Burden of Confederate Diplomacy* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2000); Howard Jones, *Blue and Gray Diplomacy: A History of Union and Confederate Foreign Relations* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010); and *The Civil War as Global Conflict: Transnational Meanings of the American Civil War*, ed. David T. Gleeson and Simon Lewis (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2014). For a refreshing contrast, see Thomas Schoonover, "Napoleon Is Coming! Maximilian Is Coming? The International History of the Civil War in the Caribbean Basin," in *The Union, the Confederacy, and the Atlantic Rim*, ed. Robert E. May (West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press, 1995), 101–30.

[33] See Charles Darwin, *The Descent of Man, and Selection in Relation to Sex*, 1st ed. (London: John Murray, 1871), 217. Also see Davis D. Joyce, "Pro-Confederate Sympathy in the British Parliament," *Social Science*, vol. 44, no. 2

did not come to the Confederacy's aid in the end, although Prussia's unexpected ascendance was more to blame for Napoleon III's decision than Radical hostility toward France, Republican threats, or British opposition. Calculating that the Union might well accept both French dominance over Mexico and white rule in the South if France were to abandon the Confederacy, Napoleon III's government realized that most Republicans were not intrinsically hostile to white supremacy by the end of 1864, and such key supporters of the Davis administration came to similar conclusions in 1865 as General Robert E. Lee, who had befriended Napoleon I's Baltimorean nephew Jerome-Napoleon Bonaparte, Sr. ("My dear Mr Bonaparte") in the 1850s.[34]

Lincoln's assassination, however, played into the hands of the pro-abolitionist Republican minority, who were able to advance black citizenship as a means by which to punish the Confederates and frustrate the northern Democrats, whom Davis had expected to rise sooner or later in rebellion against Republican abolitionist rule because his friend Franklin Pierce had assured him in early 1860 that if "the madness of northern abolitionism" were to bring about southern secession, "the fighting will not be along Masons and Dixon's line merely. It will be within our own borders, in our own streets…."[35] The C.S. president was therefore disappointed when his allies within the northern Democracy opted to resist the Lincoln administration by falling back upon Radical state's rights instead of pressing for rebellion or secession in the North, not to mention when they called for the Confederacy to be defeated without destroying slavery or at least white supremacy in the process. A few northern Davis Democrats had already

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(April 1969), 95-100; and Donald Bellows, "A Study of British Conservative Reaction to the American Civil War," *The Journal of Southern History*, vol. 51, no. 4 (November 1985), 505-26.

[34] "Robert E. Lee to Jerome Napoleon Bonaparte, Sr.," West Point 12 March 1853, Patterson-Bonaparte Papers, Maryland Historical Society. Also see Gary W. Gallagher, *The Union War* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2011).

[35] "Franklin Pierce to Jefferson Davis," Clarendon Hotel, [New York], January 6, 1860, *JDC*, 4:119. Davis, moreover, had informed the Mississippi legislature in 1858 that Pierce had assured him that that "whenever a Northern army should be assembled to march for the subjugation of the South, they would have a battle to fight at home…." "Speech of Jefferson Davis before the Mississippi Legislature. November 16, 1858," *JDC*, 4:119.

left the Union to help the French in Mexico or convince Napoleon III to help the discontented Democrats of California take that state out of the Union, and more of them joined the thousands of pro-Davis Confederates seeking the French emperor's protection after Lincoln's murder. But that did not change the fact that embittered pro-Davis Confederates such as the resident Parisian, former Pierce administration Assistant Secretary of State, and ex-Confederate commissioner to Belgium and the Papal States A. Dudley Mann of Virginia were very much disenchanted with Napoleon III, for while Mann repeatedly urged Davis to join him in France, he remarked in an 1870 letter that "[t]he charm that was once in that name – Napoleon – is well-nigh dissolved."[36]

The rapid rise to power of the Davis Democrats in the 1850s and their utter collapse by 1870 fittingly mirrored the course of Napoleonic III's France, which fell after the Prussians destroyed the French emperor's principal field army at the 1870 Battle of Sedan and was replaced by the racially-egalitarian French Third Republic. Davis Democrats and French Bonapartists had both championed equality among whites and white supremacy in similar though not identical institutional guises against the trans-Atlantic advocates of what were known in France as the Left and Right, both of which favored racial equality either to bring about universal equality or to undermine equality among whites. Davis and Napoleon III, moreover, had each believed that Anglo-abolitionists would seek to once again unite the forces of the reactionary Right and Jacobin-descended Left against a new Bonapartist France and its pro-Bonaparte allies. The Left and Right, however, could afford to fall out with one another on both sides of the Atlantic once Davis Democrats and French Bonapartists each posed no threat. Davis's old northern Democratic allies reluctantly accepted the reality of stark inequalities among whites in a Republican-dominated postwar North as a result, for the Republicans had at least drawn back from assailing white supremacy after destroying slavery, severing their wartime alliance with

[36] "A. Dudley Mann to Jefferson Davis," 17 Boulevard de la Madeleine, Paris, March 2, 1870, *JDC*, 7:261.

such Left-leaning Americans as the German ’48er immigrants in the process. At the same time, Davis’s southern supporters, who were now entirely bereft of France as a source of ideological inspiration and potential support, lost control over the Democracy in the South to ex-Whig Radicals who had been anti-administration Confederates. Dominating an intolerantly Protestant and proudly “Anglo-Saxon” postwar South, Radical planters and other “Bourbon” Democrats took pride in their supposed paternalism toward black and white sharecroppers; disenfranchised a multitude of poor whites alongside the vast majority of blacks; espoused Radical state’s rights at all levels of government; ostracized native-born or immigrant non-Anglo and non-Protestant whites as inferior outsiders; relegated white women to the “private sphere” once again; and effaced the memory of Davis’s C.S.A. by romanticizing the Confederacy as an ideal but sadly doomed “Cavalier” society in the history and literature of what they came to call the Lost Cause.

Explaining the rise and fall of the pro-Bonaparte Davis Democrats, however, entails an analysis of their ideological tradition’s origins. This study will therefore proceed along chronological lines, examining first how many Democrats believed that the “Virginia Dynasty” presidents had been opposed to Radical state’s rights and consolidation alike, committed to defeating abolitionist Britain and its actual or perceived allies within or adjoining the Union, and *de facto* allies of Napoleon I, fond memories of whom persisted after 1815 I among Democrats as Bonapartist French refugees flocked to the U.S. from St. Domingue and Louis XVIII’s France. The first chapter will also look at how Calhoun and his pro-Bonaparte allies within the Democracy saw themselves as Jefferson’s true ideological heirs, lost control of the Democratic Party to Van Buren, and reluctantly allied with the Radicals so as to convince northern Democrats to discard the “Little Magician” and squelch the Benevolent Empire. The subsequent two chapters will detail Davis’s relentless efforts from the early 1840s to 1860 to “purify” the

Democratic Party in both the North and South, convert "Cotton Whigs" to isolate the "Conscience Whigs" and thereby crush all non-Democratic political parties, re-implement "conservative" state's rights at the federal level, expand the U.S. at Britain's expense, and forge ties with Napoleon III's new French Empire. The following chapter will examine how Davis presented the C.S. cause as a new American Revolution on behalf of equality among whites and white supremacy that had been necessitated by the ascension of the pro-British "Black Republicans" and their German-American "Hessian" allies. Hoping to win over southern non-slaveholders, northern Democrats, and French Bonapartists, he insisted that the Republicans were striving to destroy not just slavery but also white supremacy. And he implemented equality among whites in the C.S.A. not just as a means by which to augment the Confederate war effort, but also as an ideological end in itself. The subsequent chapter will consider the Davis administration's many attempts to secure French recognition and support, to be followed by a final chapter explaining how pro-Davis Confederates who had already been disappointed by their erstwhile ideological brethren in the northern Democracy were utterly disillusioned upon realizing in 1865 that the French emperor was not going to save their faltering new American Revolution because the Republican Party was, as a whole, not nearly as committed to racially-egalitarian British abolitionism nor as hostile to Bonapartist France as they had hitherto assumed.

Chapter 1
Jefferson Davis's Mentor John C. Calhoun and the Pro-Bonaparte Democratic Tradition

"[T]ruly, though Napoleon perishes, 'the cause of which he is the Champion will Survive him.' America think of that! and be not led away by transient Appearances."[1]

John Adams, 1815

Jefferson Davis was heir to the predominantly but not exclusively southern Democrats who believed during and after Napoleon I's reign that Bonapartism was similar to their own Democratic ideology of equality among whites and white supremacy. Insisting that the Union was not meant to be a republican version of Anglo-Protestant Britain but rather an empire of confederated states comprised of various white ethnicities practicing different religions, they believed that Napoleon's goal had been to destroy feudalism in the name of equality among whites by creating a United States of Europe. Davis's mentor the South Carolina Democrat John C. Calhoun therefore toasted the French emperor as follows shortly before word of Napoleon's final defeat at British hands crossed the Atlantic: "The People – The only source of legitimate power. May France, acting on that principle, prove invincible, and may its truth and energy disperse the combination of crowned heads."[2] In 1812, after all, he and his allies had led the U.S. into war against Britain, which they thought was championing abolitionism as a means to the end of strengthening inequality among whites. They constantly accused British abolitionists of using promises of racial equality to convince non-whites, whom they and the Bonapartists both regarded as brutish racial inferiors, to help Britain thwart the efforts of Democrats and Bonapartists to spread equality among whites across their respective continents. Calhoun kept the pro-Bonaparte Democratic tradition alive throughout the generally discouraging interregnum period between the two French emperors, and he had, Davis thought, successfully used secession threats among other political stratagems to pave the way for pro-Bonaparte Democrats to take the

[1] "John Adams to Richard Rush," Quincy, August 26, 1815, Gratz Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.
[2] Charleston *City Gazette*, July 27, 1815.

U.S. government back *via* Franklin Pierce's election to the presidency. And with Bonapartists returning to power in France at the same time, Davis began to hope that the British Empire and its seeming allies within the Union would finally be defeated and discredited by a Franco-American alliance of Democrats and Bonapartists who would wage a new but more successful War of 1812 to fulfill what he took to be the purpose of the American and French revolutions by imposing democratic equality among whites and imperial white supremacy throughout the world.

Anti-British Democrats and the Emergence of Democratic Pro-Bonaparte Sympathies

The rancor between Thomas Jefferson's pro-French Democratic-Republicans and Federalists who sympathized with Britain's struggle against the French Revolution had become so sharp by 1799 that Captain Andrew Johnston killed Lieutenant John Sharp in a September duel. As their commander Colonel Thomas L. Moore told the Anglophile Federalist New York general Alexander Hamilton, "[t]he particular subject of the dispute between Cap. Johnston & Lt. [David] Irving was this. Cap. Johnston advocated the French nation by saying that… he would rather take part with it, than with Great Britain or words to this effect. The other expressed himself warmly in favor of G. Britain and (I believe) declared himself to be a British Subject," at which point Sharp interceded "to protect Lt. Irving from (what he thought) Insult…." Moore, for his part, attempted to shield Johnston from the duel's consequences by telling Hamilton "that I believe Cap. Johnston in his argument meant to speak in a friendly manner of the Nation, but did not go so far as to advocate french principles, if there can be this distinction made."[3] American exponents of "french principles," after all, were often vilified by Hamilton and likeminded Federalists as "Jacobins," but they were also coming to be called "the Democrats" or "the Democratick Party" at the nineteenth century's dawn, when they were disconcerted by Napoleon

[3] "Thomas L. Moore to Alexander Hamilton," October 3, 1799, Alexander Hamilton Papers, Library of Congress.

Bonaparte's November 1799 *coup d'état* against the nominally republican French Directory.[4] With "*Consul* Buonaparta" rapidly assuming dictatorial powers ("King Some Stile him"), Abigail Adams, the wife of the Massachusetts Federalist president John Adams, hence chortled in a February 1800 letter to her son John Quincy Adams that "[t]he Jacobins in this Country have never been so compleatly foild, they know not what to say. to exculpate Buonaparta they dare not, as he appears to have become dictator, and they apprehend he aims at the Sovereignty."[5]

Davis's namesake would defeat Adams in the pivotal presidential election of 1800, but he and many other leading Democrats actually concurred with Abigail Adams's assessment of the "character of Bonaparte."[6] His protégé Willliam Short accordingly warned him that Napoleon might pose a far greater military threat to the Union than had the Directory's privateers, for given Bonaparte's "power – his multifarious & gigantic views, there never was a moment when it could be more important for the U.S. to have near him a vidette… who would thus, if he could not avert an impending danger, be able to discover it sooner & give the earliest information of

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[4] "Thomas Boylston Adams to John Quincy Adams," Quincy 24th: March 1808, Adams Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society. See "William Cunningham, Jr. to John Adams," Fitchburg, April 18th. 1811, Adams Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society; Marshall Smelser, "The Jacobin Phrenzy: Federalism and the Menace of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity," *The Review of Politics*, vol. 13, no. 4 (October 1951), 457-82; and Rachel Hope Cleves, "'Jacobins in this Country': The United States, Great Britain, and Trans-Atlantic Anti-Jacobinism," *Early American Studies*, vol. 8, no. 2 (Spring 2010), 410-45. The former British officer and Massachusetts resident Samuel Mackay also declared himself to be an avowed enemy of pro-French American "Jacobinism" upon entering U.S. service in 1799. "Samuel Mackay to Alexander Hamilton," Williamstown Massachusetts August 12th 1799, Alexander Hamilton Papers, Library of Congress. See "Alexander Hamilton to Samuel Mackay." NY. March 3rd. 1800, Alexander Hamilton Papers, Library of Congress.

[5] "Abigail Adams to Hannah Smith," Philadelphia Jan'ry 30th 1800, Smith-Townsend Family Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society; and "Abigail Adams to John Quincy Adams," Feb'ry 8th 1800, Adams Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society. See "John Quincy Adams to Abigail Adams," Berlin 12 June 1800, Adams Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.

[6] "Thomas Jefferson to James Madison," Monticello Aug. 27. 05, Thomas Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress. See "Thomas Paine to Thomas Jefferson," [February 1805], Thomas Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress; Joseph Isidore Shulim, "Thomas Jefferson Views Napoleon," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. 60, no. 2 (April 1952), 288-304; Joseph Isidore Shulim, *The Old Dominion and Napoleon Bonaparte: A Study in American Opinion* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1952); Lawrence S. Kaplan, "Jefferson's Foreign Policy and Napoleon's Idéologues," *William and Mary Quarterly*, vol. 19, no. 3 (July 1962), 344-59; Clifford L. Egan, *Neither Peace nor War: Franco-American Relations, 1803-1812* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1983); and Peter P. Hill, *Napoleon's Troublesome Americans: Franco-American Relations, 1804-1815* (Washington, D.C.: Potomac Books, 2005).

the necessity of preparing for it."[7] Jefferson himself denounced Napoleon in private letters as a "murderous" military dictator who was aspiring to found a monarchial dynasty that would be essentially similar to the Bourbon regime which the French Revolution had overthrown.[8] Indeed, even though Napoleon was toppled in 1815 and replaced by the Bourbon king Louis XVIII, Jefferson blamed Bonaparte first and foremost for the French Revolution's disappointing outcome in an 1823 letter to the French republican Destutt de Tracy: "France! oh France! how shall we weep over thy history from the day when Bonaparte entd… the legislve. hall until heaven shall have poured out the whole phial of it's wrath on the heads of your Bourbons."[9]

Yet Jefferson and his Democratic compatriots had not celebrated the fact that it was the British who overthrew Napoleon, for at least the French emperor had been, unlike Louis XVIII, an avowed enemy of Britain, which they saw as the principal threat to the Union. "[A]fter the battle of Waterloo, and the military possession of France," he claimed in an 1823 letter to his fellow Virginia Democrat the U.S. president James Monroe, the monarchs of Europe "combined in common cause to maintain each other against any similar and future danger. and in this alliance Louis now avowedly, and George secretly but solidly, were of the contracting parties; and there can be no doubt that the allies are bound by treaty to aid England with their armies, should insurrection take place among her people."[10] Napoleonic France and Democrats seeking to purge the U.S. of "British Influence" were thus natural allies insofar as they had a common

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[7] "William Short to Thomas Jefferson," Philadelphia Dec. 29. 1807, Thomas Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress. See "James Madison to Thomas Jefferson," July 29. 1808, Thomas Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.

[8] "Thomas Jefferson to Thomas Mann Randolph," Washington Dec. 13. 08, Thomas Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress. See "Thomas Jefferson to John Wayles Eppes," Monticello Sep. 20. 08, Special Collections, University of Virginia; and "Thomas Jefferson to Robert Smith," Monticello Aug. 9. 08, Thomas Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.

[9] "Thomas Jefferson to Destutt de Tracy," Nov. 5, 1823, Thomas Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress. See "To Benjamin Austin," Monticello, January 9, 1816, in *Thomas Jefferson: Writings*, ed. Merrill D. Peterson (New York: Literary Classics of the United States, 1984), 1369-70; "Thomas Jefferson to John Adams," Monticello, Sep. 4. 23, Adams Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society; "Autobiography," January 6, 1821 to July 29, 1821, Thomas Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress; and "Thomas Jefferson to James Monroe," Monticello Oct. 24. 23, James Monroe Papers, Library of Congress.

[10] "Thomas Jefferson to James Monroe," Monticello June 11. 23, James Monroe Papers, Library of Congress.

enemy in Britain, which, as the pro-Democratic Pittsfield pastor Thomas Allen mused in 1805, feared the Union even more than the "Domination of… Bonaparte" now that "[h]er Partizans among us" no longer controlled the federal government, for "[s]hould our Government continue to exist of which there can now be no doubt the British Government will be renovated…."[11]

While Jefferson and his supporters worried that Napoleon might attempt to turn the U.S. into "one of the powers who will recieve [*sic*] his orders," they appreciated the fact that Napoleon had avowed, in the sarcastic 1801 words of John Quincy Adams, that France's "*glory* shall be to save Europe from the rapacious & malignant genius of England."[12] Adams held that Napoleon was "threaten[ing] the human race" in so doing, but Democrats thought that Britain posed the greater threat to humanity as it was not only defending Europe's *ancien régime* but also attacking U.S. merchantmen while arming Indian tribes to the west of the Union *via* British North America. "I never expected to be under the necessity of wishing success to Bonaparte," Jefferson told the Philadelphia Democrat Thomas Leiper on August 21, 1807, "but the English being equally tyrannical at sea as he is on land, & that tyranny bearing on us in every point of either honor or interest, I say, 'down with England,' and as for what Buonaparte is then to do to us, let us trust to the chapter of accidents. I cannot, with the Anglomen, prefer a certain present evil to a future hypothetical one."[13] Indeed, he had informed his fellow Virginian Secretary of State James Madison a day earlier that because "Bonaparte has annihilated the allied

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[11] "Thomas Allen to Thomas Jefferson," [on or before March 4, 1805], Thomas Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.

[12] "Thomas Jefferson to James Madison," Monticello Aug. 27. 05, Thomas Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress; and "John Quincy Adams to Thomas Boylston Adams," 20. January. 1801, Adams Family Papers, Letterbooks, Massachusetts Historical Society.

[13] "Thomas Jefferson to Thomas Leiper," Monticello Aug. 21. 07, Thomas Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress. "I suppose our fate," Jefferson also remarked in an 1807 letter to his son-in-law, "will depend on the successes or reverses of Buonaparte. it is hard to be obliged to wish successes so little consonant with our principles." "Thomas Jefferson to Thomas Mann Randolph," Washington July 13. 07, Thomas Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress. He thus made it clear that if the British were removed from the equation, he would like for Napoleon to find "at length a limit to his power." "Thomas Jefferson to James Madison," Monticello Aug. 9. 08, James Madison Papers, Library of Congress.

armies, the result will doubtless be peace on the continent, an army dispatched through Persia to India, & the main army brought back to their former position on the channel. this will oblige England to withdraw every thing home, & leave us an open field."[14] And so he more or less agreed with the South Carolinian Huguenot Democrat Thomas Lehré, who held that Napoleon's victories in Europe would "compell the haughty Government of Great Britain to lower their Tone to us, if not we are determined not to shrink from the [contest]."[15] His Attorney General the Delaware Democrat Caesar A. Rodney, after all, asserted that if war "cannot be averted, I would fight England & her allies… as the least of two evils. I would do this on principle of justice & of policy." "A war with England would," Rodney predicted, "have the effect of destroying British influence in this country, which is a great evil," and "[w]e would take Montreal & cut off the furr trade, destroying at the same time the British influence with the Indians. We would in the course of the summer deprive them of Halifax the only station from whence their fleets can annoy us at any time." As for "supposed dangers from the gigantick power of Buonaparte," he added, "let us provide against present dangers & trust the future in some degree to the chapter of accidents."[16]

The Democratic proclivity to regard the British Empire as a far greater evil than Napoleonic France was also reinforced by no less a personage than the Marquis de La Fayette, who had commanded the French forces which saved the Patriots during the American Revolution. He and his famous Polish compatriot Tadeusz Kosciuszko refused to join the British-led coalition of kings against Bonaparte even though they both deprecated Napoleon for suborning the French Revolution. The prominent New York Democrat and U.S. minister to

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[14] "[A]n account," Jefferson added, "apparently worthy of credit, in the Albany paper is that the British authorities are withdrawing all their cannon & magazines from Upper Canada to Quebec, considering the former not tenable, & the latter their only fast-hold." "Thomas Jefferson to James Madison," Monticello Aug. 20. 07, James Madison Papers, Library of Congress.

[15] "Thomas Lehré to Thomas Jefferson," Charleston Jany: 21: 1809, Thomas Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.

[16] "Caesar A. Rodney to Thomas Jefferson," Wilmington Dec. 6th. 1808, Thomas Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.

France John Armstrong accordingly informed President Jefferson in 1807 "that Fayette & Kosciusko will, in the event of a war with G.B. consider themselves entirely at your disposal…. Fayette might be very usefully employed in Canada [*i.e.* Quebec] – Kosciusko every where. they are both well in point of health, and in all respects as equal to service, as they ever have been.[17]

The well-known Democratic propagandist and French Revolution enthusiast Thomas Paine, moreover, claimed after having personally consulted the French emperor that Bonaparte was inclined to favor a Democrat-controlled Union as a fellow antagonist of the British government. Unlike Britain, he observed in an 1806 letter to Jefferson, "Bonaparte has declared in several of his proclamations that his object, so far as respects foreign commerce, is *the freedom and safety of the seas*, and as it is an object that suits with the greatness of his ambition, and with the temper of his genius which is cast for great exploits, and also with the interest of france, I believe him."[18] The president, in turn, concurred that, "[w]ith respect to the rights of neutrality, we have certainly a great interest in their settlement. but this depends exclusively on the will of two characters, Buonaparte & [Czar] Alexander. the dispositions of the former to have them placed on liberal grounds are known."[19] Even John Quincy Adams and his father acknowledged that "the present French government is much inclined to correct, at least in part, the follies of the past," for whereas the Directory had attacked U.S. shipping in the belief that President Adams's Union had betrayed France to become a British ally, "[t]here is nothing in which the french policy has been so much improved and amended under the present administration, as in their treatment of… the neutral States – All their plundering and barbarous

[17] "John Armstrong to Thomas Jefferson," Paris 28th. October 1807, Thomas Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.
[18] "Thomas Paine to Thomas Jefferson," New Rochelle N.Y. Janry. 30 '06, Thomas Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.
[19] "Thomas Jefferson to Thomas Paine," Washington Mar. 25. 06, Thomas Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.

decrees against neutral navigation have been rescinded…."[20] Napoleon's new "*Council of prizes*," after all, had rendered "an act of signal justice to citizens of the United States" in 1800 by decreeing "the restoration of the ship and cargo" plus "costs and damages" to the owner of the Philadelphia merchant ship *Pigou*, which the defunct Directory had captured and condemned.[21]

Napoleon, however, bestowed a far greater favor upon the U.S. by selling Louisiana to the Jefferson administration at a generous price in 1803. Bonaparte, to be sure, dispensed with that immense territory in part simply to keep it out of Britain's hands in light of the Royal Navy's growing power *vis-à-vis* France, but he was also believed to have declared upon completing the sale that he had given "England a maritime rival which, sooner or later, will humble her pride."[22] And Napoleon was willing to sustain U.S. claims to additional Spanish territory *via* the purchase even though doing so made his puppet Spanish government even more unpopular in both Spain and Spanish America.[23] Jefferson, for his part, maintained those claims into his last years because "when we acquired Louisiana, we considered it as extending to the Rio Bravo, and so Bonaparte declared to our Commrs."[24] And while he had been irritated to hear from the Louisiana territorial governor William C. C. Claiborne in 1808 that the "Orleanese Creoles" were not "cling[ing] to the American union, soul & body, as their first affection" thanks to rumors from France that "Bonaparte had not abandoned the idea of repossessing himself of Louisiana," the president had "no doubt of their attachment to us in preference of the English."[25]

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[20] "John Adams to John Marshall," Quincy Sept 27th 1800, Adams Family Papers, Letterbooks, Massachusetts Historical Society; and "John Quincy Adams to Abigail Adams," Berlin 12 June 1800, Adams Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.
[21] "John Quincy Adams to Abigail Adams," Berlin 12 June 1800, Adams Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.
[22] See Ida Minerva Tarbell, *A Short Life of Napoleon Bonaparte* (New York: S. S. McClure Co., 1896), 85.
[23] See "Thomas Jefferson to James Madison," Monticello. Sep. 16. 05, James Madison Papers, Library of Congress.
[24] "Thomas Jefferson to Josiah S. Johnston," Monticello Feb. 13. 25, Josiah S. Johnston Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.
[25] "William C. C. Claiborne to Thomas Jefferson," New Orleans, Septr. 1st. 1808, R.G. 59, U.S. National Archives and Records Administration; and "Thomas Jefferson to Samuel Brown," Washington Oct. 27. 08, Thomas Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.

The prospect of Napoleon sending French troops to enforce his client Spanish government's claims to Hispanic America had, Claiborne also informed Jefferson, led to "the rejection of his Government in Mexico," and that would be a "cause of exultation" were it not for the fact that "it is feared… [that] England by obtaining a monopoly of the Spanish Trade, may acquire a commercial ascendency, which will dispose her to be still more unjust to the United States."[26] Claiborne, then, was re-affirming the administration's policy to deter Britain by cultivating friendly relations with Napoleonic France even though he and Jefferson were suspicious of Bonaparte. Upon the "accession to the throne of Holland" in 1807 by Napoleon I's brother Louis, Jefferson had thus "tender[ed] you in behalf of the US my congratulations on this event" with "a friendly solicitude for your Majesty's person."[27] When he learned "that the Princess Eugéne Napoleon, Vice Queen of Italy, was happily delivered… of a Princess who had received the name of Josephine," moreover, he informed the French emperor himself that "[t]he friendly interest which the United States take in an event so conducive to the happiness of your Majesty and your Imperial family, requires that I should not delay… assurances of our esteem and friendship: And I pray God to have you Great and Good friend in his holy keeping."[28] The Philadelphia artist Charles W. Peale, in fact, believed that Jefferson was on such good terms with Napoleon that he requested his assistance so that his son might be so "fortunate" as to "paint an Original Portrait of Buonaparte."[29] And La Fayette assumed that it would be a point in favor of a

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[26] "William C. C. Claiborne to Thomas Jefferson," New Orleans, Septr. 1st. 1808, R.G. 59, U.S. National Archives and Records Administration.
[27] "Thomas Jefferson to Louis Bonaparte," 28th. of Feb. 1807, R.G. 59, U.S. National Archives and Records Administration.
[28] "Thomas Jefferson to Napoleon Bonaparte," R.G. 50, Letters of Credence, U.S. National Archives and Records Administration.
[29] "Charles Willson Peale to Thomas Jefferson," Museum Feby. 21st. 1808, Thomas Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.

French merchant on whose behalf he had written a letter of introduction to the U.S. president that "Mr. de Montarby… [h]as been a Mess mate of Bonaparte in the Military School…."[30]

Jefferson's seeming obsequiousness *vis-à-vis* the new Bonaparte dynasty confirmed the suspicion of many a Federalist that Democrats were not principled republicans at all but rather mere tools of France, for they were still striving to vindicate "the Racks & the bayonets of Imperial France" even though Napoleon had discarded all pretense of republicanism by proclaiming himself emperor in 1804.[31] "As to titles," John Quincy Adams sneered that year, "the french are going to plunge into them with all the fondness of children for a new rattle – There is Imperial Majesty Josephine, Imperial Highnesses Joseph and Louis, Grand Elector, and High-Constable, Serene Highness Arch Chancellor Cambaceres… &c &c – was there ever so horrible a Tragedy, concluded with so ridiculous a farce?"[32] Even relatively moderate Federalists such as his father therefore badly asserted that "[t]he Gentlemen now in power owe their elevation to French influence…." "This Nation," Adams added, "has been taught by their present leaders to believe that we are under great obligations to the French and owe them much gratitude. This is not all. We have received great injuries from England, and the resentments of the people are carefully kept up; so that resentment against one rival nation, coinciding with gratitude to another have produced effects the most unaccountable."[33] When Jefferson's 1807 embargo interdicted the Union's lucrative commerce with Britain alongside its far less substantial trade with Napoleon's empire, a March 1808 "address from the federalists of Boston"

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[30] "La Fayette to Thomas Jefferson," La Grange 8h July 1807, Thomas Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.
[31] "Thomas Boylston Adams to John Quincy Adams," Quincy 28th. December 1806, Adams Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.
[32] "John Quincy Adams to Louisa Catherine Adams," Quincy 19. July 1804, Adams Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.
[33] "John Adams to Thomas Truxtun," Quincy 13th: December 1804, Adams Family Papers, Letterbooks, Massachusetts Historical Society.

thus echoed a Federalist "Senatorial Manifesto" by "condemn[ing] the Embargo," which had "no other probable ground or motive, than to gratify the wishes of the Emperor of the french…."[34]

The arch-Federalists of the "Essex Junto," however, began sending Jefferson threatening letters. Quite a few ordinary citizens who opposed the embargo supported the Junto, which was led, according to John Adams, by the "mighty Oligarchs" of a pro-Hamilton Federalist "Faction in Boston" that boasted "Allies in every State in the Union," as well as in "Hallifax and Upper Canada." "By an Essex Junto," he explained, "I mean all the Anglomanes and Antigallicans; all who… love England and Englishmen and especially Scotland and Scotchmen like Brothers, and hate and loath France and Frenchmen like Toads and Snakes and Monsters and Demons; or in other Words, all who wish for an Allyance Offensive and defensive with Great Britain and for eternal War with France…."[35] "Anti-Bonaparte" hence addressed the president as "his Excellent & Supreme French Majesty Thomas – the first Slave of Napoleon." Jefferson, in turn, endorsed the letter as the work of a "blackguard."[36] "Mortuus" and "a true Republican," moreover, accused him of being "filled with the insanity of Napoleon," for "[s]uch is the pride and naughtiness of your soul."[37] "William Penn," too, mocked Jefferson ("the Agent of Napoleon") by asserting that the embargo had actually strengthened British North America thanks to Federalist smuggling.[38] The president also derided another such missive as "nonsense" because it declared that "[i]t is with mortification I now Sit down to write to you on behalf of this

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[34] "Thomas Boylston Adams to John Quincy Adams," Quincy 24th: March 1808, Adams Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society. "There has been too little apparent sensibility in the Executive to French Tyranny," Thomas Boylston Adams declared a month later, "too anxious a solicitude to wink at insults and to smoother complaint against injuries of a very aggravated description to which our National interests have been subject… on the part of France." "Thomas Boylston Adams to John Quincy Adams," Quincy 10th: April 1808, Adams Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.

[35] "John Adams to the Printers of the Boston Patriot, 1809," Adams Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society. See "Thomas Boylston Adams to John Quincy Adams," Quincy 24th: March 1808, Adams Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.

[36] "From Anti-Bonaparte," [March 4, 1808], Papers of Thomas Jefferson, Library of Congress.

[37] "'Mortuus' and 'a true Republican' to Thomas Jefferson," Sat Eveng. 12 oClock, [January 26, 1808], Thomas Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.

[38] "'William Penn' to Thomas Jefferson," New York 24 Feby 1809, Thomas Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.

Country which is to be… led a Stray by that tyrant Bonaparte….”[39] And he judged “A Sitizen Suffering under the Evils occasioned by You” to be “abusive” for writing that “[y]ou have rejected those peaceful offers of England and have payed all the attention posible to France. We have… greate reason to believe that you are a bartering away this Country’s right, honor and Liberty to that infamous tirant of the world (Napolien).” “[Y]ou may rely upon it,” the “Sitizen” added, “that if you persist in your distructive measures your Blood shall repay the abuse of anjured people.”[40] Indeed, one anonymous letter from Boston directly threatened that “if you dont take off the embargo before the 10 of octo you will be shott before the 1st of Jan’y 1809 you are one of the greatest tirants in the whole world you are wurs than Bonaparte a grate deel.”[41]

Democrats, New England Federalists, and Bonapartist Equality among Whites

The New England-based Junto and other such northeastern Federalists loathed Bonaparte with such intensity not because they viewed his regime as a recrudescence of the French *ancien régime* under a new ruling family, but rather because they sensed that Napoleon’s regime was a mutation of the French Revolution, which they detested and feared far more than any Bourbon.[42] Predicting that Napoleon would seek to establish “a new dynasty of absolute monarchs in his person & family” akin to the Bourbons, John Quincy Adams accordingly remarked in early 1801 that “[t]he first consul is generally supposed to be growing sick of republics & to feel a sort of sympathetic yearning with Emperor’s & kings, which renders him averse from humbling them too much….”[43] Yet he admitted in 1804 that Napoleon’s establishment of the French Empire had not in fact marked an outright return of the *ancien régime*, for “[t]his is the turn of one tire

[39] “‘S S B’ to Thomas Jefferson,” City of Newyork April 20th. 1808, Thomas Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.
[40] “‘A Sitizen Suffering under the Evils occasioned by You’ to Thomas Jefferson,” August 29th. 1808, Thomas Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.
[41] “Anonymous to Thomas Jefferson,” Boston Sept 19 1808, Thomas Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.
[42] See “Thomas Boylston Adams to John Quincy Adams,” Philadelphia 1st: February 1800, Adams Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.
[43] “John Quincy Adams to Thomas Boylston Adams,” 20. January. 1801, Adams Family Papers, Letterbooks, Massachusetts Historical Society.

more in the wheel of the French Revolution; but it has not yet got completely round."[44] He and his fellow Federalists, after all, knew full well that many Democrats were praising Napoleon not just on pragmatic grounds as a *de facto* ally against Britain but also for having saved and purified their beloved French Revolution. His mother had thus noted shortly after Bonaparte's *coup* that Democratic newspapers were "request[ing] their readers to wait, not to be rash in judging, &c.," and his brother was disgusted but not entirely surprised by the fact that "[o]ur systematic admirers of french fashions in politics" were actually beginning to praise "the new order of things" in France, for "they extol the talents & virtues of Buonaparte, and alledge that he cannot err; again, they profess not to know what potent reasons may have compelled his conduct. A little more of the detail transpires and they at once see through the mystery, declaring every thing that has been done to be perfectly conformable to the letter of the [French] Constitution."[45]

Democrats commonly held that the American and French revolutions were meant to establish democratic equality among whites within expansive republican federations. The aristocratic British government and all of the other consolidated *ancien régimes*, in contrast, were, they believed, dedicated to inequality among whites. When General Bonaparte was preparing to invade Egypt in May 1798, they had heard reports that he was, in John Quincy Adams's words, planning to "reestablish the Grecian Republics; this would easily be effected, but in that Country there is little plunder, and therefore few inducements for the great Nation to carry its fraternity to them." He would probably instead "make a junction with the Spanish fleet at Cadiz, and raise the blockade of that port; after which both fleets may join with that of Brest,

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[44] "John Quincy Adams to Louisa Catherine Adams," Quincy 19. July 1804, Adams Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.

[45] "Abigail Adams to John Quincy Adams," Feb'ry 8th 1800, Adams Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society; and "Thomas Boylston Adams to John Quincy Adams," Philadelphia 1st: February 1800, Adams Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.

and proceed to the establishment of the English, Irish, and Scots Republics."[46] Consul Napoleon also sought to associate the American and French revolutions by ordering ten days of national mourning in 1800 when the news of Washington's death arrived in France, and he was likened to Washington as a great military leader, nemesis of Britain, and revolutionary hero during the subsequent orations.[47] Even though France ceased to be a republic in 1804, moreover, many Democrats claimed that the French emperor was still carrying the basic purpose of the American and French revolutions forward by toppling *ancien régime* kings across Europe and replacing them with new rulers who were hereditary but determined to realize equality among whites within a federation of Bonapartist states. Napoleon, after all, noted in an 1806 letter to his "Très cher et grand Ami" Jefferson that he still held the Union in high ideological esteem, extending his "assurances de notre sincère attachement et de l'intérêt que nous ne cesserons jamais de prendre à la prospérité de votre République."[48] As a result, Thomas Leiper informed Jefferson a year later that "I was very much disappointed in the French nation in suffering Bonaparte to put himself in the Station he now holds but their is no doubt remain'g on my mind but Bonaparte was Created for the express purpose of punish Kings & Courts for their infernal wickedness...."[49]

Democrats and Federalists could therefore agree that while there was not much *liberté* in Napoleonic France, there was plently of *égalité* and *fraternité*, a fact which horrified Federalists but intrigued Democrats. Freedom of the press was stifled in the French Empire thanks to "the Moniteur, now the only french official Gazette," but the founding of that empire was ratified by a

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[46] "John Quincy Adams to John Adams," 18 May 1798, Adams Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.
[47] See Stanley Elkins and Eric McKitrick, *The Age of Federalism: The Early American Republic, 1788-1800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 681-82.
[48] "Napoleon Bonaparte to Thomas Jefferson," Paris, le sept Février, mil huit cent six, R.G. 59, U.S. National Archives and Records Administration.
[49] "From Thomas Leiper," [before August 20, 1807], Thomas Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.

nation-wide plebiscite held on terms of universal male suffrage.[50] Most Frenchmen could also vote for representatives in the national legislature, which rarely defied Napoleon but was much more than a mere puppet. As Jefferson wryly observed in 1821, "it is really more questionable, than may at first be thought, whether Bonaparte's dumb legislature which said nothing and did much, may not be preferable to one which talks much and does nothing."[51] That legislature, after all, created the *Code Napoléon*, which famous body of civil law was regarded by many Democrats as more efficient and democratic than English common law. The Code, after all, not only entrenched the revolution's elimination of legally-defined social classes but even enhanced the property-owning rights of women.[52] The aristocratic titles of the Légion d'honneur did not confer any special privileges under law as a result, symbolically rewarding meritorious service to the nation instead for achievements in various fields of endeavor but especially science. Having helped Pierre Charles L'Enfant design Washington, D.C., the U.S. surveyor Andrew Ellicott was hence pleased to notify Jefferson that "I have lately received some very valuable, and interesting works from the [French] National Institute; particularly the new improved lunar, and solar tables," which were "accompanied by a splendid, and truly elegant dedication to Bonaparte."[53]

The Napoleonic Code also mandated religious tolerance, and Protestant Federalists in their self-professed "abhorrence of popery" came to dislike the French emperor and Jefferson alike for their Catholic-friendly policies.[54] They were already denouncing Consul Napoleon and the U.S. president in 1800 for their secular and reputedly atheistic proclivities, but they were aghast when Bonaparte re-established Catholicism as France's official religion a year later while

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[50] "John Quincy Adams to Thomas Boylston Adams," 20. January. 1801, Adams Family Papers, Letterbooks, Massachusetts Historical Society. See Elkins and McKitrick, *The Age of Federalism*, 679.
[51] "Autobiography," January 6, 1821 to July 29, 1821, Thomas Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.
[52] See O'Brien, *Conjectures of Order*, 264.
[53] "Andrew Ellicott to Thomas Jefferson," Lancaster August 18th. 1806, Thomas Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.
[54] "The Inhabitants of [Stockbridge] to John Adams," [1798], Sedgwick Family Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.

guaranteeing state protection and equal political rights for French religious minorities, who often became grateful supporters of Napoleon as a result. Indeed, John Quincy Adams observed in 1816 that Huguenot enthusiasm for the French emperor had been so pronounced that the Duke of Wellington declared that because "[t]he French Protestants were Jacobins or Bonapartists," it was "just and proper that they should be hunted down as wild beasts" by Louis XVIII.[55] New England Federalists were equally perturbed by Democrats who solicited electoral support from Catholics, Jews, and dissenting Protestant sects in the name of religious tolerance and hence equality among whites. In February 1799, for instance, "[a] most infamous fracas" occurred at Philadelphia in which "three or four" Democrats "went to the Roman Catholic church in fourth street in the forenoon and placed themselves in conspicuous places… and made an harangue against the two [Federalist] bills – the Alien & sedition and then invited the congregation to come and sign a petition to congress for their repeal…." The Democratic agitators were arrested for doing so, but as Abigail Adams's nephew William Smith Shaw recounted, "[w]hile they were at the Mayor's office that infernal rascal of a democratic judge went to the Mayor – treated him in a most scandalous manner – said the bail was excessive fifty dollars would have been enough and was overheard telling them to take their hats & go out & he would bear them out in it."[56]

Jefferson had trusted nuns to educate his daughters as the U.S. minister to France, but he harbored suspicions that the Catholic clergy of France and the Union espoused religious toleration as opposed to Catholic supremacy due to their declining or relatively weak position within both nations rather than for the sake of principle. He therefore claimed in an 1820 letter to the pro-French Revolution English pseudo-refugee Thomas Cooper that the Democratic

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[55] "John Quincy Adams to Abigail Adams," Ealing, January 9, 1816, in *Writings of John Quincy Adams*, ed. Worthington Chauncey Ford (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1915), 5:469

[56] "William Smith Shaw to Abigail Adams," Philadelphia Feb 21st 1799 Monday Eve., Adams Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.

"Loyolists of our country" were redolent of the same "religious fanaticism" as "the ambitious sect of Presbyterians" and other such Protestant "Loyalists" who had bedeviled his presidency. "Loyalists," to be sure, would, he averred, threaten the Democratic Party and hence the Union far more than "Loyolists" for the foreseeable future, but he emphasized at the same time that he preferred the religious tolerance of the French Empire to any variety of "fanaticism." All of the Protestant, Catholic, and Orthodox *ancien régimes* which had been leagued against Napoleonic France, after all, were, he thought, committed to religious intolerance and hence inequality among whites. "[T]he reign of fanaticism" was thus "first excited artificially by the sovereigns of Europe as an engine of opposition to Bonaparte and to France. [I]t arose to a great height there, and became indeed a powerful ingine of loyalism, and of support to their governments…. [I]t had been wafted across the Atlantic, and chiefly from England, with their other fashions."[57]

Égalité enabled Bonaparte to field armies as large or even larger than those raised by the *levée en masse* of the 1790s, and that combined with his own martial acumen was the key to Napoleonic France's military success in the eyes of both Democrats and Federalists. After the British *Leopard* attacked a U.S. navy frigate to apprehend Royal Navy deserters in June 1807, John Armstrong advised Jefferson that, in the event of a U.S. invasion of British North America, "it is, I think, of the first importance, that you put forth a strength not merely competent to the object, but such as shall overwhelm all opposition. Such, by the way, is the secret of Napoleon, and it is just as practicable on your theatre, as it has been on his."[58] Yet while Armstrong insisted that a Napoleonic conscription system would allow the Union to rival the French emperor's great "fame," New England Federalists denounced "that fell despot Napoleon" as having established equality through universal military slavery, for under Bonaparte "the citizens

[57] "Thomas Jefferson to Thomas Cooper," Monticello Aug. 14. 20, Thomas Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.
[58] "John Armstrong to Thomas Jefferson," Paris 28th. October 1807, Thomas Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.

[were] subject to the whims & caprices of a military tyrant whose… whole ambition [was] to wade thro rivers of blood, to usurp the lawful rights of others & by injustice & oppression to erect his throne & stanard… on the murdered bodies of his enemies, & slaughtered subjects.…"[59]

Even as John Quincy Adams asserted that the British "cause, as far as I can judge, is *right*," he feared that neither Britain nor any other French foe would be able to raise armies which could rival Napoleon's in terms of size or enthusiasm because they were fighting for inequality rather than equality among whites.[60] He accordingly lamented in February 1806 that, in light of "the proofs of Bonaparte's Armies in Vienna; and the whole Austrian Empire sinking before them, almost without a struggle of resistance – The Continent of Europe… is not only prostrate at the feet of France, but to all appearance irretrievably subdued…." "How long the insular situation of Great Britain, and her naval force will enable her to bear up against this universal suppression," he added, "is not easy to say, but that she too must sink sooner or later under such a mass and impetus of force can hardly be questioned…."[61] And he informed his mother a month later that "English Accounts" victories on land "have always borne to me a very suspicious appearance – The facts prove as I have all along thought they would that the career of French victory has been uninterrupted – I am very sorry for it."[62] Bonaparte's "bretheren in Arms," after all, were, as John Quincy Adams's brother Thomas Boylston acknowledged, truly devoted to him because of his "personal Sacrifices," for Napoleon had "faced danger & death in

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[59] "Petition for Relief from the Embargo," Boston 28 Dec 1808, Thomas Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.
[60] "John Quincy Adams to Thomas Boylston Adams," 24. February. 1801, Adams Family Papers, Letterbooks, Massachusetts Historical Society. See "John Quincy Adams to Thomas Boylston Adams," 20. January. 1801, Adams Family Papers, Letterbooks, Massachusetts Historical Society.
[61] "John Quincy Adams to John Adams," Washington 11. February 1806, Adams Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.
[62] "John Quincy Adams to Abigail Adams," Washington 14. March 1806, Adams Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.

every shape."[63] A British solider had even stabbed him at the 1793 Battle of Toulon, wherefrom the Britons were evacuated by the Boston Loyalist and Royal Navy captain Benjamin Hallowell, whose mother Mary Boylston was in fact a cousin of John Adams's mother Susanna Boylston.[64]

If Federalists needed any further proof that Bonaparte was not restoring the *ancien régime* but had rather become, as Thomas Boylston Adams put it, a demgogical "Dictator" who "looks much like a pretty exact imitation of Cæsar, of Rienzi," they could see that the *émigrés* who had fled the French Revolution frequently abhorred Napoleon just as much as and perhaps even more than the Jacobins.[65] Madame de Staël, for instance, was daughter to the erstwhile minister for Louis XVI Jacques Necker, and she helped spread the German literary Romanticism which emerged in reaction to the French Revolution throughout the English-speaking world. The French emperor, for his part, favored neo-classicism, disliked Romanticism, and drove de Staël into *de facto* exile.[66] Indeed, Napoleon based the neo-classical design of his 1806 *Temple de la Gloire de la Grande Armée* in Paris upon the ancient Roman *Maison Carrée* in Nîmes, which structure Jefferson used as a model for the building that would become the Virginia legislature and later the Confederate Congress.[67] When Madame de Staël ran across John

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[63] "Thomas Boylston Adams to John Quincy Adams," Philadelphia 1st: February 1800, Adams Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.

[64] See "John Quincy Adams to Abigail Adams," Ealing, January 9, 1816, in *Writings of John Quincy Adams*, 5:470.

[65] "Thomas Boylston Adams to John Quincy Adams," Philadelphia 1st: February 1800, Adams Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.

[66] See R. C. Whitford, "Madame de Staël's Literary Reputation in America," *Modern Language Notes*, vol. 33, no. 8 (December 1918), 476-80; Henri Guillemin, *Madame de Staël, Benjamin Constant et Napoléon* (Paris: Plon, 1959); Reinhard Lauth, "J.-G. Fichte et Madame de Staël," *Archives de Philosophie*, vol. 47, no. 1 (Janvier-Mars 1984), 63-75; and Angelica Goodden, *Madame de Staël: The Dangerous Exile* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

[67] Napoleon's temple to his soldiers was later consecrated to the Catholic Church as L'église Sainte-Marie-Madeleine ("La Madeleine"), its frescoes commemorating Napoleon's Concordat. See James M. Gabler, *Passions: The Wines and Travels of Thomas Jefferson* (Baltimore: Bacchus Press, 1995), 83; Louis-Pierre Anquetil and M. Louis de Maslatrie, *Histoire de France depuis les Gaulois jusqu'à la mort de Louis XVI*, vol. 6 (Paris: Chez Philippe, 1839), 258; and O'Brien, *Conjectures of Order*, 343. Celebratory crowds would also gather around a statute of George Washington in the Virginia legislature when the Old Dominion seceded. It was made in 1796 by the French sculptor Jean-Antoine Houdon, whom Jefferson commissioned. Houdon was famous for his busts and statues of Napoleon, who made him a Chevalier of the Légion d'honneur in 1804. See "John Quincy Adams to Louisa Catherine Adams," Quincy 7. October 1804, Adams Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society; "A Bronze Cast of Houdon's Statue of Washington," *Bulletin of the Pennsylvania Museum*, vol. 17, no. 71 (May 1922), 18;

Quincy Adams at St. Petersburg in 1813, he therefore naturally commiserated with her as to the "tyranny of Buonaparte upon which she soon discovered there was no difference of sentiment between us," although even he regarded her enthusiasm for Britain's cause as excessive because "[t]he lady insisted that the British nation was the most astonishing nation of antient or modern times, the only preservers of social order, the exclusive defenders of the liberties of mankind."[68]

Democrats, in turn, concluded that the British government and its Federalist sympathizers had been, in Michael O'Brien's words, even further "corrupted into reaction by opposing the French Revolution and Napoleon" because *émigrés* like Nicholas Madgett and Justus Erich Bollmann disliked the French emperor.[69] Madgett thought that Jefferson might assist him as a wine connoisseur since a lack of state support from South Carolina had deprived him of "moyens Suffisans pour Continuer la Culture de la Vigne dans la Caroline du Sud" even though he had immigrated to the U.S. precisely because Napoleon had spread the French Revolution throughout Europe: "A L'abri des orages des Revolutions, auquels les päis que j'ai Connu En Europe sont si sujets depuis Bonapart…."[70] Bollmann was a German physician residing in Paris who had accompanied a prominent French aristocrat to London in 1792, but the Jefferson administration made him an Indian agent in Louisiana when he moved to the U.S. as a gesture of gratitude for his unsuccessful efforts to rescue the captured La Fayette from an Austrian prison (General

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Jordan, *Black Confederates and Afro-Yankees in Civil War Virginia*, 22; and Aaron Sheehan-Dean, "It Is Old Virginia and We Must Have It: Overcoming Regionalism in Civil War Virginia," in *Crucible of the Civil War: Virginia from Secession to Commemoration*, eds. Edward L. Ayers, Gary W. Gallagher, and Andrew W. Torget (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2006), 71.

[68] "John Quincy Adams to John Adams," St Petersburg. 22 of March 1813, Adams Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society. As Madame de Staël informed him with reference to Napoleon, "I was neither suffered to live anywhere nor to go where I would have gone, – and all for no other reason but because I would not eulogize him in my writings." Ibid. See *The Unpublished Correspondence of Madame de Staël and the Duke of Wellington*, ed. and trans. Victor de Pange (1965; reprint, New York: The Humanities Press, 1967).

[69] O'Brien, *Conjectures of Order*, 140.

[70] "Nicholas Madgett to Thomas Jefferson," W. Rutherforton (NC) le 10e 7bre 1805, R.G. 59, U.S. National Archives and Records Administration.

Bonaparte secured La Fayette's release in 1797).[71] Yet after Vice President Aaron Burr killed Alexander Hamilton in an 1804 duel and ostensibly went on to attempt to carve a new polity for himself out of the Union's western territories in 1806, Jefferson and Madison blamed Bollman for leading Burr astray.[72] "It was the intention of Burr," Madison observed, "as soon as he had embarked at New Orleans for the execution of his plan, that he, Bollman, should be sent to Washington, charged with such communications and representations to the Government, as might induce it to espouse the enterprize, to concert measures with Burr, & thus by a War to consummate & extend it's objects," adding that Bollmann claimed that Burr was not trying to rupture the Union but rather to put Mexico beyond Napoleon's grasp.[73] "[I]ncalculable misery," Bollman warned Jefferson, "will ensue if French Forces… gain ground in those Countries, either under a new Bonaparte Dynastie on the Spanish Throne, or under the present so abjectly subservient to their Will."[74] And the *émigré* unsurprisingly ended up heading back to London.[75]

Democrats for and New England Federalists against Napoleonic White Supremacy

Many Democrats praised Napoleon for preserving the French Revolution's essence by upholding equality among whites, but even more of them lauded him for opposing Jacobin racial equality. While Jefferson maintained that black slaves ought to be gradually emancipated for liberty's sake, he had no desire to extend them equality or fraternity within the Union. Free blacks were not be granted citizenship but rather "colonized" to Africa because they could never

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[71] See Fritz Redlich, "The Business Activities of Eric Bollmann," *Bulletin of the Business Historical Society*, vol. 17, no. 5 (November 1943), 81.

[72] "[H]is Imperial Majesty, Bonaparte" and the Burr-Hamilton duel were, John Quincy Adams noted, the principal topics of conversation in July 1804. "John Quincy Adams to Louisa Catherine Adams," Quincy 19. July 1804, Adams Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.

[73] "James Madison: Notes on Communication from Justus Erich Bollmann to the President," [January 23, 1807], James Madison Papers, Library of Congress. Bollmann was eager to prove "the deadly hatred, & the dangerous designs of Spain and France," though not of Britain. Ibid.

[74] "Justus Erich Bollmann to Thomas Jefferson," Jany. 26th. 1807, Thomas Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.

[75] See Fritz Redlich, "The Business Activities of Eric Bollmann. Part II: The International Promoter," *Bulletin of the Business Historical Society*, vol. 17, no. 6 (December 1943), 103-12.

become part of the white American nation, for blacks were, in his view, an innately savage and inferior race.[76] Jefferson, moreover, had been so discomfited by the racial egalitarianism of many a would-be French revolutionary that he had advanced his notorious 1785 "suspicion" in the Paris-published *Notes on the State of Virginia* "that the blacks, whether originally a distinct race, or made distinct by time and circumstances, are inferior to the whites in the endowments both of body and mind."[77] As a result, Democrats commonly believed that the *Amis des noirs* and Jacobin fanatics had debased a revolution which was, like that of 1776, meant to establish democratic equality within a white nation by calling for St. Domingue's blacks to become French citizens in the name of racial equality.[78] The St. Domingue whites who had initially supported the French Revolution, after all, were massacred or driven off the island in 1791 by rebellious slaves who had been inspired by *Amis des noirs* rhetoric and their black Jacobin leader Toussaint L'Ouverture to strike for freedom and equality against slavery and white rule alike.[79]

L'Ouverture's rebellion also deprived France of St. Domingue's immense sugar and coffee revenue, which Napoleon resolved to regain in 1801 by sending an army there to re-enslave the blacks or at least subject them to some other system of white rule.[80] And Jefferson notified him that the Union would be pleased to provide logistical support as "nothing will be easier than to furnish your army and fleet with everything and reduce Toussaint to starvation."[81] He knew full well, moreover, that Napoleon was motivated by much more than economics, for

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[76] See Peter S. Onuf, *The Mind of Thomas Jefferson* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2007), 205-70.
[77] Thomas Jefferson, "Notes on the State of Virginia," in *Thomas Jefferson: Writings*, 270. See Onuf, *op. cit.*, 158.
[78] Jefferson hence identified Robespierre as one of the deadliest enemies of the French Revolution, although he differed from quite a few of his fellow Democrats by quietly putting Napoleon in the same category as well. See "Thomas Jefferson to John Adams," Monticello Sep. 4. 23, Adams Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.
[79] See C. L. R. James, *The Black Jacobins: Toussaint L'Ouverture and the San Domingo Revolution* (1938; reprint, New York: Penguin Books, 2001).
[80] See Philippe R. Girard, "Napoléon Bonaparte and the Emancipation Issue in Saint-Domingue, 1799-1803," *French Historical Studies*, vol. 32, no. 4 (fall 2009), 587-618.
[81] "Report of Louis Pichon to Talleyrand," July 22, 1801, quoted in Elkins and McKitrick, *The Age of Federalism*, 661.

Bonaparte intended to avenge St. Domingue's murdered whites with the utmost severity and work the surviving blacks more effectually than ever before to the benefit of all white Frenchmen. In 1800, after all, Napoleon began patronizing French scientists who insisted that the racially egalitarian assumptions of *philosophes*, Jacobins, and *Amis des noirs* were being discredited by evidentiary data.[82] He had also endeavored to displace and harshly exploit non-white Egyptians, having presented himself as the liberator and egalitarian champion of the lower classes in conquered Italy. As John Quincy Adams reported in a May 1798 letter from Europe, "[t]here is… strong reason to believe they [*i.e.* the French] have a very serious design of settling a Colony in Egypt" upon land "ceded to France."[83] Napoleon, moreover, would have to work thousands of non-white Egyptian laborers to death if he were to ever bring off his "ridiculous" scheme "to cut a canal between the Mediterranean and the Red Sea. Then to march over land and attack the british settlements in India…."[84] And when "a riot among the populace at Cairo, (according to Buonaparte la plus vilaine populace du monde,)" broke out against his rule on October 21, "the french troops were obliged to fire upon them & kill some thousands of them."[85] Indeed, a persistent though incorrect rumor arose accusing Bonaparte of having ordered the Sphinx's nose to be effaced by cannons because its shape resembled that of a so-called Negro.[86]

Bonaparte managed to re-enslave the blacks of French Guadeloupe even though the restive slaves there had committed no significant atrocities against whites in the process of creating a racially egalitarian republic in 1794, but the twenty thousand French soldiers in St.

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[82] See "Thomas Paine to Thomas Jefferson," [February 1805], Thomas Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress; and George W. Stocking, Jr., "French Anthropology in 1800," in *Race, Culture, and Evolution: Essays in the History of Anthropology* (New York: Free Press, 1968), 13-41.
[83] "John Quincy Adams to John Adams," 18 May 1798, Adams Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.
[84] "John Quincy Adams to Abigail Adams," Berlin 4 May. 1798, Adams Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.
[85] "John Quincy Adams to Thomas Boylston Adams," [*ca*. January 15, 1799], Adams Family Papers, Letterbooks, Massachusetts Historical Society.
[86] See James Morgan, *In the Footsteps of Napoleon: His Life and Its Famous Scenes* (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1915), 85.

Domingue were devastated by disease and L'Ouverture's guerilla resistance.[87] Even Bonaparte's brother-in-law General Charles Leclerc died, and in 1804 General Jean-Louis Ferrand, who had fought for the Patriots as a volunteer during the American Revolution, fell back to the eastern half of the island (Santo Domingo), where he reduced blacks to *de facto* slavery until he too perished in 1808.[88] L'Ouverture, however, was captured, and Napoleon imprisoned him in a cold fortress where he died a miserable death in 1803. His replacement Jean-Jacques Dessalines declared St. Domingue independent of France all the same, renamed the island "Haiti" to honor its original Indian inhabitants, and ordered all of the remaining French whites to be massacred.[89]

Jefferson was happy to purchase Louisiana when Napoleon concluded that it was unlikely to become a source of foodstuffs for a sugar-producing St. Domingue and at risk of falling into British hands, for the Royal Navy had contributed to France's defeat in St. Domingue by cutting off reinforcements. British aristocrats were ambivalent about and even hostile to white supremacy in Britain's colonies insofar as it undermined hierarchy among whites by placing even the lowliest of whites above non-white kings. And some them of them endeavored to enlist non-whites against a new regime championing equality among whites in 1776, endorsing racial equality even as they continued to espouse inequality among whites. Jefferson thus complained in the Declaration of Independence that the British Crown had "excited domestic insurrections amongst us" while seeking to "bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian Savages, whose known rule of warfare, is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and

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[87] See James Oakes, *Freedom National: The Destruction of Slavery in the United States, 1861-1865* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2013), 422-23. Even the plans of certain French officers to illegally sell captured black rebels from St. Domingue into slavery at Spanish Cuba came to naught. See "Vincent Gray to James Madison," Havana, March 2, 1803, R.G. 59, U.S. National Archives and Records Administration.

[88] See Philippe R. Girard, "Liberte, Egalite, Esclavage: French Revolutionary Ideals and the Failure of the Leclerc Expedition to Saint-Domingue," *French Colonial History*, vol. 6 (2005), 55-77; and Graham Nessler, "'The Shame of the Nation': The Force of Re-Enslavement and the Law Of 'Slavery' Under the Regime of Jean-Louis Ferrand in Santo Domingo, 1804-1809," *New West Indian Guide*, vol. 86, no. 1/2 (2012), 5-28.

[89] See Philippe R. Girard, *The Slaves Who Defeated Napoleon: Toussaint L'Ouverture and the Haitian War of Independence, 1801-1804* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2011).

conditions." Many Democrats and Bonapartists accordingly believed that Britain had quietly supported the *Amis des noirs* and black rebels of St. Domingue to undermine equality among whites as embodied by the French Revolution and Napoleon, who had declared on the eve of the St. Domingue invasion that "I am for the whites because I am white; I have no other reason, and that one is good…. It is perfectly clear that those who wanted the freedom of the blacks wanted the slavery of the whites."[90] Marcus Rainsford, after all, was a British soldier stationed in the West Indies and an abolitionist who visited Saint-Domingue in 1799. He wrote a laudatory account of the slave rebellion called *An Historical Account of the Black Empire of Hayti*, which was published in 1805 at London and featured images of demonic French soldiers murdering noble black martyrs.[91] And so Napoleon criminalized race-mixing in all French jurisdictions, spiting not just his internal *Amis des noirs* foes but also his external upper-class British abolitionist enemies, both of whom frowned upon white supremacy, albeit for quite different reasons – the one to realize universal equality and the other to buttress hierarchy among whites.[92]

The French scientist Louis Philippe Gallot de Lormerie, moreover, was residing in Philadelphia when he informed Jefferson in 1806 that whereas Napoleon was aspiring to create a kind of Union for Europe because he too stood for equality among whites and white supremacy, British abolitionists were opposing "sa revolution" by championing both racial equality and inequality among whites. They would hence preserve the *ancien régime* in Europe even as they incited race war in the Americas, for Britain had, "consommant la perte de St Domingue, causé

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[90] Quoted in Laurent Dubois, *Avengers of the New World: The Story of the Haitian Revolution* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009), 261. For the actual and perceived links between *Amis des noirs* and British abolitionists, see V. Quinney, "Decisions on Slavery, the Slave Trade, and Civil Rights for Negroes in the Early French Revolution," *Journal of Negro History*, vol. 55, no. 2 (April 1970), 117–30; and Maurice Jackson, *Let This Voice be Heard: Anthony Benezet, Father of Atlantic Abolitionism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011).
[91] See Marcus Rainsford, "The Mode of exterminating the Black Army as practised by the French," in *An Historical Account of the Black Empire of Hayti* (London: Albron Press, 1805), 327.
[92] See Jennifer Heuer, "The One-Drop Rule in Reverse? Interracial Marriages in Napoleonic and Restoration France," *Law and History Review*, vol. 27, no. 3 (Fall 2009), 515-48.

le meurtre de Milliers d hommes femmes et enfans paisibles cultivateurs; Debarqué en france des conspirateurs et des assassins; Enfin rallumé le flambeau de la Guerre dans tous le nord de L'Europe… tel est L'ouvrage de L'Angleterre!"[93] And de Lormerie was appalled that British abolitionists could be so cynical and hypocritical as to inflame blacks against whites who were defying "la tirannie L'avariçe, et la Cruauté du Gouvernement anglais" by promising them not just freedom but also equality, for Britain was responsible in the first place for having "dèpeuplé L'Affrique pour infecter les colonies, et vos Etats du Sud, des victimes de luer avarice!"[94]

Jefferson sympathized with de Lormerie insofar as he too hoped to see "une *rèvolution en Angleterre*, au moins un Changement total dans Son Gouvernement."[95] New England Federalists, in contrast, were beginning to echo British abolitionists by decrying Democrats and Bonapartists alike as enemies of liberty for upholding slavery and espousing white supremacy. A sarcastic John Quincy Adams hence described Napoleon's slaughter of Arabs and blacks in Cairo as "another wonderful work of Buonaparte & the great Nation" in early 1799.[96] His father, moreover, enraged Democrats due to "[t]he renewal of intercourse between us & certain ports of St: Domingo" later that year, prompting his brother to observe that "[a]t the same instant, that the Presidents proclamation appeared authorizing this renewal, a report was circulated that Toussaint was dead; we have every reason to believe it was a fabrication."[97] The St. Domingue refugees who decried Adams for abetting "the dreadful Evils" of the "atrocious revolution" helped elect

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[93] "Louis Philippe Gallot de Lormerie to Thomas Jefferson," Philadelphia 30 Novembre 1806, Thomas Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.
[94] "Louis Philippe Gallot de Lormerie to Thomas Jefferson," Philadelphia 14. Juillet. 1807, Thomas Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.
[95] Ibid.
[96] "John Quincy Adams to Thomas Boylston Adams," [*ca*. January 15, 1799], Adams Family Papers, Letterbooks, Massachusetts Historical Society.
[97] "Thomas Boylston Adams to Joseph Pitcairn," Philadelphia 13th. July 1799, Pitcairn Papers, Cincinnati Historical Society.

Jefferson in 1800 as a result, and the new president rescinded his predecessor's policy.[98] Yet northeastern Federalist merchants kept sailing to St. Domingue all the same. "The Blacks, after all, "give such excessive prices for arms and ammunition…."[99] [I]n some instances," John Quincy Adams noted in 1804, "they have armed the ships, in force sufficient to force their way through, in case of attack by the french privateers." That was "a subject of grievous complaint to the French Minister, who peremptorily demands that our Government should interfere to suppress it," and of course "Mr: Jefferson thinks, that on the return of any of these armed vessels, if they should have fought with a french privateer and killed one of her men, *our* Judges ought to hang every man on board the American Vessel, for Murder." And while Jefferson had invoked "Common Law Principle" to support that opinion, New England Federalists noticed that the St. Domingue refugee Louis C. Moreau-Lislet was introducing the *Code Napoléon* in Louisiana."[100]

Jefferson, though, would inform Thomas Paine in 1805 that "France has become so jealous of our conduct as to St. Domingo (which in truth is only the conduct of our merchants) that the offer to become a mediator would only confirm her suspicions. Bonaparte however expressed satisfaction at the paragraph in my message to Congress on the subject of that commerce."[101] The French emperor was indeed satisfied when Jefferson called for an outright embargo against St. Domingue in early 1806. "The prohibition of the trade to St: Domingo is now upon its last Stage in Senate," John Quincy Adams informed his father in February 1806 as a Federalist U.S. senator for Massachusetts, "and in all probability before I close this Letter will be pass'd." "I know not," he added, "to what extent France will avail herself of the situation in

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[98] "Auguste De Grasse to John Adams," Charleston South Carolina 22th. October 1798, Adams Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.
[99] "John Quincy Adams to John Adams," Washington 3. Novr: 1804, Adams Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.
[100] "John Quincy Adams to John Adams," Washington 3. Novr: 1804, Adams Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society. See O'Brien, *Conjectures of Order*, 208.
[101] "Thomas Jefferson to Thomas Paine," Washington June 5. 05, Thomas Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.

which she stands to dictate humiliation or submission to us; but this I have no reason to doubt; that whatsoever she shall please to command, we shall comply with."[102] His words, however, were mild compared to those of the former Secretary of State and pro-British Massachusetts "Junto" leader Timothy Pickering, whom President Adams had assured with reference to the opening of trade with St. Domingue that "[i]t is my earnest desire… to do nothing, without the consent, concert & cooperation of the British government in this case."[103] Pickering told Jefferson that the blacks of St. Domingue had far more cause to commit excesses in pursuit of liberty than the French, who had been "more free than the subjects of any monarchy in Europe, the English excepted…." "[A]re the hapless, the wretched Haytians ('guilty,' indeed, 'of a skin not coloured like our own' but) *emancipated*," he declaimed, "after enjoying freedom many years; having maintained it in arms – resolved *to live free or die*; are these men… to be deprived of those necessary supplies which for a series of years they have been accustomed to receive from the U States, and without which they cannot subsist?" "Dessalines," after all, "is pronounced by some to be a ferocious tyrant," but Haitian "atrocities" paled before Napoleon's, and so Pickering excoriated Jefferson for "tak[ing] part with their enemies, to reduce them to submission by *starving them*… at the *nod*, at the *insolent demand* of the minister of France!"[104]

The accusations by Pickering-type Federalists that Jefferson was willingly subservient to a France which was intractably hostile to liberty and hence Britain as the foremost exponent of

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[102] "John Quincy Adams to John Adams," Washington 11. February 1806, Adams Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.

[103] "John Adams to Timothy Pickering," Quincy June 15th 1799, Adams Family Papers, Letterbooks, Massachusetts Historical Society. "There is a very sour leaven of malevolence in many English & in many American minds against each other," Adams informed Pickering, "which has given & will continue to give trouble to both governments, but by patience & perseverance, I hope we shall succeed in wearing it out, & in bringing the people on both sides to treat each other like friends." "John Adams to Timothy Pickering," Quincy August 4th 1799, Adams Family Papers, Letterbooks, Massachusetts Historical Society. See "John Adams to Timothy Pickering," Quincy June 19th 1799, Adams Family Papers, Letterbooks, Massachusetts Historical Society; and Gerard Clarfield, "Postscript to the Jay Treaty: Timothy Pickering and Anglo-American Relations, 1795-1797," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, vol. 23, no. 1 (January 1966), 106-20.

[104] "Timothy Pickering to Thomas Jefferson," City of Washington Feby. 24. 1806, Thomas Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.

equality among whites and white supremacy became so vitriolic after Jefferson's embargo against Britain that many Democrats came to believe that the Essex Junto was conspiring to detach New England from the Union on Britain's behalf.[105] Rejecting charges of "designing partizans attempting to make it to appear – That our Administration are Frenchmen in Interest – directed by Bonaparte and French Influence," the Democratic Massachusetts merchant William Prentiss claimed in 1809 that "[w]e have in America from my knowledge a party of Monarchists… [t]hat would go any lengths to bring about a Union of our Fate with that of Great Britain – so much so, that they begin openly to say – That if the US Government does not repeal the late Law… G B – will support N England in a seperation from southern Influence &c."[106] "Boston Inhabitants," after all, had warned Jefferson a year earlier that "perhaps the United States will lose *New England*" if he kept bowing before "that Tyrant *Bonaparte*."[107] And "A Citizen Among Ten Thousand" had even predicted that "[w]e shall have a Civil War soon" after excoriating him as follows: "Who are the enemies of this Country? It's Rulers. What do they deserve? Hell…. O thou disturber of the peace – thou destroyer of thousands! What hast thou done? Ask Bonaparte. Ask the Devil. Thy grave will not secure thy bones from burning."[108]

Quite a few New England Federalists like William Cunningham, Jr. did begin to toy with secession when President Madison proved to be as "partial to France" and "inimical to England" as his predecessor. Madison even seemed to be instigating a war with Britain on Napoleon's behalf by taking advantage of the fact that British naval transgressions against the U.S. were

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[105] See David H. Fischer, "The Myth of the Essex Junto," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, vol. 21, no. 2 (April 1964), 191-235. Also see Kevin M. Gannon, "Escaping 'Mr. Jefferson's Plan of Destruction': New England Federalists and the Idea of a Northern Confederacy, 1803-1804," *Journal of the Early Republic*, vol. 21, no. 3 (Autumn 2001), 413-43.

[106] "William Prentiss to Thomas Jefferson," Newton Massachusetts 30th Janry 1809, Tucker-Coleman Collection, College of William and Mary.

[107] "'Boston Inhabitants' to Thomas Jefferson," Boston New England 4h Mch 1808, Thomas Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.

[108] "'A Citizen Among Ten Thousand' to Thomas Jefferson," [*ca*. March 16, 1808], Thomas Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.

"embittered with the remembrance of the old grudge – on the other hand, the aggressions of France are palliated by the remaining sense of obligation, however erroneously indulged, towards the French, for their co-operation with us in the Revolutionary War – the passion of resentment, and of gratitude… are unlike unfit."[109] Americans and especially Democrats were thus far less upset by an 1811 dispute at Savannah that resulted in the deaths of several French sailors and the burning of two French vessels than, in John Quincy Adams's words, "the action between the Frigate President, and the Little Belt – The English ministerial papers assert that the first shot was fired from our Frigate – I hope this is not true – But affairs appear to be rapidly coming to the last extremities between the United States and England."[110] "A War appears to be inevitable," Adams added, "and I lament it with the deepest affliction of heart, and the most painful anticipation of consequences," for the Junto Federalists would take advantage "a War from which we can in all probability derive no benefit, and which can only promote the purposes of France," to instigate secession: "It is at home that an English War will bring on our heaviest trial, as I presume one of its early effects will be the struggle for the division of the States, which has been so long in contemplation and preparation by the New England federalists."[111]

Many New England Federalists did in fact call for New England to secede when the U.S. declared war against Britain in 1812 and thus became a *de facto* military ally of Napoleon. Their fears that the Union was becoming the a permanent *de jure* client of Napoleonic France were further inflamed by Secretary of War John Armstrong's attempts to implement Bonaparte-style

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[109] "William Cunningham, Jr. to John Adams," Fitchburg, Dec. 29th. 1809, Adams Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society. Madison was, Cunningham reiterated in 1811, continuing "[t]he plan of administration pursued by Mr. Jefferson," who "had the help of France primarily in view." "William Cunningham, Jr. to John Adams," Fitchburg, April 18th. 1811, Adams Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.

[110] "John Quincy Adams to John Adams," St: Petersburg 21. July 1811, Adams Family Papers, Letterbooks, Massachusetts Historical Society. See Peter P. Hill, "The Savannah Riots: A Burning Issue in Franco-American Hostility, 1811-1812," *The Georgia Historical Quarterly*, vol. 88, no. 4 (Winter 2004), 499-510.

[111] "John Quincy Adams to John Adams," *op. cit.*; and "John Quincy Adams to Thomas Boylston Adams," St. Petersburg 4. March 1812, Adams Family Papers, Letterbooks, Massachusetts Historical Society.

conscription during the war, and he even formed a new U.S. army brigade known as "The Old Guard," which was a nickname for Bonaparte's famous Imperial Guard.[112] Joel Barlow, moreover, was an accomplished Connecticut poet and Democrat who had served as a chaplain in the American Revolution, promoted French immigration to the U.S. in the late 1780s, and seen his pro-French Revolution writings banned by the British government in the early 1790s. He became an honorary French citizen in 1792 as well, and he passed away in Poland as a U.S. minister plenipotentiary to France while accompanying Napoleon during his disastrous retreat from Russia to negotiate a formal treaty of commerce and friendship.[113] The French emperor, in fact, even requested that the U.S. attend his proposed Prague convention of European states in July 1813 as his fortunes ebbed so as to have at least one solid ally present at the negotiations.[114]

New England Federalists also began to openly espouse British abolitionism during the War of 1812, denouncing both slavery and white supremacy. Abigail Adams accordingly pointed to such new "Phenomenons of the Age" as New England's "Prince Saunders, a Black man, who received in Boston a good School Education…." "[B]eing out of health & having a desire to go to England," she noted in 1816, "some Gentlemen in Boston raised a Sum of money to enable him to go there – accordingly when my Grandsons George & John went out, he was a passenger in the Same Ship, and became very fond of them…." "[S]oon after his arrival,"

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[112] See John K. Mahon and Romana Danysh, *Army Lineage Series: Part 1: Regular Army* (Washington, D.C.: Office of the Chief of Military History, U.S. Army, 1972), 11.

[113] "Our affairs in France," John Quincy Adams wryly observed, "are said to be in a favourable situation. I hear that Mr. Barlow has already concluded an advantageous Treaty of Commerce – I have a letter from him dated early in January, mentioning that such a Treaty was in contemplation, but the particular Articles of it had not then been discussed." "John Quincy Adams to Thomas Boylston Adams," St. Petersburg 4. March 1812, Adams Family Papers, Letterbooks, Massachusetts Historical Society. See Leon Howard, "Joel Barlow and Napoleon," *Huntington Library Quarterly*, vol. 2, no. 1 (October 1983), 37-51; Clifford L. Egan, "On the Fringe of Napoleonic Catastrophe: Joel Barlow's Letters from Central and Eastern Europe, 1812," *Early American Literature*, vol. 10, no. 3 (Winter 1975/1976), 251-72; Élise Marienstras, "Joel Barlow, de Redding (1754) à Zarnowiec (1812): rêves cosmopolitiques et cauchemars tyranniques d'un Américain de bonne volonté," *Revue française d'études américaines*, no. 92 (May 2002), 68-85; and Richard Buel, Jr., *Joel Barlow: American Citizen in a Revolutionary World* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011).

[114] See Michael Adams, *Napoleon and Russia* (London: Bloomsbury, 2006), 453.

moreover, "he was visited & Patronized by many of the Abolition Society…. [Y]ou would be diverted Could you See this Black Gentleman familiarly whispering in the ear of countesses… and Shaking hands with them, *Sans ceremonie* – all this may appear to you a fable, but it is never the less true…." Saunders would soon found several schools in Haiti with British abolitionist support, which coupled with the fact that upper-class New England Federalists and the "Nobility of the Kingdom" in Britain had treated him as a social equal while making white servants wait upon him would surely carry "in its train concequences, unforseen to the present Acters – the Slave holders in America will not be much delighted with the honours paid this black Prince."[115]

The Anti-Bonapartism of the Southern Radical Democrat Faction

The New England Federalists, however, were surprised to find a largely southern faction within the Democracy side with them during the war. John Randolph and his *Tertium Quid* ("Third Something") or Old Republican allies supported the Jeffersonian Democrats in the 1790s because they feared that a consolidated federal government would undermine rather than reinforce the parochial dominance of planter elites, but in 1804 they broke with Jefferson, whom they accused of practicing consolidation in his own right. They also came to agree with the New England Federalists in believing that Britain alone was holding at bay the immense threat posed by Napoleon to traditional English liberty, which the Jefferson administration was endangering within the U.S. by championing Bonaparte-style equality among whites and white supremacy.[116] Old Republicans like Randolph, after all, were accustomed to deference from poor whites, free blacks, and slaves alike, frowning upon white supremacy insofar as it fostered equality among

[115] "Abigail Smith Adams to Catherine Maria Frances Johnson Smith," Quincy october 15th 1816, Adams Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society. See Arthur O. White, "Prince Saunders: An Instance of Social Mobility among Antebellum New England Blacks," *The Journal of Negro History*, vol. 60, no. 4 (October 1975), 526-35.

[116] John Adams hence asserted "[t]hat the French Phylosophers who were bringing the Change forward understood nothing of Government, or the system of Liberty. That any Town Meeting in New England would produce a better Constitution than all the Statesmen and Phylosophers in France." "John Adams to Thomas Boylston Adams," Washington January 24 1801, Adams Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.

whites. Maryland's Robert Crain, for instance, endorsed the embargo but also regarded "[t]he gun Boat sistim" as "our best posible mode, of defending our ports and Harbours; for I view a Navy, an engine of War, properly belonging to a despotic goverment, and incompatible with the peace, and safety of a Republic." Yet the "Grand army of Bonaparte" was just as "despotic" as Britain's "great maritime fleet" in his view, and "the sagacious policy of Bonaparte" was nearly as threatening to the U.S. as "the insidious policy of the Court of St James."[117] The Virginia Old Republican and U.S. consul at Palermo Joseph Barnes, however, made it clear that he regarded Napoleon as even worse than the British. "In regard to Political affairs," he wrote the president with reference to Bonaparte in 1806, "Mr. Jefferson will have been informed – of all the extraordinary new order of things in Europe, *opposite* what was *hoped* from the French revolution by the friends of mankind." Because Napoleon had "Subjugated" instead of liberating Italy, Barnes exulted in the exploits of "Sir Sydney Smith, who commands the British Fleet in this quarter, knocks about the Coast of Calabria with his Armed Boats, rattles the grape Shot, makes the French fly to the Mountains, Lands and takes off all their Cannon!" And thanks to the "[l]ate *unparalleled* Nelson," the Royal Navy was now "completely triumphant on the Ocean – fortunately for the friends of Mankind; for at Present England is the only Barrier between Liberty & Universal Slavery." He thus urged Jefferson to ignore the "unjust Spoliations of the English on our Commerce" as "'tis not our interest, as friends to the happiness of mankind, to See England fall – whose wooden walls Lie between us and harm." Besides, "the American being almost the only Flag respected by the British, gives to our Commerce an immence advantage."[118]

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[117] "Robert Crain to Thomas Jefferson," Maryland Charles County Strawberry Vale February 5th. 1808, Thomas Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.

[118] "Joseph Barnes to Thomas Jefferson," Palermo june 16 – 1806, Thomas Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress. See "Joseph Barnes to Thomas Jefferson," Jan. 3rd 1807, Thomas Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress; and "Joseph Barnes to Thomas Jefferson," Livorno july 4th 1807, Thomas Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress. Also see Miriam Allen Deford, "An American Murder Mystery," *Prairie Schooner*, vol. 22, no. 3 (Fall 1948), 284-87.

Jefferson, in turn, sought to convince Democrats like Barnes that Britain was a greater threat than Napoleon, as when he remarked in an 1807 letter to the leading Virginian Old Republican John Taylor of Caroline that "it is really mortifying that we should be forced to wish success to Bonaparte, and to look to his victories as our salvation."[119] And Barnes did acknowledge in 1808 that "consequent on a Decree of Napoleon Le grand a general Embargo was Laid in all the Ports of Italy, France &c &c, Which has but a few days Since been taken off the American Vessels, by *Special order, & declaration* of the *Ministry* of the *Marine* at Paris that it *never* was the *intention* of His Majesty the Emperor Napoleon, that the Americans Should have been Comprehended – !!"[120] Taylor, however, still feared "[t]he dictatorial temper of Bonaparte towards this country," hoping in an 1808 letter to Jefferson as well that Napoleon's "resolution to have no neutrals, would offer to the English the alternative of making us their friends and foes to France, or their foes and friends to France; and that they would certainly choose the former at any price you might ask."[121] Because Taylor, Randolph, and other Radical Democrats were refusing to refrain from "reviv[ing] the old Story under adams that Buonaparte will certainly invade our Shores, as Soon as England is reduced," the French veteran of the American Revolution and Democratic New York City doctor John Francis Vacher thus accused them of siding with "the tories the Federalists" against "the true Sons of america."[122] Jefferson himself had noted in 1806 with reference to "our old enemies the federalists, and their new friends," that "their rallying point is 'war with France & Spain, & alliance with Great Britain,'" and so an article "is republished in London… from a N.Y. federal

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[119] "Thomas Jefferson to John Taylor," Washington Aug. 1. 07, Washburn Collection, Massachusetts Historical Society.
[120] "Joseph Barnes to Thomas Jefferson," Livorno April 17 1808, Thomas Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.
[121] "John Taylor to Thomas Jefferson," Virginia – Port Royal July 12. 1808, Thomas Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.
[122] "John Francis Vacher to Thomas Jefferson," New York 19th may 1806, R.G. 59, U.S. National Archives and Records Administration.

paper charging the administration (and quoting the authority of J.R.) with sending 2. mills. of D. as a bribe to Bonaparte…."[123] The prominent Massachusetts Democrat Levi Lincoln, moreover, claimed that "[t]he speeches of Randolph have been weapons in the hands of the adversary, and they have been weilded with dexterity & with some effect."[124] And the former Democratic governor of Virginia John Page went so far as to assert in an 1807 letter to the president that, with regard to rumors "that John Randolph is to be nominated as a candidate for your Seat when you shall vacate it," "I confess I suspect that the british Govt. has suggested his Nomination."[125]

When Democrats "of both Houses" were putting forth "Motion upon Motion, for non-intercourse, for non-importation,… for retaliation and reprizal, for confiscation of debts, and for everything that can exhibit temper against the British" in early 1806, John Quincy Adams took note of the fact that Old Republican "members from the *Southern* States" were dissenting. They had a monetary interest in seeing their burgeoning "exportation of… cotton" to Britain continue uninterrupted, to be sure, but they also wanted to trade cotton for British manufactured goods because they feared that U.S. industrialization and urbanization would threaten the liberty and power of southern planters.[126] They were alarmed when Jefferson began to distance himself from them in that respect, prompting the New York Federalist "William Penn" to mock him as follows in 1809: "Thou strange inconsistant man! always at variance with Thyself, at one period advocating the utility of our Work Shops in Europe, at another in our own country, thus exposing thyself to the pity & derision of Thy friends & foes…."[127] But they were even more upset when

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[123] "Thomas Jefferson to Barnabas Bidwell," Washington July 5. 1806, Thomas Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress; and "Thomas Jefferson to Thomas Mann Randolph," Washington July 13. 06, Thomas Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress. "I should suspect error," Jefferson declared with respect to Radicals and Federalists, "where they found no fault." "Thomas Jefferson to Barnabas Bidwell," *op. cit.*

[124] "Levi Lincoln to Thomas Jefferson," Worcester June 17th. 1806, Thomas Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.

[125] "John Page to Thomas Jefferson," Richmond July 12th. 1807, Thomas Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.

[126] "John Quincy Adams to John Adams," Washington 11. February 1806, Adams Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.

[127] "'William Penn to Thomas Jefferson," New York 24 Feby 1809, Thomas Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.

the president proffered that "a militia of all ages promiscuously are entirely useless for distant service, and… we never shall be safe until we have a selected corps for a year's distant service at least…." Jefferson proposed to reorganize the state militias in an 1807 letter to Madison as a result, "whether on Bonaparte's plan… or that recommended in my message, I do not know, but rather incline to his. the idea is not new, as you may remember we adopted it once in Virginia during the revolution, but abandoned it too soon. it is the real secret of Bonaparte's success."[128]

Alarmed Old Republicans also saw that quite a few of the Bonaparte-friendly Democrats calling for industrialization and vigorous exercises of delegated federal powers were Federalist defectors from the South and lower North who aspired to augment the Union's military might and build grand federal internal improvements but were much less pro-British than their erstwhile New England compatriots. The Federalist Philadelphia merchant Tench Coxe, for instance, had championed U.S. industrialization as a Hamilton supported in the 1790s, but he joined the Democrats in 1800 upon running afoul of Adams. And he consistently opposed the Old Republicans as a Democratic Bonaparte apologist who claimed in an 1808 letter to Jefferson that Napoleon surely had good intentions because in 1797 "the Venetian States… [were] made a genuine Republic under the patronage of France & by the agency of the General Bonaparte…." Napoleon's subsequent affronts to liberty and republicanism were hence Britain's fault for constantly assailing the French. The "*true causes of the conduct of France*," Coxe maintained, were "English outrages," and so "[t]he conduct of England to America, Ireland, India, to the neutral world and to her disfranchised people entitles her to a character of *a despotic power*."[129]

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[128] "Thomas Jefferson to James Madison," Monticello May 5. 07, James Madison Papers, Library of Congress. See "Thomas Jefferson to Henry Dearborn," Nov. 5. 07, Thomas Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.

[129] "Tench Coxe to Thomas Jefferson," November 19th. 1808, Thomas Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress. See Jacob E. Cooke, *Tench Coxe and the Early Republic* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011).

John Quincy Adams accordingly observed with regard to the rival Democratic factions that "[t]he inveteracy between the Monroites and the Madisonians in Virginia, is great and daily increasing," inducing his brother to remark that while "the Democrats have… supported the Administration of Mr: Jefferson, with great zeal, it may be questioned whether there will be equal unanimity among them in the choice of a Successor."[130] He was not taken aback when *Quids* denounced the Madison administration as a result. But he was surprised to see their old "anglo-federal enemies" set their consolidation-minded doctrines aside in hopes of partnering with the Old Republicans to thwart Madison.[131] Some Junto-style Federalists like William Cunningham, Jr. even mused that New England might not have to secede in response to the "Gallic mania in this Country" if the increasingly pro-British *Quid* Democrats became dominant in the South, for "when, with our assistance, Buonaparte, shall set his feet on England, and become the giant who shall wrest the scepter from this Mavila," it might hopefully be possible "that our grudge towards England will be satisfied; that our attachment to France will lose its sustenance; and that we shall no longer be alienated from ourselves."[132] And so while John Quincy Adams thought that the pro-administration Democrats might develop "force sufficient to give weight to our claims for right and redress of wrong" against Britain in March 1812, the president's war measures would be hampered by New England Federalists who endorsed and

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[130] "John Quincy Adams to Thomas Boylston Adams," Washington 12. March 1808, Adams Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society; and "Thomas Boylston Adams to John Quincy Adams," Quincy 24th: March 1808, Adams Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.
[131] "John Quincy Adams to Thomas Boylston Adams," Washington 12. March 1808, Adams Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.
[132] "William Cunningham, Jr. to John Adams," Fitchburg, April 18th. 1811, Adams Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.

echoed Old Republican state's rights principles, for "opposition to the War with England is the connecting principle which has brought together parties hitherto so heterogeneous."[133]

The Post-1815 Migration of French Bonapartists to the U.S. and Especially the Gulf South

"Bonaparte," John Quincy Adams jeered after Napoleon was exiled to Elba in April 1814, "has deserved his fate, and… no fate can be too severe for what he has deserved."[134] Unfortunately for him, the Junto Federalists, and the *Quids*, however, an influx of French Bonapartists came to the U.S. following the end of "the Despotic rule of Bonaparte" thanks in large part to the efforts of Joel Barlow's friend the Massachusetts Democrat William Lee, who was appointed U.S. consul at Bordeaux in 1802.[135] He had supplied Jefferson with French wines, copies of the *Moniteur*, and "an Imperial Almanac" in that capacity.[136] Having informed Secretary of State Madison that "all blacks and men of Colour of whatever nation have been arrested here by the Commissary of marine and put into prison until reclaimed & sent off by the Agents of the Country from whence they came & if there is no agent to reclaim them they are sent off to the Colonies," Lee also wrote an 1814 work called *Les Etats-Unis et L'Angleterre* to assure Bonapartists of the Madison administration's goodwill.[137] Asserting that the U.S. and

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[133] "John Quincy Adams to Thomas Boylston Adams," St. Petersburg 4. March 1812, Adams Family Papers, Letterbooks, Massachusetts Historical Society; and "John Quincy Adams to Abigail Adams," St. Petersburg 25. March 1813, Adams Family Papers, Letterbooks, Massachusetts Historical Society.

[134] "John Quincy Adams to Abigail Adams," St. Petersburg 26. April 1814, Adams Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society. See Guillaume de Bertier de Sauvigny, "The American Press and the Fall of Napoleon in 1814," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, vol. 98, no. 5 (October 1954), 337-76.

[135] "François Adriaan Van der Kemp to John Adams," Oldenbarneveld 1 Nov. 1818, Adams Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society. See "William Lee to James Madison," Bordeaux July 22d. 1802, R.G. 59, U.S. National Archives and Records Administration.

[136] "William Lee to Thomas Jefferson," Bordeaux April 10: 1807, Coolidge Collection, Massachusetts Historical Society. See "William Lee to Thomas Jefferson," United States Consulate Bordeaux Sep 12. 1804," Thomas Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress; "William Lee to Thomas Jefferson," [September 23, 1805]," Thomas Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress; "William Lee to Thomas Jefferson," Coolidge Collection, Massachusetts Historical Society; "Thomas Jefferson to William Lee," Washington Apr. 28. 06., Coolidge Collection, Massachusetts Historical Society; "William Lee to Thomas Jefferson," October 1, 1806, Coolidge Collection, Massachusetts Historical Society. For the prevalence of the *Moniteur* within the Union, see "Francis Adriaan van der Kemp to John Adams," Olden Barneveld 17 March. 1808, Adams Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.

[137] "William Lee to James Madison," Bordeaux, September 26th. 1802, R.G. 59, U.S. National Archives and Records Administration.

France were united not just pragmatically but also ideologically in their common struggle against Britain, Lee dismissed Federalist claims that the Union was meant to be an Anglo-Protestant nation: "C'est l'Europe, et non l'Angleterre, qui est notre mere patrie. Nous ne devons rien à l'Angleterre."[138] Insisting as well that "la *perfidie* de l'Angleterre" was most vividly demonstrated by British abolitionists who were urging blacks and Indians "à massacre les Américains" much like they had during the American Revolution, he declared that "Les États-Unis ont été constamment attachés à la France: leur penchant, leurs interest, le souvenir de ce qu'ils lui doivent, ont formé cet attachement que le temps ne saurait détruire."[139] It was thus due in no small part to Lee that British travelers often claimed to be Americans when sojourning in post-Waterloo France even as visitors from the U.S. made sure not to be mistaken as Britons.[140]

Lee could not help Napoleon himself due to the fact that the former French emperor was caught *en route* to the U.S. after returning from Elba and losing the Battle of Waterloo. Bonaparte, moreover, was conveyed to St. Helena by the British admiral Sir George Cockburn, who had welcomed thousands of Chesapeake-area slaves into British lines and burned Washington, D.C. during the War of 1812.[141] Lee, however, facilitated the migration of such Bonapartist exiles as Napoleon's brother Joseph, who had been deposed in Spain by the Duke of Wellington and his Spanish *ancien régime* guerilla allies.[142] Joseph Bonaparte sold the Spanish crown jewels upon arriving in the U.S. and used the proceeds to purchase a vast amount of land

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[138] William Lee, *Les Etats-Unis et L'Angleterre: ou Souvenirs et Réflexions d'un Citoyen Américain* (Bordeaux: Chez P. Coudert, 1814), 269.
[139] Ibid., 277, 316, 343.
[140] See O'Brien, *Conjectures of Order*, 103, 139. Also see "John Quincy Adams to John Adams," Paris 24: April 1815, Adams Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.
[141] See A. James Pack, *The Man Who Burned the White House: Admiral Sir George Cockburn, 1772-1853* (1987; reprint, Annapolis: U.S. Naval Institute Press, 1998).
[142] See Graciela Iglesias Rogers, *British Liberators in the Age of Napoleon: Volunteering Under the Spanish Flag in the Peninsular War* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2013); and Thierry Gallice, *Guérilla et contre-guérilla en Catalogne (1808-1813)* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2012).

in New York's Jefferson County.[143] His residences in New York, New Jersey, and Philadelphia also became waystations for immigrant Bonapartists and magnets for prominent Democrats, among whom was James Monroe, who had been close to the *Quids* but also fondly recalled "the attention received, and good offices rendered in the [Louisiana Purchase] negotiation, by Joseph Bonaparte, the brother of the first consul, who invited me to an interview immediately after my arrival in Paris…."[144] And so the London *Literary Gazette* scoffed in 1825 that clustered about Napoleon's brother in Philadelphia was "a very curious assemblage of individuals, from most parts of the world, many of whom have taken a distinguished part in the revolutions which have afflicted the two hemispheres for the last thirty years," including "many distinguished generals of Napoleon" as well as "republican refugees from Ireland, Italy, Spain, Portugal, Brazil, &c."[145]

Bonapartists fanned out to all quarters of the U.S. from Joseph Bonaparte's homes, although William Lee advised them to avoid New England Federalist strongholds.[146] Lee therefore asked Jefferson in 1820 if a position at the new University of Virginia could be secured for "a respectable French *homme de Lettres* residing in Newport R. I.," for he lived "in a place where frenchmen are not liked particularly if they are not rich…."[147] He also convinced over a hundred of Napoleon's former officers and soldiers residing in Philadelphia and other parts of

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[143] See "William Short to Thomas Jefferson," Philada Nov: 12. 1821, Thomas Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.
[144] James Monroe, *The Memoir of James Monroe, Esq. Relating to His Unsettled Claims Upon the People and Government of the United States* (Charlottesville, VA: Gilmer, Davis, and Co., 1828), 11. See Francis Bazley Lee, "The Residence of Joseph Bonaparte in New Jersey," *American Historical Magazine*, vol. 1, no. 2 (March 1906), 178-88; Charlemagne Tower, "Joseph Bonaparte in Philadelphia and Bordentown," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. 42, no. 4 (1918), 289-309; Patricia Tyson Stroud, *The Man Who Had Been King: The American Exile of Napoleon's Brother Joseph* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014).
[145] London *Literary Gazette, and, Journal of Belles Lettres, Arts, Sciences, &c*., no. 463, (December 3, 1825), 779.
[146] See Jesse S. Reeves, *The Napoleonic Exiles in America: A Study in American Diplomatic History, 1815-1819* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1905); Albert O. Barton, "Napoleonic Soldiers in Wisconsin," *The Wisconsin Magazine of History*, vol. 4, no. 3 (March 1921), 349-54; Albert O. Barton, "More Napoleonic Soldiers Buried in Wisconsin," *The Wisconsin Magazine of History*, vol. 9, no. 2 (December 1925), 180-87; Inès Murat, *Napoleon and the American Dream*, trans. Frances Frenaye (1976; reprint, Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1981); and Simone de la Souchère Deléry, *Napoleon's Soldiers in America* (1950; reprint, Gretna, LA: Pelican Publishing Company, 1999).
[147] "From William Lee," Washington March 6. 1820, Thomas Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.

the North to settle in western Alabama, where they founded a short-lived but famous colony centered around Demopolis after Congress authorized the sale of land to them at a discounted price in 1817. Led by Napoleon's famous lieutenant general Count Lefebvre Desnoettes, who brought numerous captured battle flags and other war trophies to the colony, and Colonel Nicholas Rooul, who had accompanied Bonaparte to Elba in 1814 and was at his side during his Hundred Days return, the Bonapartists were among the earliest whites to settle the area but failed to prosper because of their lack of agricultural skill, as well as because they paid German immigrants rather to work their farms instead of using slave labor.[148] Yet while they disliked the institution of slavery, they were hardly racial egalitarians as many of them went on to fight small but vicious battles against Indians as they endeavored to wrest Texas from Mexico for the Union.

Many of the Demopolis Bonapartists sold their land to emigrating slaveholders and moved to such nearby French-inflected cities as New Orleans and Mobile, where Napoleon's former general Count Bertrand Clausel resided as a merchant before moving back to France in 1825. But Napoleon's famed general François Antoine "Charles" Lallemand and his brother Henri Lallemand, who had commanded the artillery of Napoleon's Imperial Guard, founded Champ d'Asile ("Field of Asylum") near Galveston in 1818. Facing a hostile Spanish Bourbon government which had been alarmed by their construction of forts and munitions factories rather than farms, the one-hundred-fifty or so Bonapartist soldier-settlers were decimated by Spanish-backed Indian raids despite the efforts of the famous New Orleans smuggler and War of 1812

[148] The German laborers were unruly and demanded burdensomely high wages. See John Charles Dawson, "The French in Alabama: The Vine and Olive Colony," *The French Review*, vol. 18, no. 2 (December 1944), 92-95; Kent Gardien, "The Splendid Fools: Philadelphia Origins of Alabama's Vine and Olive Colony," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. 104, no. 4 (October 1980), 491-507; and Nan Bowman Albinski, "The Vine and Olive Colony," *The Journal of General Education*, vol. 37, no. 3 (1985), 203-17.

hero Jean La Fitte to sneak in supplies from Louisiana. The survivors moved to New Orleans, where they began formulating improbable plans to rescue Napoleon from his British captors.[149]

Positive Persisting Memories of Napoleon among Democrats after 1815

Joseph Bonaparte returned to Europe in 1832 and the many of his fellow exiles followed suit even though quite a few of them had become U.S. citizens and they were all still banned from France. But they would be remembered fondly in Democratic circles thanks to their compatriots who stayed for good. The Napoleonic veteran Alexander Augustus Smets, for instance, emigrated to the U.S. in 1814 and became a wealthy merchant in Savannah. He effaced recollections of the 1811 anti-French riot there by compiling one of the largest libraries in the South (between five-to-eight thousand books) and patronizing the Savannah Library Society, where readers could peruse all twenty-three volumes of *Description de l'Egypt*, the official record of Napoleon's conquest of Egypt.[150] The Savannah Library Society also boasted multiple copies of Bonaparte's own memoir, which was compiled by the comte de Las Cases Emmanuel-Augustin-Dieudonné-Joseph and popular throughout the Union. Las Cases was a Jacobin-hating royalist who fled to Britain in 1789, but he broke with his fellow *émigrés* by returning to France after Napoleon's rise to power, renouncing the privileges hitherto attached to his title in exchange for amnesty. He gradually became a devotee of the French emperor and accompanied him to St. Helena, where he recorded their conversations until the British expelled him in 1816. John Quincy Adams had scoffed that a country delivered from the *ancien régime* at Napoleon's hands would be granted, at most, "[t]he independence of being under no external controul, but that of France," but Las Cases's *Mémorial de Sainte-Hélène* convinced many a reader on both

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[149] See Kent Gardien, "Take Pity on Our Glory: Men of Champ d'Asile," *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, vol. 87, no. 3 (January 1984), 241-68; and Rafe Blaufarb, *Bonapartists in the Borderlands: French Exiles and Refugees on the Gulf Coast, 1815-1835* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2005).

[150] See *The Children of Pride: A True Story of Georgia and the Civil War*, ed. Robert Manson Myers, vol. 1 (New York: Popular Library, 1972), 224; and O'Brien, *Conjectures of Order*, 492.

sides of the Atlantic that Napoleon had been an intrinsically democratic ruler who had saved, purified, and spread the French Revolution in hopes of establishing a United States of Europe.[151]

One such reader was Thomas Jefferson, who wrote to the Philadelphia book dealer John Laval on April 7, 1823 as follows: "Presuming that Las Cases's book respecting Bonaparte *in French* must by this time have come to Philade I will ask the favor of you to send me a copy…."[152] Laval had previously acquired a copy "des Codes Napoléon" from Paris for him, but when a French edition of Napoleon's memoir proved difficult to procure, the former president told him that he would "accept your offer of sending the English copy of Las Casas of which you say that 2. vols have appeared, and 2. others are soon expected… regretting at the same time to recieve the dicta of Buonaparte in any other than his own words."[153] Jefferson was also intrigued by a biography of the former French emperor written by Barry Edward O'Meara, an Irish Catholic surgeon who had been in Royal Navy service but tended to Napoleon at St. Helena and accused the British government of deliberately mistreating him. "I have just finished reading O'Meara's Bonaparte," he informed his old antagonist John Adams in 1823, and "it places him on a higher scale of understanding than I had allotted him. I had thought him the greatest of all military captains, but an indifferent statesman and misled by unworthy passions." "[T]his book," he added, "makes us forget his atrocities for a moment in commiseration of his sufferings," for the outrages of the *ancien régime* and Jacobins paled in comparison to Britain "putting him to death in cold blood by lingering tortures of mind, by vexations, insults, and deprivations,"

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[151] "John Quincy Adams to Thomas Boylston Adams," 20. January. 1801, Adams Family Papers, Letterbooks, Massachusetts Historical Society. See Emmanuel-Augustin-Dieudonné-Joseph, comte de Las Cases, *Mémorial de Sainte-Hélène, ou journal ou se trouve consigné, jour par jour, ce qu'a dit en fait Napoléon durant dix-huit mois* (1823; reprint, Paris: Lecointe, 1828); Emmanuel-Augustin-Dieudonné-Joseph, comte de Las Cases, *Mémorial de Sainte-Hélène: Journal of the Private Life and Conversations of the Emperor Napoleon at Saint Helena* (London: Henry Colburn & Co., 1823); and P. Gonnard, "Les impressions du Comte de Las Cases sur I'Empire français en 1812," *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine (1899-1914)*, vol. 8, no. 5 (1906/1907), 350-61.

[152] "Thomas Jefferson to John Laval," Monto Apr. 7. 23, Thomas Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.

[153] "John Laval to Thomas Jefferson," Philadelphia April 19th 1819, Thomas Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress; and "Thomas Jefferson to John Laval," Monticello Apr. 30. 23, Special Collections, University of Virginia.

exhibiting "a degree of inhumanity to which the poisonings, and assassinations of the school of Borgia & the den of Marat never attained."[154] A guest hence claimed that Jefferson had remarked with regard to Bonaparte that "'[t]hose books of O'Meara and Las Casas… have done more for him than all his victories.'"[155] Madison, moreover, wrote upon sending "the 4 last volumes of Las Cas[e]s" back to Jefferson in 1824 that, "[w]ith every allowance for the painting talent & partial pencil of the Author, the picture of Napoleon, exhibits a most gigantic mind, & with some better features than the world had seen in his character."[156] Jefferson thus made sure to procure several copies of "Las Cassas Journal of Napoleon" for the University of Virginia.[157]

Jefferson, to be sure, assured such trusted correspondents as the North Carolina *Quid* leader Nathaniel Macon that he regarded Napoleon as, on balance, a tyrant who "slaughter[ed] millions of the human race," for Bonaparte, "the holy alliance," and George IV were all "rival Scelerats to the successors of Alexander and of the Borgias."[158] But individuals seeking favors from him still commonly assumed that he had an affinity for Napoleon even before Las Cases's book was published. One Londoner hoping to become a modern languages professor at the University of Virginia, for instance, informed Jefferson in 1819 that he was no British loyalist but had rather served in "la campagne de Russie, en qualité de Commissaire, sous Buonaparte…."[159] An exiled Bonapartist in Baltimore also thought that Jefferson would

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[154] "Thomas Jefferson to John Adams," Monticello Feb. 25. 23, Adams Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.
[155] "William Hooper's Account of a Visit to Monticello," [September 20, 1823], John De Berniere Hooper Papers, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.
[156] "James Madison to Thomas Jefferson," Montpellier Aug 12. 1824, Privately Owned, Historical Document Auction 54, Profiles in History.
[157] "Cummings, Hilliard & Co. to Thomas Jefferson," Boston October 6th 1825, Special Collections, University of Virginia.
[158] "Thomas Jefferson to David Bailie Warden," Monticello Oct. 30. 22, David Warden Papers, Maryland Historical Society; and "William Hooper's Account of a Visit to Monticello," [September 20, 1823], John De Berniere Hooper Papers, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. See "Thomas Jefferson to Nathaniel Macon, Monticello Jan. 12. 19, Thomas Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress; and "Thomas Jefferson to John Brazer," Monticello Nov. 22. 19, Thomas Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.
[159] "George Blaettermann to Thomas Jefferson," London 27th of April 1819, Special Collections, University of Virginia.

like to help him because he had been a veritable "Orphelin depuis que Napoleon est prisonnier. car Je Suis proscript par les Bourbons et leurs infamês… Diplomates depuis 1815."[160] After Jefferson had reproved *Quids* who "wish[ed] to continue our dependence on England for manufactures" by avowing in an 1816 letter to the Massachusetts Democrat Benjamin Austin that "[w]e must now place the manufacturer by the side of the agriculturalist," moreover, a New Jersey publishing firm was inspired to "present him with the Life of Napoleon Bonnaparte…. His known readiness to encourage American productions, has indused them to solicit the, influence of his distinguished Name, to their subscription."[161] The Virginia planter James W. Wallace, too, "was at Monticello" in 1811 and "well remember[ed] your account of a Native grape like our common Fox grape." He sought to curry favor with Jefferson in 1822 as a result by sending him New York grape cuttings with "some… said to have been introduced by Joseph Bonaparte from France, called Muscatel…."[162] And Thomas Leiper was relieved to learn in 1823 that he had "not disobliged you by sending the Two Portraits of Bonaparte," for Jefferson informed him that "[y]our last letter… enables me to return you the thanks so long due and unrendered for the two prints of Bonaparte; being the first information I have recieved that they came from you." Besides, "the present was so magnificent that I really suspected it came from Joseph Bonaparte, or some of the refugee French Generals then with us."[163]

Jefferson even displayed a bust of Bonaparte at Monticello. As one visiting Briton described his residence in 1825, "[t]he house, though not large, is of good dimensions and its

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[160] "Gruchet to Thomas Jefferson," Baltimore Le 4 aout 1821, Thomas Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.

[161] "To Benjamin Austin," Monticello, January 9, 1816, in *Thomas Jefferson: Writings*, 1370-71; and "From Allen & Bryant," [February 18, 1820], Coolidge Collection, Massachusetts Historical Society. See *The Life of Napoleon Buonaparte: Containing Historical Sketches, & Anecdotes Illustrative of His Public & Private Character (By an American)* (Elizabethtown, NJ: Allen & Bryant, 1820). Also see "Thomas Appleton to Thomas Jefferson," Leghorn 17 Octr 1822, Thomas Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.

[162] "James W. Wallace to Thomas Jefferson," Washington April 5. 22, Thomas Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.

[163] "Thomas Leiper to Thomas Jefferson," [May 27, 1823], Thomas Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress; and "Thomas Jefferson to Thomas Leiper," Monticello May 31. 23, Columbia University Libraries.

architecture clasical. in the hall & rooms are several interesting busts & paintings. Among the busts of… conspicuous foreigners, those of Napoleon, & La Fayette."[164] A Protestant minister grandson of the Boston-born-and-educated North Carolina Federalist William Hooper, moreover, recorded the following repartee with Jefferson at Monticello: "Whose busts are those, said I, pointing to two which stood on each side of the door. 'Two of the greatest scoundrels that ever existed, Bonaparte and Alexander.' I laughed and said: I am glad to hear you speak so of Bonaparte, Mr. Jefferson. For it has become fashionable now to admire him. I have heard many young men vindicate his character, but it is certainly inconsistent in any American to do so."[165] One such youngster was Jefferson's Charlottesville protégé Nicholas P. Trist, whose brother joked in 1819 that "a thin mean looking frenchman" had recently had "the good fortune to gain *M Js* good opinion by a few of his tales, who wishing to establish the french regimen… together with the french language, pitched upon him as the very man to keep a boardinghouse." That Frenchman was "one of those characters, who after serving in the capacity of valet de chambre in *france*, & being obliged to transport himself to the *U.S.* for misdemeanour, has the insolence to affirm that we was formerly… an officer of the same rank with buonaparte. ha, ha, ha."[166] Trist married Jefferson's granddaughter Virginia Jefferson Randolph in 1824, having written to her as follows in 1822 regarding yet another laudatory biography of Napoleon: "*Who*, after reading it, can hesitate to do him justice at last, and worship him under his well earned Title of 'Napoleon the Great.'"[167] He had also told her from Mississippi that, "[a]s there are so many people going backwards and forwards, between this and virginia, I am sorry I did not bring up a

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[164] *The Diaries of Donald Macdonald, 1824-1826,* ed. Caroline Dale Snedeker (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1942), 323.
[165] "William Hooper's Account of a Visit to Monticello," [September 20, 1823], John De Berniere Hooper Papers, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.
[166] "Hore Browse Trist to Nicholas P. Trist," Oct. 19. 1819, Nicholas Trist Papers, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.
[167] "Nicholas P. Trist to Virginia J. (Randolph) Trist," La-fourche December 13th 1822, Nicholas Trist Papers, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

small miniature statue, in bronze, of Napoleon, which I have for You. I will send it to Richmond as soon as an opportunity offers."[168] Trist's widowed mother, after all, had married Etienne St. Julien de Tournillon, a French Bonapartist immigrant living in Louisiana who told his son-in-law upon learning of Napoleon's passing in 1821 that "le grand homme vivra à jamais dans la postérité: c'est une jouissance que n'a pû ni ne pourra lui ravir L'angleterre; et la conduite attroce de cette nation, ajoutera, s'il est possible, de plus grands souvenirs à Sa gloire."[169]

John C. Calhoun and the Interregnum Decline of the Pro-Bonaparte Democrats

Quite a few of the young Democrats of Trist's generation who admired Napoleon were actually named in his honor, and they looked to the pro-Bonaparte Democrat *par excellence* John C. Calhoun for guidance during a frustrating period of abeyance which coincided with the interregnum in France between the two Bonaparte emperors.[170] South Carolina's Calhoun had championed equality among whites against New England Federalist Anglophiles from his college years onward, for he was "one of the very few, who dared speak out in College in 1803-1804 when Federalism was so prevalent at Yale."[171] That university's influential Federalist president Timothy Dwight had detested Napoleon, lauded Britain, and opposed suffrage rights for lower-class whites in general and non-Anglo or non-Protestant immigrants in particular, but Calhoun defied him by claiming with respect to "emigrants from the European nations" in a debate that "[t]he effects of foreign immigration would be the improvement of manufactures –

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[168] "Nicholas P. Trist to Virginia J. (Randolph) Trist," Natche[z] March 22d 1822, Nicholas Trist Papers, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

[169] "Etienne St. Julien de Tournillon to Nicholas P. Trist," 21. août – 21, Nicholas Trist Papers, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Trist's mother, moreover, told him that "Mr D— who you know is blessed with a most retentive memory, has arrived, and gratified us by repeating verbatim, a number of Bonaparte letters, which he read in a work, Entitled, Letters of Bonaparte never before published, there is only one copy in Orleans, I advise you to procure them, for they are truly characteristick of the author…." "Mary Trist Jones Tournillon to Nicholas P. Trist," October the 3d 1820, Nicholas Trist Papers, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

[170] See "Napoleon B. Coleman to Thomas Jefferson," Flowing Springs near Cynthiana Ky Apl 18th 1819, Thomas Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress; and "Napoleon Archer to Thomas Jefferson," Mount Pleasant near Petersburg Va October 13th 1821, Coolidge Collection, Massachusetts Historical Society.

[171] "To J[oseph] G. Swift," Washington, 26th Oct[ober] 1823, *PJCC*, 8:329.

The increase of population – diffusion of science – improvement of agriculture – &c."[172] He also sided with the Democracy against Dwight by calling for the Union's remaining Protestant state churches to be disestablished. Democrats, after all, had, as John Adams told the pioneering female historian and pro-Democrat Massachusetts polemicist Mercy Otis Warren, spread rumors among "the German Lutherans… [and] all other denominations through the Union Catholics, Protestant Episcopalians Methodists Moravians, Anabaptists Menonists, Quakers &c... that I was a Presbyterian, that I was about to introduce an Establishment of Presbyterianism and compell all other denominations to pay Taxes to the Support of Presbyterian Ministers and Churches." "This," the former president added, "was the decicive Stroke of that infernal Policy which decided the Election" of 1800, for the religious minorities and dissenting Protestants "said Let Us have an Atheist or Deist or any Thing rather than an Establishment of Presbyterianism."[173]

Calhoun was a Presbyterian himself but of a secular bent, and he came to regard proudly Protestant New England Federalists as snobbish, "penurious," and even hostile toward their countrymen at Yale.[174] He thus strove to undermine their power on the national level even further upon returning to South Carolina, which was a Federalist stronghold thanks to lowcountry planter grandees who expected deference from non-elite whites and blacks alike. A defeated President Adams had already observed in late 1800 that "[t]he South Carolina Gentlemen, I mean the Mr Pinckneys Mr Rutledge &c have Acted fairly and honourably: but the

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[172] "Remarks upon the Query: Would it be politic to encourage the immigration of forreigners into the U. States?" 11 O'clock Novr. 2d. 1803, *PJCC*, 1:10-11. See Alfred Owen Aldridge, "Timothy Dwight's Posthumous Gift to British Theology," *American Literature*, vol. 21, no. 4 (January 1950), 479-81; and Robert J. Imholt, "Timothy Dwight, Federalist Pope of Connecticut," *The New England Quarterly*, vol. 73, no. 3 (September 2000), 386-411. Also see Gary B. Nash, "The American Clergy and the French Revolution," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, vol. 22, no. 3 (July 1965), 392-412.

[173] "John Adams to Mercy Otis Warren," Quincy August 8 1807, Warren-Adams Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.

[174] "To Andrew Pickens Jr., Pendleton District, S.C.," New Haven 23rd May 1803, *PJCC*, 1:10. For Calhoun's marked secularity, see "Louisa Catherine Johnson Adams to John Adams," [November 22-December 4, 1820], Adams Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.

State has not been within their Influence and I have been all along of Opinion that the Majority of that State was essentially against Us."[175] Calhoun finished off the Federalists there as a Democratic state legislator by securing voting rights for all South Carolina white men in an 1809 state constitutional reform.[176] His father, after all, came from a hardscrabble origin but ended up as a prosperous upcountry slaveholder, and so Calhoun would proudly assert the following as a young Democratic congressman: "Where, in this country, shall we look for genius and talent? Most indubitably in the middle ranks, in the lower ranks in preference to the higher…."[177]

Britain, in contrast, looked to the upper class in Calhoun's view. Few congressmen were more hostile to the British Empire and its actual or perceived admirers within the U.S. than Calhoun, who had averred after the 1807 *Leopard* naval incident that Britain was endangering "our Independence as a nation." "[E]mulating the glorious example of '76," he endorsed Jefferson's "suspension of Commercial intercourse with Great Britain and her dominions…," resolving "[t]hat full confidence is reposed in the Wise and Patriotic Administration of our General Government."[178] Yet the Royal Navy continued to assail U.S. shipping and impress U.S. sailors with impunity, and so Calhoun claimed upon entering Congress in 1811 that Britain was "sapping the foundations of our prosperity" by waging "a desolating war upon our unprotected commerce."[179] The British, he insisted, were imposing a *de facto* "system of blockade" upon the Union, and he declared in a May 1812 speech that Britain was "arrogating to herself the complete dominion of the Ocean, and exercising over it an unbounded and lawless

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[175] "John Adams to William Tudor," Washington Decr 25. 1800, Tudor-Adams Correspondence, Massachusetts Historical Society. John Quincy Adams, moreover, lamented in 1804 with regard to the Federalists that "in the Southern States they are apparently dwindling away to nothing at-all." "John Quincy Adams to Louisa Catherine Adams," Quincy 7. October 1804, Adams Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.
[176] See Wilentz, *The Rise of American Democracy*, 118, 146.
[177] "First Speech on the Military Academies Bill," January 2, 1816, *PJCC*, 1:287. See "Speech on the Apportionment Bill," December 5, 1811, *PJCC*, 1:72; and O'Brien, *Conjectures of Order*, 370.
[178] "Resolutions on the Chesapeake-Leopard Affair," [Abbeville, Aug. 3, 1807], *PJCC*, 1:36-37.
[179] "Report on Relations with Great Britain, November 29, 1811," *PJCC*, 1:64, 66.

tyranny," warning as well that "if we submit to the pretensions of England, now openly avowed, the independence of this nation is lost – we will be, as to our commerce, re-colonised."[180]

Calhoun became a leading advocate of warring against Britain as a result, and while he was not surprised to meet vehement opposition from the New England Federalists, he was angered to encounter just as vociferous objections from John Randolph's Old Republicans, who condemned him for having asserted that the "[a]dministration of our General Government ought in all cases requiring vigorous exertions of the National Power to be supported, confirmed, and emboldened by a hearty co-operation of the community."[181] Had Congressman Randolph's desire for a weak federal government prevailed in the past, an annoyed Calhoun remarked in 1811, the Union would have become not a "mighty empire, with prouder prospects than any nation the sun ever shone on," but rather "vile subjected colonies; governed by that imperious rod which Britain holds over her distant provinces."[182] Calhoun wanted Americans to acquire "the love of greatness – the consciousness of strength," but Randolph worried that a strong military would lead to tyranny and obstructed Calhoun's efforts to ready the U.S. for battle against Britain.[183] They both claimed to oppose Federalist consolidation in the name of state's rights, but Randolph regarded Calhoun's pressuring of the states to let the U.S. government freely exercise its properly delegated powers as a new and more insidious form of consolidation. He accordingly denounced Calhoun as a "War Hawk" for urging that "the President be authorized to order out, from time to time, such detachments of the Militia as, in his opinion, the public service may require." Randolph and his *Quid* supporters also decried the South

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[180] "Speech on the Report of the Foreign Relations Committee," December 12, 1811, *PJCC*, 1:80; and "Speech on the Albany Petition for Repeal of the Embargo," May 6, 1812, *PJCC*, 1:110.
[181] "Resolutions on the Chesapeake-Leopard Affair," *op. cit.*, 1:34-35. See "Report on the Causes and Reasons for War," June 3, 1812, *PJCC*, 1:113.
[182] "Speech on the Report of the Foreign Relations Committee," December 12, 1811, *PJCC*, 1:82-83.
[183] "Speech on the Merchants' Bonds," December 8, 1812, *PJCC*, 1:145. See "Speech on the Report of the Foreign Relations Committee," *op. cit.*, 1:80-81.

Carolinian's efforts to maximize "the military establishment as authorized by existing laws" by "filling up the ranks & prolonging the enlistments of the troops." Calhoun's 1811 proposal to raise "an additional force of ten thousand regular troops" by offering "a bounty in lands" to each three-year recruit was, in their view, a plot to consolidate the Union and subvert liberty that surpassed any of Adams's alleged schemes, and so they scorned his assurances that while "[t]he ardent patriotism of our young men, and the reasonable bounty in land, which is proposed to be given, will impel them to join their country's standard and fight her battles; they will not forget the citizen in the soldier, and in obeying their officer learn to contemn their Constitution."[184]

The Old Republicans began to infuriate rather than merely annoy Calhoun when they continued to maintain their "opposition to the general government in relation to the states" during the War of 1812.[185] They started stoking "conflict between the states and general government" as soon as the war began by urging state governors to resist the federalization of state militias and denouncing direct federal taxes upon the citizenry as tyrannical consolidation, "render[ing] it difficult, I may say impossible, to originate one that will not excite discontent."[186] Calhoun held Madison responsible in part for U.S. military setbacks, to be sure, but the president's shortcomings paled in comparison to *Quid* obstruction because "[t]he organization of the government I do not think is much to blame. Fairly administered it is a strong government."[187] Calhoun therefore declared in Congress with reference to the Old Republicans that he would never "[t]rust the government to those who are hostile to it! Who prefer their own interest and rights, to its interest and rights!"[188] Randolph, in turn, accused him "of the desertion of his former associates from the minority principles of '98," in which year Virginia and

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[184] "Report on Relations with Great Britain, November 29, 1811, *PJCC*, 1:68-69, 81.
[185] "Speech on the Bill for an Additional Military Force," January 14, 1813, *PJCC*, 1:151.
[186] "Speech on Suspension of Non-Importation," June 24, 1812, *PJCC*, 1:129.
[187] "To Dr. James Macbride, Charleston, S.C.," Washington 25th Decbr 1812, *PJCC*, 1:146.
[188] "Speech on the Bill for an Additional Military Force," *op. cit.*, 1:151-52.

Kentucky had nullified President Adams's Alien and Sedition Acts at the behest of Jefferson and Madison.[189] An exasperated Calhoun responded by calling the *Quids* traitors, for it was one thing to invoke what he would come to call Radical state's rights against Federalists but quite another against fellow Democrats. He thus began describing the Old Republican Radicals by 1814 as a "factious opposition," the object of which "was to embarrass and weaken government" as it "lost no opportunity to throw impediments in the way of every measure. It had two other concomitants; the one a violence and vehemence not warranted by any considerations of expediency; and the other urging of measures, which, if adopted, must lead to national ruin."[190]

Calhoun was appalled that Radicals would imperil the U.S. war effort alongside the Essex Junto when they knew full well that New England Federalists had already been cynically invoking Radical state's rights to undermine a Democratic and hence anti-British federal government before the war.[191] He accordingly declared that "[i]t is the duty of every section to bear whatever the general interest may demand," for "Carolina makes no complaint about the difficulties of the times. If she feels embarrassments, she turns her indignation not against her own government, but against the common enemy…. She would be even proud to be pre-eminent in suffering, if by that the general good could be promoted."[192] The Junto, however, responded by openly endorsing the abolitionist doctrines of "the common enemy." Calhoun had already been disconcerted to see New England Federalists who were hostile toward equality among whites evince sympathy for enslaved and free blacks at Yale, and he was aghast but not surprised to see racially egalitarian British abolitionism emerge in New England during the war, for Britain wanted the Union to be characterized by "sacked towns, bombarded cities, ruined commerce, and

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[189] "Speech on the Bill for an Additional Military Force," January 14, 1813, *PJCC*, 1:151.
[190] "Speech on the Dangers of 'Factious Opposition,'" January 15, 1814, *PJCC*, 1:198.
[191] See "Resolutions on the Chesapeake-Leopard Affair," [Abbeville, Aug. 3, 1807], *PJCC*, 1:36.
[192] "Speech on the Merchants' Bonds," December 8, 1812, *PJCC*, 1:142.

revolting blacks."[193] British soldiers freed nearly 3,000 slaves from the Sea Islands and Chesapeake in 1814 and '15, enlisting about 400 of them as guides or sailors while re-settling the rest in Nova Scotia and the Caribbean as British subjects who were legally equal to their white neighbors.[194] Sir Edward Pakenham's 1815 attack on New Orleans also featured two West India regiments composed of black British subjects, and so Andrew Jackson's victory there was especially "glorious news" to Calhoun, who hoped Britain's "loss to be 4,000 with Packenham and Gibbs killed…."[195] The Battle of New Orleans, moreover, halted the momentum of the Federalists who were calling for New England to secede at the Hartford Convention, the convoking of which supposedly proved that New England's "ignominious" Federalists were "friends of England" who were willing to destroy the Union if they could not bend it to Britain's will.[196] Calhoun, after all, had warned in 1812 that British agents were working with New England Federalists to "dismember our Union," advancing such purported schemes as "proof that there is no bound to the hostility of the British Government, towards the United States…."[197]

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[193] "Speech on the Bill for an Additional Military Force," January 14, 1813, *PJCC*, 1:158. See "To Robert Cresswell, Laurens, S.C.," Washington 10th March 1812, *PJCC*, 1:92. Also see Matthew Mason, "'Nothing Is Better Calculated to Excite Divisions': Federalist Agitation against Slave Representation during the War of 1812," *The New England Quarterly*, vol. 75, no. 4 (December 2002), 531-61. For muted but unmistakable pro-racial equality sentiment among anti-slavery northerners in the early nineteenth century, see Paul P. Polgar, "'To Raise Them to an Equal Participation': Early National Abolitionism, Gradual Emancipation, and the Promise of African American Citizenship," *Journal of the Early Republic*, vol. 31, no. 2 (Summer 2011), 229-58; and Nic Wood, "Considerations of Humanity and Expediency: The Slave Trades and African Colonization in the Early National Antislavery Movement" (PhD Dissertation; Charlottesville: University of Virginia, 2013). For the Anglophile sentiments and British links of such anti-slavery Americans, see Frank Thistlethwaite, *The Anglo-American Connection in the Early Nineteenth Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1959).

[194] See Alan Taylor, *The Internal Enemy: Slavery and War in Virginia, 1772-1832* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2013), 245-75; and Gene Allen Smith, *The Slaves' Gamble: Choosing Sides in the War of 1812* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).

[195] "To Patrick Noble, Abbeville, S.C.," Washington 11th Feb 1815, *PJCC*, 1:274-75. See Bryan Dyde, *The Empty Sleeve: The Story of the West India Regiments in the British Army* (St. John's, Antigua: Hansib, 1997).

[196] "Speech on the Bill for an Additional Military Force," January 14, 1813, *PJCC*, 1:156. See "Comment on the Massachusetts Memorial," June 29, 1813, *PJCC*, 1:178. "They threaten a devision in N. England," Calhoun informed his brother-in-law from Congress in November 1814, "and many here dread it." "To Lt. Col. Andrew Pickens, Pendleton, S.C.," Washington 1st Novr 1814, *PJCC*, 1:260.

[197] "Report on the Causes and Reasons for War," June 3, 1812, *PJCC*, 1:117.

The War of 1812 was a success for Calhoun despite the machinations of Radicals and Federalists insofar as Americans were fighting to preserve "our liberty and independence," for the U.S. repelled or at least withstood the attacks of a Britain "repossessed with the ambition and projects that inspired her in the year '76" during what he called "the war of the Revolution revived."[198] Indeed, a more or less successful mobilization of "the whole american Nation" on behalf of impressed U.S. sailors to "avenge their wrongs, and vindicate the right and honor of the Country," even induced Britain to repeal "[t]he Orders in Council… that system by which it was vainly attempted to monopolize our trade and to recolonize the American nation."[199] Calhoun had predicted at the war's onset that it would be the case that "common danger unites all – strengthens the bonds of society, and feeds the flame of patriotism. The national character acquires energy. In exchange for the expences of war, you obtain military and naval skill, and a more perfect organization of such parts of your government as is connected with the science of national defence."[200] He wanted to meet the war's cost *via* direct federal taxation, which he asserted was constitutional even in times of peace but a clear military necessity in war: "To lay a tax is a painful thing; but we must either submit or have money."[201] He therefore "rejoice[d] to hear my constituents are ready to support the cause of the country with so much Zeal; and that they so clearly perceive the necessity of Taxes," which would, after all, "fall light on the upper country" but hard upon the wealthy lowcountry elites.[202] And Calhoun was even happier to assert in an 1814 speech that "[w]e have also acquired in some degree and are progressively

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[198] "Speech on the Military Situation," October 25, 1814, *PJCC*, 1:258-59.
[199] "Report on the Causes and Reasons for War," June 3, 1812, *PJCC*, 1:113; and "Speech on the Bill for an Additional Military Force," January 14, 1813, *PJCC*, 1:158-59.
[200] "Speech on Suspension of Non-Importation," June 24, 1812, *PJCC*, 1:133. See "Speech on the Merchants' Bonds," December 8, 1812, *PJCC*, 1: 143.
[201] "To Patrick Calhoun, Abbeville S.C.," Washington 24th Jany 1812, *PJJC*, 1:89-90. "Our finances it is acknowledged are much deranged," Calhoun explained in 1814, "and it is also admitted on all sides, that they can be restored by a vigorous system of taxes." "Speech on the Military Situation," *op. cit.*, 1:255.
[202] "To Patrick Noble, Abbeville, S.C.," W[ashington] C[ity], 22d. March 1812, *PJJC*, 1:95; and "To Patrick Calhoun, Abbeville S.C.," *op. cit.*, 1:89-90.

acquiring, what appears indispensable in the present state of man and the world; military skill and means, combined with the tone of thinking and feeling necessary to their use."[203]

Calhoun hoped that large, proficient, and highly motivated U.S. armies would be able to expel Britain from North America by taking "possession of Canada," and he believed that the U.S. failed to accomplish that feat due not just to Radical and Federalist obstruction but also the unexpected fall of Napoleonic France, which he and many other Americans regarded as a *de facto* ally against a common enemy.[204] Calhoun knew that Britain could not reinforce British North America so long as it had to contend with Napoleon in Europe, and neither could British North America help Britain against Bonaparte upon being invaded by the Union.[205] Napoleon's April 1814 abdication allowed thousands of British veterans to be redeployed in North America as a result, and they burned the U.S. capital after scattering state militia regiments at the Battle of Bladensburg. Admiral Cockburn, moreover, took particular pleasure in razing Maryland's Havre de Grace, which was named in honor of La Fayette after he likened its environs to the French port of Le Havre during the American Revolution, a favorite stop-over for Calhoun when traveling to or from the capital, and heroically defended by the Irish immigrant Lieutenant John O'Neill.[206] Calhoun, however, was determined to fight on regardless, mordantly remarking that at least Radicals and Federalists could no longer accuse him of being a mere tool of Napoleon.[207]

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[203] "Speech on the Loan Bill," February 25, 1814, *PJCC*, 1:237.
[204] "To Robert Cresswell, Laurens, S.C.," Washington 10th March 1812, *PJCC*, 1:93. See "Speech on the Loan Bill," February 25, 1814, *PJCC*, 1:231; Lawrence S. Kaplan, "France and the War of 1812," *The Journal of American History*, vol. 57, no. 1 (June 1970), 36-47; and Reginald Horsman, "On to Canada: Manifest Destiny and United States Strategy in the War of 1812," *Michigan Historical Review*, vol. 13, no. 2 (Fall 1987), 1-24.
[205] See "To Patrick Calhoun," Washington, 13th Jany 1812 [1813], *PJCC*, 1:149-50; and "Speech on the Bill for an Additional Military Force," January 14, 1813, *PJCC* 1:158.
[206] See "To Andrew Pickens [Jr.]," Havre de Grace Maryd. 25th June, 1805, *PJCC*, 1:14. Maryland's Frenchtown was also a common waystation for travelers heading to the capital. See "John Quincy Adams to John Adams," Washington 3. Novr: 1804, Adams Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society. It too suffered at Cockburn's hands.
[207] See "Speech on the Military Situation," October 25, 1814, *PJCC*, 1:254. Also see "Speech on the Loan Bill," *op. cit.*, 1:225.

Randolph had accused Calhoun of seeking to sacrifice the Union "on the altar of *French rapacity, perfidy and ambition*" by making it "instrumental to his [*i.e.* Napoleon's] projects of universal dominion." "Ask yourselves," he declaimed in May 1812, "if you are willing to become the virtual allies of Bonaparte?"[208] Yet he also surmised that Calhoun regarded Napoleon as much more than a mere patron or pragmatic ally, for the "War Hawks" were not only seeking to make the U.S. "a partner in his wars" but "a party to his views."[209] The Virginian had long since repudiated his pro-French Revolution sympathies, but Calhoun was predisposed to think the best of Napoleon thanks to his own unflagging Francophile proclivities, having read law in Charleston after graduating from Yale with the Huguenot Federalist Henry William De Saussure. Prosperous Huguenots there leaned Federalist in the 1790s because they favored internal improvements and disliked Radical state's rights, but unlike northeastern Federalists, they had precious little sympathy for Britain or Anglo-Protestant chauvinism in general. They naturally flocked to Calhoun as Federalist power waned in South Carolina, where they supported him in his many intra-party struggles with Radicals.[210] And their alliance was cemented by Calhoun's marriage to Floride Bonneau Colhoun, whose Huguenot mother had married Calhoun's relative the Democratic U.S. senator for South Carolina John E. Colhoun.[211]

Calhoun regarded hostility toward Britain as an article of Democratic faith and a vital component of American nationality alongside most other Democrats, who shared his belief that the French Revolution was inspired by French officers and soldiers who had saved the American

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[208] "To the Freeholders of Charlotte, Prince Edward, Buckingham, and Cumberland," May 30, 1812, in Russell Kirk, *John Randolph of Roanoke: A Study in American Politics* (1951; reprint, Indianapolis, IN: Liberty Press, 1978), 240.
[209] "Speech Against War with England," [House of Representatives], December 10, 1811, in Kirk, *op. cit.*, 378.
[210] See "From Henry W. DeSaussure," Columbia, S.C., 13th Octo[ber] 1819, *PJCC*, 4:371-72. Also see Margaret Kinard Latimer, "South Carolina – A Protagonist of the War of 1812," *The American Historical Review*, vol. 61, no. 4 (July 1956), 914-29.
[211] See "To Mrs. Floride Colhoun, New Port, R.I.," Abbeville 7th Sepr. 1810, *PJCC*, 1:54; and "From Henry W. DeSaussure," Columbia, [S.C.,] Sept[embe]r 5th 1819, *PJCC*, 4:299-300. Also see "To Virgil Maxcy, Annapolis, Md.," Washington 2d. May 1812, *PJCC*, 1:101; "To H[enry] Wheaton, 'Private,'" Bedford Springs, [Pa.,] 2d Sep[tembe]r 1821, *PJCC*, 6:365; and "To V[irgil] Maxcy, 'Private,'" Washington, 25th May 1823, *PJCC*, 7:542.

Revolution. John Adams accordingly observed in 1801 that while "[t]he French Revolution was become unpopular" even among some Democrats thanks to Jacobin heresies and excesses, "a War with France was not become popular. on the contrary the Sense of the People has been always in favour of a friendly Connection with France, Spain and holland, as the best Security to keep the British in Awe." "For myself," he added, "I have been, from 1786 to this moment a uniform detester of the French Revolution, as far as I could judge of it."[212] Radical Democrats began to second that sentiment by 1800, but Calhoun represented an opposite pole on the Democratic political spectrum because he and his compatriots viewed Napoleon as having rescued the French Revolution by championing equality among whites and white supremacy. Insisting that Bonaparte's new imperial regime was still "democratic" even if it was no longer republican, Calhoun viewed the differences in governmental form between Napoleonic France and Jeffersonian America as trivial when compared to the "[s]trong differences" extant between the U.S. and Britain, which promoted racially egalitarian abolitionism and exercised "prerogative[s] over her subjects."[213] He thus wished Napoleon success against the British and their *ancien régime* allies in Europe, remarking in an 1805 letter that he had read "Bonapart's speech before the [French] senate on his departure from Paris to take command of the army on the Rine…," and that he was just as "full of confidence in victory" as Napoleon himself.[214] And when Calhoun met Jefferson for the first time in 1805, he spread a rumor which he heard from him that a French naval force had left for the British West Indies, exulting that "it is certainly a lesson to the English that her foreign possessions are not so secure as she imagined…."[215]

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[212] "John Adams to Thomas Boylston Adams," Washington January 24 1801, Adams Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.
[213] "Speech on the Commercial Treaty with Great Britain," January 9, 1816, *PJCC*, 1:313; and "Speech on the Bill for an Additional Military Force," January 14, 1813, *PJCC*, 1:159.
[214] "To Andrew Pickens [Jr.]," Litchfield 24th. Novr. 1805, *PJCC*, 1:23.
[215] "To Andrew Pickens [Jr.]," Havre de Grace Maryd. 25th June, 1805, *PJCC*, 1:14.

Calhoun also tended to excuse unfriendly acts on Napoleon's part toward the Union, as when he characterized the French emperor's Berlin and Milan decrees of non-importation and blockade against Britain as fully warranted measures of retaliation against the Orders in Council.[216] "France, too," he admitted, had "often committed injuries on neutral trade…. But without wishing to apologize for her, I conceive there has been a marked distinction (arising out of her situation) between her conduct and England."[217] The Radicals, in contrast, concurred with New England Federalists who asserted "that *[t]he decrees of France* lately issued are direct infractions of our treaty with that power & inimical to the law & rights of nations, those of *G Britain* are more justifiable as they… are only in retaliation of the decrees of that Tyrant *Bonaparte*."[218] They were dismayed but unsurprised to see an already disappointing Jefferson administration move even further in Calhoun's pro-Bonaparte direction as a result, for as the president mused in November 1807 that "Bonaparte's pretended answers to queries" affirming that he would extend his decrees to U.S. shipping in full force were probably "fabricated in Boston to counteract the war-news from England then afloat."[219] And Attorney General Caesar A. Rodney had decided that, on balance, "England has done us much more injury than France…. She impresses our seamen, and… [s]he has attacked a national vessel."[220] When Napoleon unambiguously exempted U.S. shipping from his decrees in May 1810 and Britain responded by making the Orders in Council even more stringent, Calhoun thus exulted that "it affords a subject of sincere congratulation to be informed through the official organs of the

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[216] See "Report on the Causes and Reasons for War," June 3, 1812, *PJCC*, 1:118-19; and "Debate on the Turreau Letter," January 11, 1814, *PJCC*, 1:188.
[217] "Speech on the Loan Bill," February 25, 1814, *PJCC*, 1:222.
[218] "'Boston Inhabitants' to Thomas Jefferson," Boston New England 4h Mch 1808, Thomas Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.
[219] "Thomas Jefferson to John Minor," Washington Novr. 25. 07, Coolidge Collection, Massachusetts Historical Society.
[220] "Caesar A. Rodney to Thomas Jefferson," Wilmington Dec. 6th. 1808, Thomas Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.

government, that those decrees are, so far at least as our rights are concerned, really & practically at an end."[221] The French emperor, moreover, bestowed that favor upon the Union even though British ships had been "sailing under American flags" in hopes of skirting his decrees, and the previously "harsh interpretation put by Bonaparte, on his return from Poland, on his decree of Nover. 1806, was," the Swiss-born and French-descended Secretary of the Treasury Albert Gallatin asserted in February 1808, "owing to his being much acquainted with the fraud."[222]

Randolph, in contrast, agreed with the New England Federalists that Napoleon would pose a dire threat to the U.S. but for Britain, which was fighting "for London and Westminster, for life; her enemy violating at will the territories of other nations – acquiring thereby a colossal power that threatens the very existence of her rival."[223] Calhoun, however, dismissed Radical and Federalist assertions that Britain was a blessing to the U.S. as a "barrier against the military despotism of France" because the British Empire was, in his view, a far greater military and ideological threat to the Union.[224] His relations with Randolph steadily deteriorated as the Virginian continued to warn that "the arch-fiend who is grasping at the sceptre of the civilized world" had designs on Mexico, Florida, and even Louisiana, accusing "War Hawk" Democrats as well of being not just a paid agents of France but aspiring Bonapartists themselves who would like to emulate their French mentors by "ground[ing] down man to a mere machine of their impious and bloody ambition."[225] Calhoun therefore informed his Huguenot mother-in-law on December 21, 1811 that "I am invited to a ball to the French minister's on monday next, and to dine with him on Christmas day; but for political reasons have declined his invitation. I do not

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[221] "Report on the Causes and Reasons for War," June 3, 1812, *PJCC*, 1:118. See "Report on Relations with Great Britain," November 29, 1811, *PJCC*, 1:65.
[222] "Albert Gallatin to Thomas Jefferson," Feby. 27. 1808, Thomas Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.
[223] "Debate on Mr. Gregg's Motion," [House of Representatives], March 5, 1806, in Kirk, *John Randolph of Roanoke*, 345-46.
[224] "Report on Relations with Great Britain," November 29, 1811, *PJCC*, 1:84. See ibid., 1:83.
[225] "Speech Against War with England," [House of Representatives], December 10, 1811, in Kirk, *op. cit.*, 373, 378. See "Speech on the Report of the Foreign Relations Committee," December 12, 1811, *PJCC*, 1:83-84.

think at this time when a war is expected with England that much intimacy should exist with the minister of her rival; particularly as our opponents accuse us with partia[l]ity towards France."[226]

Calhoun never forgave Randolph and his fellow Radicals for "abusing the French Emperor" and associating themselves with the New England Federalists as traitorous tools of "our deadly enemy" during the War of 1812.[227] He was particularly incensed to see Radicals and New England Federalists side with Britain on the basis of Anglo ethnic solidarity, as well as "[b]ecause Bonaparte is not a Protestant…."[228] Randolph, after all, assured "a New England Senator" in an 1814 public letter that, even as U.S. soldiers battled British forces, his "sympathy" in Britain's struggle against Napoleonic France was "for the descendants of Alfred and Bacon, and Shakespeare, and Milton, and Locke, on whom I love to look back as my illustrious countrymen...."[229] Yet because Jefferson's son-in-law John Wayles Eppes had defeated him in a rancorous 1813 congressional election, Randolph could do little to prevent Calhoun from convincing Congress at the end of 1814 to introduce "one uniform system of discipline" for all U.S. regiments that was based upon the Napoleonic conscription procedures detailed in "'the rules and regulations for the field exercise and manoeuvres of the French Infantry,' as translated by [John] MacDonald…."[230] "I cannot help feeling something very much like contempt for my

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[226] "To Mrs. Floride Colhoun Senr, Charleston, S.C.," Washington 21st Decr. 1811, *PJCC*, 1:87.

[227] "Remarks on the Maryland Memorial," February 2, 1814, *PJCC*, 1:203; and "Speech on the Bill for an Additional Military Force," January 14, 1813, *PJCC*, 1:152. See "Speech on the Albany Petition for Repeal of the Embargo," May 6, 1812, *PJCC*, 1:106.

[228] "Speech on the Bill for an Additional Military Force," *op. cit.*, 1:159. See ibid., 1:154.

[229] "John Randolph to a New England Senator," Philadelphia, December 15, 1814, in Kirk, *John Randolph of Roanoke*, 262.

[230] "Resolution and Remarks on Army Supplies and Discipline," November 10, 1814, *PJCC*, 1:263; and "Resolution for a New System of Army Discipline," December 24, 1814, *PJCC* 1:273. See "To Dr James Macbride, Charleston, S.C.," Washington 18th April 1812, *PJCC*, 1:99; "Speech on the Merchants' Bonds," December 8, 1812, *PJCC*, 1:143; and "Resolution for a New System of Army Discipline," *op. cit.*, 1:273. Also see Irenée Amelot de Lacroix, *Rules and Regulations for the Field Exercise, and Manoeuvres of the French Infantry: Issued August 1, 1791: And the Manoeuvres added, which have been since adopted by the Emperor Napoleon: Also, the Manoeuvres of the Field Artillery with Infantry*, trans. John Macdonald (Boston: T. B. Wait and Co., 1810).

poor foolish fellow-mortals," an embittered Randolph had accordingly remarked in 1813, "and would often consign them to Bonaparte in this world, and the devil, his master, in the next…."[231]

Like Randolph, John Quincy Adams was pleased to observe in 1815 that the "Iron Crown of Bonaparte" would now "moulder into ashes," but Calhoun lamented that the Union was now "the only government in the world" opposed to a British-dominated global order predicated upon inequality among whites.[232] Napoleon's downfall had dashed his hopes that a definitive British defeat would allow the U.S. and France to institute equality among whites across their respective continents, but at least the Union managed to avoid being sucked down "into the vortex" of British dominion even though his fears came to fruition that Britain and its *ancien régime* allies would manage to "impose a government on France, which she refused to receive; an object so detestable, that an avowal dare not be made."[233] Yet Calhoun was determined for the Union to pick up where it left off in 1815 upon becoming Secretary of War in 1817, and while the U.S. could not expect to receive help from a France which was now in "thralldom" to Britain, French Bonapartists would surely flock to assist the Union against the British.[234] Such pro-Bonaparte French-Americans as Phillippe Villeré, after all, played vital roles in Andrew Jackson's victory at New Orleans. Major General Villeré was a Catholic Democrat who had been an official during the French Empire's brief administration of Louisiana, and he commanded the Louisiana militia at the Battle of New Orleans, before which British soldiers plundered his plantation and freed dozens of his slaves. He also became the first French Creole U.S. governor of Louisiana,

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[231] "John Randolph to Francis Scott Key," Roanoke, May 10, 1813, in Kirk, *op. cit*., 244.

[232] "John Quincy Adams to Louisa Catherine Adams," Bruxelles. Hotel de Flandre 27 Jany: 1815, Adams Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society; and "To C[harles] Tait, [Claiborne, Ala.]," War Dep[artmen]t, 20th May 1820, *PJCC*, 5:132. See "From Brig. Gen. Thomas S. Jesup," Q[uarte]r Master Gen[era]l[']s Office, March 31, 1820, *PJCC*, 4:745-46; "To John E[wing] Colhoun," Washington, 6th May 1821, *PJCC*, 6:99; and "To A[ndrew] Jackson," Washington, 30th March 1823, *PJCC*, 7:550.

[233] "Speech on the Loan Bill," February 25, 1814, *PJCC*, 1:214; and "Speech on the Report of the Foreign Relations Committee," December 12, 1811, *PJCC*, 1:77. See "Speech on Suspension of Non-Importation," June 24, 1812, *PJCC*, 1:132.

[234] "Speech on the Commercial Treaty with Great Britain," January 9, 1816, *PJCC*, 1:313.

in which capacity he urged Secretary of War Calhoun to utilize hired-out slaves as fortification-builders working under military discipline, for field works built by impressed slaves had facilitated Jackson's 1815 victory.[235] The Quebec-born colonel Pierre Denis De La Ronde, moreover, led Irish Catholics and French Creoles into battle against black British soldiers at the Battle of New Orleans, and the commander of the New Orleans militia Jean Baptiste Plauché went on to become an ardent Democrat who rescued his old friend Jackson from financial distress in the early 1840s.[236] And the Prioress of the New Orleans Ursuline convent Mother Ste. Marie Olivier de Vezin even vowed to sing an annual Mass of Thanksgiving in the event of a British defeat, and Jackson made sure to visit her convent after the battle to thank her nuns, who had nursed wounded U.S. soldiers with much assistance from their collectively-owned slaves.[237]

Secretary of War Calhoun attempted to purchase "good French arms" (*i.e.* Napoleonic surplus) from Louis XVIII, but he was not surprised that the Bourbon king would only offer such insultingly inferior weapons as "*[l]e Fusil compose*, a Musket made up of detached Limbs taken from old or damaged arms."[238] Louis XVIII refused to sell Napoleonic artillery technology as well, and so the U.S. army "modified the [old] French system, proved by long experience to be

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[235] See "From J[ames] M[onroe]," Nov[embe]r 25, 1820, *PJCC*, 5:452. Villeré's son Major Gabriel Villeré also made a famously daring escape from British troops to warn Jackson of the foe's arrival before the Battle of New Orleans. See Walter Greaves Cowan and Jack B. McGuire, *Louisiana Governors: Rulers, Rascals, and Reformers* (Oxford: University of Mississippi Press, 2008), 63-68.

[236] See Stanley Clisby Arthur, *The Story of the Battle of New Orleans* (New Orleans: Louisiana Historical Society, 1915), 240-42; Grace Elizabeth King, *Creole Families of New Orleans* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1921), 313-16; A. J. Langguth, *Union 1812: The Americans who Fought the Second War of Independence* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2006), 352; and Mark R. Cheathem, *Andrew Jackson, Southerner* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2013), 185.

[237] See John Fialka, *Sisters: Catholic Nuns and the Making of America* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2003), 73; and Emily Clark, *Masterless Mistresses: The New Orleans Ursulines and the Development of a New World Society, 1727-1834* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 161-62. Also see Sister Jane Frances Heaney, *A Century of Pioneering: A History of the Ursuline Nuns in New Orleans (1727-1827)* (New Orleans: Ursuline Sisters of New Orleans, Louisiana, 1993).

[238] "From Decius Wadsworth," Ordnance Office, July 13, 1818, *PJCC*, 2:378; and "From Decius Wadsworth," Ordnance Office, July 16, 1818, *PJCC*, 2:390.

exempt from capital defects, tho' susceptible of improvement…."[239] John Quincy Adams, after all, suspected that Louis XVIII had been planning to "declare War against the United States, and make a common cause with England" in 1815, although the new king balked "because it would too violently shock the Sentiments of the French Nation which were all in our favour."[240] Yet Louis XVIII did allow French Bonapartists to leave for America, although he was protecting himself rather than conferring favors upon the Union by doing so. Henri Lallemand of Champ d'Asile fame, after all, had attempted to overthrow Louis XVIII when Napoleon was in exile at Elba.[241] And Secretary of War Calhoun urged him to pen an artillery treatise upon returning to Philadelphia from Texas, and Lallemand thanked him for "the conversation which I had the honor to have with you & also the encouragement which I received from many respectable officers of the Am[erican] Army."[242] Calhoun, in turn, wrote that "I have examined your treatise upon Artillery &c. and am of opinion it deserves the encouragement of this Department."[243]

Much as Calhoun hoped like Jefferson to transplant French vines in America, he encouraged Bonapartists to bring their "skill and industry" to the U.S. by offering them and likeminded French-Americans political favors, commissions, and War Department contracts.[244] The Irish Protestant immigrant, Catholic-friendly advocate of religious toleration, and anti-British rebel of 1798 William Sampson hence informed Jefferson in 1819 that "the son of my

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[239] "From D[ecius] Wadsworth," 8/28 [1819], *PJCC*, 4:279-81. See "To Richard M. Johnson, Chairman, House Committee on Military Affairs," Department of War, 3d Decem[be]r 1818, *PJCC*, 3:335.
[240] "John Quincy Adams to John Adams," Paris 24: April 1815, Adams Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.
[241] See Reeves, *The Napoleonic Exiles in America*, 27-28.
[242] "From H[enr]I [Dominque] Lallemand, Washington, December 3th [sic] 1819, *PJCC*, 4:467.
[243] "To H[enri Dominque] Lall[e]mand, Philadelphia," Dep[art]m[en]t of War, April 14, 1820, *PJCC*, 5:36. See "Col. John R. Fenwick to [Christopher] Vandeventer," Boston, 6th August 1819, *PJCC*, 4:212; and *PJCC*, 4:213, 467.
[244] "Speech on the Tariff Bill," April 4, 1816, *PJCC*, 1:353. See "From George Bomford, 12/27, [1817]," *PJCC*, 2:41; "From Th[omas] Jefferson," Monticello, Dec. 31, [18]17, *PJCC*, 2:48; "From Th[omas] Jefferson," Monticello July 24. [18]18, *PJCC*, 2:422; "From Th[omas] Jefferson," Monticello, Apr[il] 4, [18]19, *PJCC*, 4:13; "From Francis Le Baron," Apothecary Gen[era]l's Office, Dec[embe]r 23d 1819, *PJCC*, 4:502-03; "To Andrew Jackson, Governor of Fla.," 3/31 [1821], *PJCC*, 5:706; and "To Col. G[eorge?] Gibbs," Washington, 26th March 1823, *PJCC*, 7:543.

brave and distinguished friend Theobald Wolfe Tone" had been "adopted by the French nation and educated as a Child of the public" after his famous Irish rebel father perished as a British prisoner in '98. William Theobold Wolfe Tone "entered the army where he served from 1810 to 1815, and… he resigned his Commission on the overthrow of Napoleon and came to identify himself with freedom in this Republic," writing "'an essay on the necessity of improving our national forces'" as well. And so "Mr Calhoun has… expressed a desire to place him in his department on the first vacancy."[245] Simon Bernard, moreover, was one of Napoleon's *aide-de-camps* and a distinguished French colonel of engineers. He moved to the U.S. upon being exiled by Louis XVIII in 1815, and he was promptly commissioned a brigadier general in the Corps of Engineers.[246] Bernard helped Secretary of War Calhoun re-design the U.S. Military Academy curriculum along French lines, convincing him as well to send Captain John M. O'Connor "to attend a course of lectures of the polytecknick school and of the school of engineering at Metz."[247] And Calhoun usually sided with Bernard whenever he came into conflict with the old Massachusetts Federalist Chief Engineer Joseph G. Swift, who predictably resigned in 1818.[248]

Calhoun had been eager to construct coastal fortifications before and during the War of 1812 to counter the threat posed by the Royal Navy, and so Bernard designed and built coastal fortresses from Maine to Louisiana at the Secretary of War's behest.[249] The Bonapartist

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[245] "William Sampson to Thomas Jefferson," New York June 10th 1819, Coolidge Collection, Massachusetts Historical Society. Tone also helped Lallemand appeal to Calhoun for funds. See "H[enr]I [Domique] Lallemand, Philadelphia, to Capt. [William Theobald Wolfe] Tome, 4/29, [1820], *PJCC*, 5:83.

[246] See Francois Planchot, "Le Général Simon Bernard, ingénieur militaire aux États-Unis (1816-1831)," *Revue française d'études américaines*, no. 13 (Février 1982), 87-98.

[247] "To [Albert Gallatin, Minister to France, Paris], War Dept 10th April, 1818, *PJCC*, 2:238. See "From Capt. John M. O'Connor, Paris," 2/10 [1820], *PJCC*, 4:661; and "From Jared Mansfield," West Point, Decemb[er] 20th 1819, *PJCC*, 4:496.

[248] See "To Gen. Simon Bernard, New York [City], 4/8 [1818]," *PJCC*, 2: 233; "To Joseph G. Swift, Baltimore," 3/27 [1818], *PJCC*, 2:212; and "To [Brig.] Gen. [Simon] Bernard," Washington, 3/27, [1818], *PJCC*, 2:211. Also see *PJCC*, 2:lxxi-lxxii.

[249] See "Resolutions on the Chesapeake-Leopard Affair," [Abbeville, Aug. 3, 1807], *PJCC*, 1:36; "Speech on the Military Situation," October 25, 1814, *PJCC*, 1:256; "To John W. Taylor," 2/12 [1821], *PJCC*, 5:626; and "To [James Monroe]," Department of War, March 14, 1821, *PJCC*, 5:679-70.

informed him as well that "the modern system of warfare" as conceived by the great French war minister Vauban required not just coastal fortresses but also "great naval arsenals" and "interior communication by land and water." He predicted that such a system would cost upwards of an astronomical $17.5 million, but it could, he assured Calhoun, certainly be justified as a military necessity, for the officers entrusted with "the safety, prosperity, and greatness of the Union" could not afford "an instant's relaxation of effort and perseverance" in light of the omnipresent British threat. Notifying the Secretary of War that Britain could rapidly assemble "about twenty thousand men at Halifax or Bermuda" and send them to attack any point on the U.S. coast, Bernard explained that while coastal fortifications might deter a direct Royal Navy attack upon a city or other key location, a British army could always land elsewhere and march at will across the Union, for "wearied and starving militia" under state government control would not be able to prevent the "direful consummation of tribute, pillage, and conflagration." It followed for him that the U.S. government needed to develop the ability to win decisive battles in the field *à la* Napoleon, and he devised plans for the "regular army and well organized militia" to combine in federal armies which might annihilate invading British forces. Bonaparte, after all, had not only driven his opponents from the field in many a battle but had also cut off avenues of escape for retreating enemy armies, forcing them to surrender *in toto* as a result. Bernard hence detailed a plan that would see "a concentration at Philadelphia in six days of 83,991 militia" effected thanks to an efficient system of transportation infrastructure, and that force would, in conjunction with U.S. regulars, suffice to destroy a "surrounded" British army disembarking anywhere in the city's vicinity.[250] Yet he also intended to use the fortifications he was building near British North America as staging areas for U.S. invasions of the Canadian provinces and the "British

[250] "From Brig. Gen, S[imon] Bernard, Capt. J[esse] D. Elliott, U.S.N., and Maj. Joseph G. Totten," City of Washington, February 7, 1821, *PJCC*, 5:600, 610.

establishments in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia."[251] "[T]he armies of the United States, supposing all her warlike preparations well organized beforehand," could thus "be enabled, at the very opening of the first campaign, to carry the theatre of war beyond her own territory." And when British North America was conquered at last, the Union could "direct all her resources toward her navy," which would let the U.S. menace Britain itself while guaranteeing that no British soldier would ever again tread upon North America.[252] Calhoun, in turn, was so impressed by Bernard and "the genius of Vauban" that he would use "Vauban" as a pen-name.[253]

Simon Bernard returned to France in 1831, but his fellow French Bonapartist officer Claudius Crozet stayed in the U.S. permanently. Crozet was an Imperial Guard artillery and engineering specialist who could not abide Louis XVIII's regime. He immigrated to the U.S. in 1816, sailing onboard the same ship as his friend Bernard. He too helped Calhoun bring the U.S. Military Academy up to French standards as a West Point professor.[254] Crozet resigned in 1823 as a result of a petty but worsening feud with the West Point superintendent and became the Virginia Board of Public Works State Engineer, a position which he acquired thanks to both Calhoun and Jefferson.[255] After surveying and building dozens of roads and canals in Virginia, he moved to Louisiana in 1832, serving as that state's chief engineer as well as the president of

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[251] "From Brig. Gen, S[imon] Bernard, Capt. J[esse] D. Elliott, U.S.N., and Maj. Joseph G. Totten," City of Washington, February 7, 1821, *PJCC*, 5:607. See "To Gen. [Simon] Bernard and Col. [Joseph G.] Totten, Boston," Department of War, Aug. 16, 1819, *PJCC*, 4:250; "From C[hristopher] Vandeventer," New York [City], Aug[us]t 23d 1819, *PJCC*, 4:268-69; and C. P. Stacey, "The Myth of the Unguarded Frontier, 1815-1971," *The American Historical Review*, vol. 56, no. 1 (October 1950), 1-18.

[252] "From Brig. Gen, S[imon] Bernard, Capt. J[esse] D. Elliott, U.S.N., and Maj. Joseph G. Totten," *op. cit.*, 5:615.

[253] Ibid., 5:610. See ibid., 5:615; and "'Fortifications,' by 'Vauban' [John C. Calhoun]," [Published on April 10, 1821], *PJCC*, 6:36.

[254] See "From Claudius Crozet, Professor of Engineering," West Point, 2/1 [1818], *PJCC*, 2:109; "From [Claudius] Crozet," Professor of Engineering, West Point, 6/16 [1819], *PJCC*, 4:110; "From Jared Mansfield," West Point, Decemb[er] 20th 1819, *PJCC*, 4:496; "From [Claudius] Crozet, Professor Engineering, United States Military Academy," West-point, July 10th 1820, *PJCC*, 5:248; and Claudius Crozet, *A Treatise on Descriptive Geometry, for the Use of the Cadets of the United States Military Academy* (New York: A. T. Goodrich and Co., 1821).

[255] See "From C[laudius] Crozet, Professor of Engineering," West Point, 2d July 1819, *PJCC*, 4:129-30. Also see "Claudius Crozet to Thomas Jefferson," New-york, 1er Nov. 1821, Coolidge Collection, Massachusetts Historical Society.

Jefferson College. He also helped found the Virginia Military Institute upon returning to the Old Dominion in 1837. As the president of the V.M.I. Board of Visitors from 1839-45, moreover, he emphasized French language instruction and secured state scholarships for low-income cadets. Crozet presided over the most ambitious railroad project in the U.S. at the time as well; namely, the kilometer-long Blue Ridge Tunnel, which state-owned internal improvement was built primarily by Irish Catholic immigrants because slaveholders, much to Crozet's frustration, refused to hire their slaves out for fear that their cherished and valuable chattels would be maimed or killed laboring on the railroad. He finished the tunnel in 1856, moved to Richmond when his health began to fail, and ended his days in 1864 as a supporter of Calhoun's protégé the Confederate president Jefferson Davis. The Blue Ridge Tunnel let the Confederacy send troops across the Appalachians with rapidity, but Crozet hoped to make an even more signal contribution to the Confederate cause by helping to secure overt assistance from the pro-white supremacy but anti-slavery Bonapartist France of Napoleon III. He therefore manumitted his few household slaves on condition that they remained non-citizens subject to white rule in hopes that the Davis administration would disregard Confederate Radicals by emulating his example.[256]

The Radicals, after all, had been long since appalled by the industrializing changes which Calhoun and Crozet wrought in their beloved agricultural South. John Randolph was even worrying before the War of 1812 that the Democracy had become "devoted to manufactures," preferring Britain to remain "our sole source of supply" for manufactured goods instead so that

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[256] See William Couper, *Claudius Crozet, Soldier – Scholar – Educator – Engineer (1789-1864)* (Charlottesville, VA: The Historical Publishing Co., 1936), 181; Deléry, *Napoleon's Soldiers in America*, 140; and George M. Brooke, Jr., *John M. Brooke: Naval Scientist and Educator* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1980), 293-94. Also see Charles W. Turner, "The Early Railroad Movement in Virginia," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. 55, no. 4 (October 1947), 350-71; Carter Goodrich, "The Virginia System of Mixed Enterprise: A Study of State Planning of Internal Improvements," *Political Science Quarterly*, vol. 64, no. 3 (September 1949), 355-87; Robert F. Hunter and Edwin L. Dooley, Jr., *Claudius Crozet: French Engineer in America, 1790-1864* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1989); and Clarence R. Geier, "Confederate Fortification and Troop Deployment in a Mountain Landscape: Fort Edward Johnson and Camp Shenandoah, April 1862," *Historical Archaeology*, vol. 37, no. 3, (2003), 31-45.

the U.S. would remain as agricultural as possible.[257] And his fears were amplified when Calhoun declared in 1814 that "no country, however valuable its staples," could maintain its independence or "acquire a state of great and permanent wealth, without the aid of manufactories."[258] In addition to encouraging Bonapartists to immigrate, the South Carolinian sought to sustain the reciprocal relationship which he had first perceived between "our lasting prosperity and greatness" during the war by maintaining that "the amazing growth of our manufacturing interest" should be kept up when peace retuned by means of an ample revenue tariff, which would be perfectly constitutional unlike the protective tariffs once championed by consolidation-minded Federalists.[259] The U.S. government thus had a "duty" to maintain, "as a means of defense," sharp revenue tariffs which would "encourage the domestic industry of the country, more especially that part of it which provides the necessary materials for… defense."[260]

Calhoun wanted the federal government to exercise its other delegated powers to their utmost extent after the war as well, for he had surmised in 1813 that both U.S. national security and the "enlarged interest of commerce" would require the Union to vastly strengthen its surprisingly successful navy when peace returned.[261] He hence urged Congress to fund new "steam frigates" for the navy, "however great" the expense.[262] And he called for the U.S. government to build transportation infrastructure and other internal improvements on grounds of military necessity. The connection "between the defense and safety of the country and its improvement and prosperity" was, he claimed in 1819, even more "intimate" than he had

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[257] "Debate on Mr. Gregg's Motion," [House of Representatives], March 5, 1806, in Kirk, *John Randolph of Roanoke*, 351.
[258] "Speech on the Loan Bill," February 25, 1814, *PJCC*, 1:238.
[259] Ibid., 1:227, 238. See "Speech on the Bill to Repeal the Restrictive System," April 6, 1814, *PJCC*, 1:248; and O'Brien, *Conjectures of Order*, 924.
[260] "Speech on the Revenue Bill," January 31, 1816, *PJCC*, 1:326.
[261] "Speech on the Bill for an Additional Military Force," January 14, 1813, *PJCC*, 1:155. See "Speech on the Loan Bill," *op. cit.*, 1:227, 237.
[262] "Speech on the Revenue Bill," *op. cit.*, 1:327. See "To Maj. S[tephen] H. Long, Topographical Engineer," Department of War, 15th Dec[embe]r 1818, *PJCC*, 3:395.

previously thought.[263] Canals and "good military roads" would, he explained, remedy a weakness exposed by the war, "enabl[ing] us on emergencies to collect the whole mass of our military means on the point menaced."[264] Building military infrastructure would also cause every branch of "national industry, Agricultural, Manufacturing, and Commercial," to be "greatly stimulated and rendered… more productive" as a byproduct, enhancing U.S. economic and hence martial power in the long run.[265] Averring that "[t]he road or canal can scarcely be designated, which is highly useful for military operations, which is not equally required for the industry or political prosperity of the community," Calhoun went so far as to claim that the U.S. government might build roads without "reference to military operations" as such roads would still "add greatly to our resources in war" by "increasing our wealth and fiscal capacity."[266]

Calhoun was pleased to observe of a textile factory in 1823 that "I was struck with the fineness of the cotton thread. It far exceed[s] any thing that I had supposed, and indicates a perfection on the part of our machinery, that is very gratifying. I am delighted with the growth of our arts and manufactures, and hope to see them rival those of Great Britain."[267] Yet he also feared that industrialization in the U.S. might introduce new inequalities among whites as had occurred in Britain, for he regarded equality among whites as the essence and galvanizing power of American nationalism – a power which hierarchical Britain could not hope to match. Secretary of War Calhoun therefore expected corporations to be no more than mere instruments

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[263] "To Speaker Henry Clay," Department of War, January 7, 1819, *PJCC*, 3:462.

[264] "Speech on the Revenue Bill," January 31, 1816, *PJCC*, 1:326. See "Speech on Internal Improvements," February 4, 1817, *PJCC*, 1:399; and "From James Tallmadge, Jr.," H[ouse of] Rep[resentatives,] Jany. 10, [1818], *PJCC*, 2:67.

[265] "Speech on Internal Improvements," February 4, 1817, *PJCC*, 1:398. See "Speech on the Revenue Bill," *op. cit.*, 1:326; and "Speech on the Tariff Bill," April 4, 1816, *PJCC*, 1:355. As Calhoun famously declared in February 1817, "[l]et us… bind the Republic together with a perfect system of roads and canals. Let us conquer space." "Speech on Internal Improvements," *op. cit.*, 1:401.

[266] "To Speaker Henry Clay,"*op. cit.*, 1:469, 462. See ibid., 1:465.

[267] "To Joseph G. Swift, New York City," Washington, 24th Aug[us]t 1823, *PJCC*, 8:244. See "To A[nthony?] C[harles] Cazenove, Alexandria, [D.C.]," 12/11 [1823], *PJCC*, 8:402.

of the U.S. government, and he often sought to do without them altogether. He prioritized the construction of new "public arsenals, accompanied by armories," throughout the Union to reduce governmental dependence upon contracted corporations of dubious patriotism and limited capacity, for "arms can be fabricated at least as cheap and of a better quality by a national armory than by contract…."[268] A banking or business corporation, after all, was simply "[a]n institution… to make money. What was the instinct of such an institution? Gain, gain; nothing but gain;" which was why such institutions could not be allowed to act "without restraint."[269] And so Calhoun assured Andrew Jackson in an 1819 missive that "[t]he Government is too well aware of the importance of Salt Springs in the West to permit any one to monopolize them. Under the direction of the United States they will be managed for the benefit of the whole."[270]

Secretary of War Calhoun was confident that the Union would overtake and ultimately defeat Britain if it managed to industrialize while preserving equality among whites. Britain, he believed, had come to the same conclusion long before the War of 1812, on the eve of which conflict he had claimed that "[t]he hostility of the British government" stemmed not just from "mad ambition, the lust of power, and commercial avarice," but also from fears as to the Union's potential power. "It has been made manifest," he declared of the British government, "that the United States are considered by it as the Commercial Rival of Great Britain, and that their prosperity and growth are incompatible with her welfare."[271] Whereas Britain's oppressive hierarchies discouraged the disgruntled British masses, democratic equality among whites fostered energy and patriotism among the "middling and lower classes" in the Union, which

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[268] "To Andrew Jackson, Fort Scott, Ga.," Department of War, February 19th 1818, *PJCC*, 2:148; and "To Richard M. Johnson, Chairman, House Committee on Military Affairs," Department of War, 3d Decem[be]r 1818, *PJCC*, 3:335. "Should Congress omit to sanction the proposed establishment of a [War Department] foundry," Calhoun told Andrew Jackson, "the encouragement of individual enterprize will then form a subject for the President's decision." "To Andrew Jackson, Fort Scott, Ga.," Department of War, February 19th 1818, *PJCC*, 2:149.
[269] "Speech Introducing the Bank Bill," February 26, 1816, *PJCC*, 1:337.
[270] "To A[ndrew] Jackson, Nashville," Department of War, December 24, 1819, *PJCC*, 4:506.
[271] "Report on the Causes and Reasons for War," June 3, 1812, *PJCC*, 1:110, 121.

would inevitably surpass Britain because those classes "constitute the great body of the community."[272] "What we cannot effect with eight millions of people," he prophesied in 1814, "will be done with twenty."[273] The Union, then, just had to bide its time as it industrialized and expanded under Democratic auspices to eclipse the British and expel them at last from North America, at which point the U.S. would finally obtain true "security with an elevated rank among the Nations of the world."[274] "We want *time*," Calhoun proclaimed in 1818, "[l]et us grow."[275]

Yet Calhoun did not expect Britain to stand by idly while Americans were "most rapidly improving in those very particulars" in which the British economically excelled: "Will Great Britain permit us to go in an uninterrupted march to the height of national greatness and prosperity? I fear not."[276] He warned Congress in 1816 that the U.S. would "encounter British jealousy and hostility in every shape, not immediately manifested by open force or violence, perhaps, but by indirect attempts to check your growth and prosperity."[277] Looking forward to "the growth of our mighty republic, which but a few years since, was limited by the Allegany; but now is ready to push its civilization and laws to the western confines of the continent," Calhoun predicted in 1818 that "the Enemy" would seek to thwart U.S. expansion by containing the Union with its own forces while inciting and arming non-whites to kill U.S. or pro-Union whites all across North America.[278] The "ignominious" New England Federalists, after all, had

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[272] "First Speech on the Military Academies Bill," January 2, 1816, *PJCC*, 1:390. Americans, Calhoun had claimed, were "a people essentially active. I may say we are pre-eminently so. Distance and difficulties are less to us than any people on earth." "Speech on Suspension of Non-Importation," June 24, 1812, *PJCC*, 1:132.
[273] "Speech on the Loan Bill," February 25, 1814, *PJCC*, 1:227.
[274] "To the Rev. [Moses Waddell]," War Dept., 6th March 1821, *PJCC*, 5:661.
[275] "To Charles Tait, [Elbert County, Ga.]," War Dept 20th July 1818, *PJCC*, 3:408.
[276] "Speech on the Revenue Bill," January 31, 1816, *PJCC*, 1:320, 321.
[277] Ibid., 1:321.
[278] "To Thomas A. Smith, St. Louis," Department of War, March 16, 1818, *PJCC*, 2:195; and "To Jacob Brown, Brownville, N.Y.," Dep[art]m[en]t of War, 22 Sept. 1819, *PJCC*, 4:342.

failed to either control or sunder the Union for Britain's benefit, but they now appeared to be preaching racial equality to Indians, free blacks, and slaves as agents of British abolitionism.[279]

Calhoun had boasted after Jackson's January 1815 victory at New Orleans that, "to all practical purposes, we have achieved complete success," but he knew full well that Britain still controlled British North America, the Atlantic, and the Gulf of Mexico.[280] "[W]e ought to act with caution," he declared in the war's immediate aftermath, with regard to "reducing our military establishment," for Britain had "the most numerous army and navy at her command…. This question then presents itself; will the greater power permit the less to attain its destined greatness by natural growth, or will she take measures to disturb it?"[281] The U.S. needed to maintain a strong regular army and build new forts near British North America, he insisted, because "the most powerful nation in Europe possessed provinces adjoining our territory, into which she could readily pour an armed force."[282] He accordingly established a provocative U.S. military presence in 1818 close by Nova Scotia on "the Islands in the Bay of Passamaquoddy," which Britain had recently ceded to the Union, and disputes between the garrisons of each respective power soon flared.[283] Britain even accused the U.S. of enticing and harboring British deserters thanks to Calhoun's efforts to obtain information as to "the number and distribution of the British troops in Canada and the adjacent provinces, and the position and extent of the fortifications which the [British] Government is now erecting in those provinces."[284]

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[279] "Speech on the Revenue Bill," January 31, 1816, *PJCC*, 1:316.
[280] "Speech on the Results of the War," February 27, 1815, *PJCC*, 1:282.
[281] "Speech on the Military Peace Establishment," February 27, 1815, *PJCC*, 1:277; and "Speech on the Revenue Bill," *op. cit.*, 1:320. See "To M[artin] D[avis] Hardin, [former Senator from Ky.,] Frankfort, Ky.," War Dep[artmen]t, 8th August 1819, *PJCC*, 4:217.
[282] "Speech on the Military Peace Establishment," *op. cit.*, 1:278.
[283] "To James Miller, [Boston]," War Dept 30th May 1818, *PJCC*, 2:319. See "From C[hristopher] Vandeventer," West Point, Aug[us]t 27th 1819, *PJCC*, 4:278; "To Jacob Brown, Brownville, N.Y.," Dep[art]m[en]t of War, 22 Sept. 1819, *PJCC*, 4:342; "To John Q[uincy] Adams, Secretary of State," 7/1 [1820], *PJCC*, 5:236; and "To John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State," Dep[art]m[en]t of War, 10th March 1820, *PJCC*, 4:708.
[284] "To J[acob] Brown, Brownsville, N.Y.," Department of War, 5 Sep[tembe]r, 1819, *PJCC*, 4:298.

Calhoun had claimed in 1814 that "[t]he charm of British naval invincibility is broken" as a result of victories won by the U.S. navy, but he admitted in 1821 that Britain was still "mistress of the ocean," and that "our great commercial cities" were "within her grasp."[285] Yet he was willing to go to war against the British anyway if they moved to acquire Spanish Cuba, for "the greatest calamity ought to be endured by us, rather than it should pass into the hands of England. That she desires it, and would seize it, if a fair opportunity presented itself, I cannot doubt; and that such an event would endanger our Union, is to me very manifest. These are my fixed opinions."[286] The Royal Navy, after all, would be able to sever U.S. oceanic transport between the Atlantic and Gulf coasts at will from a British-controlled Cuba. "Without Cuba our confederacy is not complete," Calhoun told Andrew Jackson in 1823, "and with it in the hands of the English, the best line of communication between the extreme parts, would be intercepted."[287]

Secretary of War Calhoun had also been willing to go to war against Britain over Florida a few years earlier, but while he held that the U.S. ought to fight the British if they were to claim that loosely-governed Spanish territory, he had worried that Britain might respond in kind if the Union sent forces there. He hence informed Jackson in 1818 that given Britain's naval might, Americans should "perfect our forti[fi]cations" and "enlarge our Navy" before risking another war against the British.[288] But the Tennessee Democrat invaded Florida anyway, and though Calhoun castigated him in private for disobeying orders, he was delighted by Jackson's victories and extolled him accordingly.[289] "By the acquisition of Florida we acquire a country of more value," he observed, "than the one between the Sabine and the Del Norte; not in extent, soil or

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[285] "Speech on the Loan Bill," February 25, 1814, *PJCC*, 1:227; and "'Fortifications,' by 'Vauban' [John C. Calhoun]," [Published on April 10, 1821], *PJCC*, 6:36.
[286] "To M[icah] Sterling, Watertown, N.Y.," War Dep[artmen]t, 10th Sep[tembe]r 1819, *PJCC*, 4:316.
[287] "To A[ndrew] Jackson," Washington, 30th March 1823, *PJCC*, 7:550.
[288] "To Andrew Jackson, [Nashville]," Department of War, 8th September, 1818, *PJCC*, 3:111. See "To Andrew Jackson, Nashville, 'Private,'" 1/23, [1820], *PJCC*, 4:591.
[289] See "To A[ndrew] Jackson, 'Private,'" War Dept., 27th March 1820, *PJCC*, 4:735. Also see "To [Andrew] Jackson, Nashville," Department of War, 28th Dec[embe]r 1818, *PJCC*, 3:431.

climate, but what to us is more important in position and naval and commercial advantages. Next to Cuba, the ports of Florida will command the trade of the Gulph…."[290] Jefferson, for his part, had once hoped that "if the good sense of Buonaparte should prevail over his temper, the present state of things in Europe may induce him to require of Spain… [to] sell us E. Florida," for while "we have no right to insist: yet there are not wanting considerations which may induce him to wish a permanent foundation for peace laid between us."[291] "If, as is expected, Bonaparte should be succesful in Spain, however every virtuous & liberal sentiment revolts at it," he had also mused in an 1809 missive to Monroe, "Bonaparte having Spain at his feet, will look immediately to the Spanish colonies & think our neutrality cheaply purchased by a repeal of the illegal parts of his decrees, with perhaps the Floridas thrown into the bargain."[292] And so he too hailed Jackson as a "great benefactor" for taking Florida "in the Seminole war."[293]

In Calhoun's view, it was also "an important event, particularly for the Southern States," to have eliminated the ostensible threat posed by British abolitionists in Florida, for he had received information in early 1818 to the effect that discharged black British soldiers at Jamaica were organizing an expedition to overthrow Spanish rule in Florida, which would promptly become part of the British Empire with the blessing of the Seminole Indians and U.S. fugitive slaves there.[294] Jackson, moreover, informed him that the Seminoles and blacks who were

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[290] "To C[harles] Tait, Claiborne, Ala.," War Dep[artmen]t, 29th Jan[uar]y 1820, *PJCC*, 4:617.

[291] "Thomas Jefferson to Barnabas Bidwell," Washington July 5. 1806, Thomas Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress. John Randolph, in turn, had, as reported by Levi Lincoln, denounced Jefferson for offering to buy Florida from France's Spanish puppet government "at the nod of Buonaparte." "Levi Lincoln to Thomas Jefferson," Worcester June 17th. 1806, Thomas Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress. "It has been difficult to hear with patience or repel with coolness such abominable falsehoods & perversions," Lincoln added, "[b]ut this was necessary on the eve of important elections." Ibid.

[292] "Thomas Jefferson to James Monroe," Washington Jan. 28. 09, James Monroe Papers, Library of Congress.

[293] "Thomas Jefferson to Andrew Jackson," Monticello Nov. 22, DeCoppet Collection, New Jersey Historical Society.

[294] "To John E[wing] Colhoun, Pendleton, S.C.," War Dep[artmen]t, 8th Jan[uar]y 1821, *PJCC*, 5:541. See "From James Bankhead, Fernandina, Amelia Island, Fla.," 2/6 [1818], *PJCC*, 2:122. Also see Kenneth W. Porter, "Negroes and the Seminole War, 1817-1818," *The Journal of Negro History*, vol. 36, no. 3 (July 1951), 249-80.

resisting his invasion with guerilla tactics deserved no mercy because they were pawns of "the British Government."[295] Chafing under Calhoun's orders to arrest rather than execute British subjects in Florida, Jackson also claimed that "[t]he British Traders will no doubt excite the Indians to hostility; they ought in my opinion to be hung, where ever they are found among the Indian Tribes within our Territory…."[296] And he did in fact cause a diplomatic crisis by executing two British subjects whom he claimed were inciting Seminoles against U.S. forces.[297]

The Seminoles were not the first nor the last Indian tribe to suffer at Jackson's hands, for he had wiped out the pro-British Creek "Red Stick" group during the War of 1812, and Calhoun's War Department fully intended to see every British-friendly Indian tribe to the west of the Union "Jacksonized, after the Creek fashion."[298] The Secretary of War viewed the Indians who were attacking U.S. settlers and soldiers on the Union's western frontier as British proxies.[299] During both the American Revolution and War of 1812, after all, Britain had encouraged Indians to engage in "that system of savage warfare on our frontiers which has been at all times indiscriminate in its effect, on all ages, sexes, and conditions and so revolting to humanity."[300] Thousands of Indian warriors "supported by some hundreds of British Troops" would, Calhoun believed, invade the Union at the outset of the next war, in preparation for which the Hudson's Bay Company was plying Indians with arms and liquor to launch small-scale

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[295] "From Andrew Jackson, Fort St. Marks, [Fla.,]," 4/26, [1818], *PJCC*, 2:261.
[296] "Andrew Jackson to H[enry] Atkinson," Nashville, 15th May 1819, *PJCC*, 4:63.
[297] See "Thomas Jefferson to Andrew Jackson," Monticello Nov. 22, DeCoppet Collection, New Jersey Historical Society; J. Leitch Wright, Jr., "A Note on the First Seminole War as Seen by the Indians, Negroes, and their British Advisers," *The Journal of Southern History*, vol. 34, no. 4 (November 1968), 565-75; and Frank L. Owsley, Jr., "Ambrister and Arbuthnot: Adventurers or Martyrs for British Honor?" *Journal of the Early Republic*, vol. 5, no. 3 (Autumn 1985), 289-308.
[298] "H[enry] Leavenworth, Praire du Chien, to D[aniel] Parker," 6/10 [1820], *PJCC*, 5:171.
[299] See "From William Clark," St. Louis, April 30th 1819, *PJCC*, 4:42; "From Benj[ami]n O'Fallon," St. Louis, 22nd June 1819, *PJCC*, 4:115; and "To Brig. Gen. [Henry] Atkinson, St. Louis," Department of War, October 16th 1820, *PJCC*, 5:396.
[300] "Report on the Causes and Reasons for War," June 3, 1812, *PJCC*, 1:117.

attacks upon U.S. settlements.[301] As the Superintendent of Indian Trade Thomas L. McKenney informed him in 1818, "British agents" were "doing emmence injury" among the Indians "and promoting the destruction even of our Citizens, whose scalps were bought, and sold, in the village of Pra[i]rie du Chien, and strung on poles, and carried in triumph to Mackinac, in 1816."[302] Calhoun thus told Congress in 1819 that more troops and forts were needed to intercept and expel those British traders known to be subversive, calling as well for an outright ban upon the Hudson's Bay Company to secure the Union's "North Western frontier" and see "the most valuable fur trade in the world" wrested from Britain and "thrown into our hands."[303]

Congress did not heed his advice, but Calhoun still attempted to bar Indians under U.S. jurisdiction from trading in British North America, for "the English traders" had "great advantages in controuling the savages thro' their commanding station on [the] Red river…."[304] And all such contact was to be "suspend[ed] by force, if necessary…."[305] Upon learning that a party of Winnebagoes had "Killed, Scalped and Mangled a Sergeant & Corporal of the garrison of Fort Armstrong" at the behest of British traders in 1820, moreover, he warned that unless the guilty Indians were executed and the tribe severed all connection to Britain, "their whole nation" would be "made to feel the just vengeance and retribution of the Government."[306] "Let them reflect," Calhoun declared, "how nation after nation have sunk before the United States, and they

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[301] "From Jacob Brown, Head Quarters, Brownville, [N.Y.]," 27th Sept. 1819, *PJCC*, 4:347. See "To D[avid] B. Mitchell, Creek Agency," 7/23, [1818], *PJCC*, 2:419.
[302] "From Tho[mas] L. McKenney," George Town, [D.C.], 17th July 1818, *PJCC*, 2:393.
[303] "To A[lexander] Smyth, Chairman of the House Committee on Military Affairs," Department of War, 29th Dec[embe]r, 1819, *PJCC*, 4:522. See "H[enry] Leavenworth, Praire du Chien, to D[aniel] Parker," 6/10 [1820], *PJCC*, 5:171.
[304] "To Thomas A. Smith, St. Louis," Department of War, March 16, 1818, *PJCC*, 2:195.
[305] "To J[acob] Brown, Brownsville, N.Y.," Department of War, 5 Sep[tembe]r, 1819, *PJCC*, 4:298. See "To Lewis Cass, Detroit," Department of War, 26th August 1819, *PJCC*, 4:275-76; and "To [John Quincy Adams]," 8/28 [1819], *PJCC*, 4:279.
[306] "From William Clark," St. Louis, 4/20 [1820], *PJCC*, 5:67; and "To Richard Graham, Indian Agent," 5/11 [1820], *PJCC*, 5:110-11.

will see the necessity of coming into our views."[307] Yet he also thought that even those tribes which did not heed Britain's advice to resist the inevitable U.S. "ascendancy over the Indians" were doomed as they would not be able to attain a self-sustaining "knowledge of agriculture, manufactures, & the mechanic and domestic arts."[308] Insisting that he had exercised his powers as Secretary of War in good faith "to promote the welfare of the Indian Tribes by inducing them to embrace the advantages of the arts of civilization," he deemed the effort a failure because Indians were immutably inferior as a race.[309] Pointing to "that train of vice and misery, to which a savage people are doomed, when they come into contact with enlightened and civilized nations," he predicted that pro-U.S. Indians would "be overwhelmed by the mighty torrent of our population" even if they were removed far to the west.[310] And he did not bemoan the supposedly inevitable fate of the Indians unlike many of the New England Federalists, who would, he thought, naturally lament the passing of Britain's "savage" allies because they too wanted lower-class whites to remain in their "proper" social and spatial positions.[311] They had, after all, "sincerely approve[d]" of the Jay Treaty, which had granted the Hudson's Bay Company permission to trade with Indians within U.S. territory and thereby, in their own words, "secur[ed]

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[307] "To Joseph McMinn, Murfreesboro, Tenn.," Department of War, 29th July, 1818, *PJCC*, 2:439.

[308] "To A[lexander] Smyth, Chairman of the House Committee on Military Affairs," Department of War, 29th Dec[embe]r, 1819, *PJCC*, 4:523; and "To the Rev. Philip Milledoler, Foreign Secretary [of the United Foreign Missionary Society of New York]," Department of War, March 15th 1821, *PJCC*, 5:683. See "To Speaker Henry Clay," Department of War, December 5, 1818, *PJCC*, 3:342; and "To [James Monroe]," Department of War, February 8th 1822, *PJCC*, 6:682.

[309] "To Z[echariah] Lewis, Domestic Secretary, United Foreign Missionary Society, [New York City]," Department of War, August 14th 1820, *PJCC*, 5:329. See "To the Cherokee Delegation," Department of War, 11 February, 1819, *PJCC*, 3:565-66; and "To the Chickasaw Delegation, [Washington]," Department of War, 9th Dec[embe]r, 1824, *PJCC*, 9:437. Also see William S. Belko, "John C. Calhoun and the Creation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs: An Essay on Political Rivalry, Ideology, and Policymaking in the Early Republic," *The South Carolina Historical Magazine*, vol. 105, no. 3 (July 2004), 170-97.

[310] "To Joseph McMinn, Murfreesboro, Tenn.," Department of War, 29th July 1818, *PJCC*, 2:437; and "To Speaker Henry Clay," Department of War, December 5, 1818, *PJCC*, 3:350.

[311] See David Andrew Nichols, *Red Gentlemen and White Savages: Indians, Federalists, and the Search for Order on the American Frontier* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2008).

the affection, the interest and the aid of a great powerful nation… with which we are connected by blood and, which perhaps to us is of more importance, by unavoidable intercourse."[312]

John Randolph had also called for the Union to leave the noble "sons of nature" alone, and Calhoun was incensed by his postwar efforts to "disarm" the federal government.[313] The Virginian returned to Congress in 1815, and Calhoun was soon complaining that Randolph and his fellow Radicals were still seeking "to abolish all taxes," for "gentlemen ought not to give into the contracted idea, that taxes were so much money taken from the people: properly applied, the money proceeding from taxes, was money put out to the best possible interest for the people."[314] The Radicals, moreover, called for tariffs to be eliminated altogether even as Calhoun insisted that "our manufactures" needed "the fostering care of government."[315] And they were, he claimed, leaving the U.S. at the "mercy" of Britain by continuing to insist "that our navy ought not to be gradually improved; that preparation ought not to be made during peace for preventing or meeting war; [and] that internal improvements should not be prosecuted…."[316] It was one thing, Calhoun explained, to call for sensible spending "retrenchments," but quite another to "cast down" the federal government.[317] The Radicals, after all, were not only opposed to using

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[312] "The Inhabitants of [Stockbridge] to John Adams," [1798], Sedgwick Family Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society. "[T]he professed friendship" of France, New England Federalists held in contrast, "cannot insure to us any lasting and eventual advantages." Ibid. The French, after all, were not "a commercial & enterprizing people" but rather inclined toward "despotic monarchy" *à la* Napoleon. "Petition for Relief from the Embargo," Boston 28 Dec 1808, Thomas Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress. See "'William Penn' to Thomas Jefferson," New York 24 Feby 1809, Thomas Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress; "To A[lexander] Smyth, Chairman of the House Committee on Military Affairs," Department of War, 29th Dec[embe]r, 1819, *PJCC*, 4:522; and Lawrence B. Hatter, "The Jay Charter: Rethinking the American National State in the West, 1796–1819," *Diplomatic History*, vol. 37, no. 4 (September 2013), 693-726.

[313] "Speech Against War with England," [House of Representatives], December 10, 1811, in Kirk, *John Randolph of Roanoke*, 364; and "Speech on the Commercial Treaty with Great Britain," January 9, 1816, *PJCC*, 1:314.

[314] "Speech on the Revenue Bill," January 31, 1816, *PJCC*, 1:319; and "Speech on the Commercial Treaty with Great Britain," *op, cit.*, 1: 314-15.

[315] "Speech on the Tariff Bill," April 4, 1816, *PJCC*, 1:350.

[316] "Speech on the Revenue Bill," *op. cit.*, 1:319.

[317] "To the Rev. [Moses Waddel]," War Dept., 6th March 1821, *PJCC*, 5:661.

"the resources and the general superintendence of this government" to "effect and complete" roads and canals, but were even opposed to "the enterprise of the states and of individuals…."[318]

The Radicals bedeviled Calhoun throughout his tenure as Secretary of War by attempting to "diminish" the U.S. government's "powers, which fairly belong to it," below "what a fair construction of the constitution would give."[319] He held that "a standing Army in peace, in the present improved state of the military science, is an indispensable preparation" for war because the state militias were simply not "capable of meeting in the open field the regular troops of Europe," but congressional Radicals sought to eviscerate or even completely disband the U.S. army instead.[320] Insisting that a strong military led to tyrannical consolidation, they suggested that Britain would protect the U.S. if Americans adopted their "dangerous doctrines," which would "reduce us to a state of debility, equal to that of the old Confederation."[321] Their "dread of war in any shape," however, would, Calhoun claimed, simply encourage even more British aggression and hence "much more speedily involve us in that state than the opposite tone of feeling."[322] He was infuriated as a result by the successful efforts of congressional Radicals to stymie his efforts to found a new arsenal at Augusta, Georgia that would allow the Union to vastly reduce its importation of British weaponry.[323] But at least they were not able to stop him from "encourag[ing] scientific attainments," for he argued *contra* the Radicals that it was entirely

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[318] "Speech on Internal Improvements," February 4, 1817, *PJCC*, 1:399.
[319] "To C[harles] Tait, [Claiborne, Ala.]," Washington, 1st Oct[obe]r 1821, *PJCC*, 6:413.
[320] "To John W. Taylor, [Representative from N.Y.,] Speaker, House of Representatives," Department of War, December 12th, 1820, *PJCC*, 5:481-82. See "To A[ndrew] Jackson," Department of War, 31 Dec[ember] 1819, *PJCC*, 4:530; "To Timothy Pickering, [former Senator from Mass.]," Washington, 29th April 1821, *PJCC*, 6:81; and "To Jacob Brown and Twelve Other War Department Employees," Washington, March 3, 1825, *PJCC*, 9:615.
[321] "To [Isaac Harby?]," [Washington, *ca*. December 31, 1823?], *PJCC*, 8:436.
[322] "To A[ndrew] Jackson, 'Private,'" War Dept., 27th March 1820, *PJCC*, 4:735.
[323] See "From Robert Leckie, Augusta, [Ga.]," 7/20 [1820], *PJCC*, 5:271; and "From A[dam] Carruth," South Carolina Armoury, November 14, 1820, *PJCC*, 5:437.

constitutional for the War Department to "add to the stock of science" provided that federal funding for inventors, skilled immigrant workers, and scientists enhanced U.S. military power.[324]

Suspecting that Radicals within Congress and the Monroe administration itself were attempting "to form a party systematickly against the powers of the General Government," Calhoun denied their charge that he was "the friend of consol[id]ation," asserting that "I may confidently say, that there is not on record a single expression of mine in relation to the construction of the Constitution, which would offend the most rigid defender of State rights."[325] Insisting that "[m]y acts are all covered by the acts of Jefferson, Madison and Monroe," he accused the Radicals instead of betraying "[t]he old doctrines of our party, founded on the great principles of the Revolution."[326] Just as Federalists had advocated consolidation to favor "the few wealthy and well born against the body of the people," the Radicals' different but equally aberrant variety of constitutional interpretation was meant to advance "the cause of the few," namely, a clique of backward-looking southern planters rather than New England merchants.[327] "In opposing the Radical party," Calhoun therefore declared in 1823, "it is now manifest, that we are contending under the same banners, under which contended the heroes of the Revolution, & the Republicans of '98 and 1812; the banner of the people, so long accustomed to victory."[328]

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[324] "To Sylvanus Thayer, West Point," Department of War, February 10th 1818, *PJCC*, 2:130; and "To [Dr.] Thomas Cooper, Philadelphia," Department of War, 3d Septem[be]r 1818, *PJCC*, 3:95. See "To Benjamin Silliman, [New Haven, Conn.]," War Department, March 26, 1818, *PJCC*, 2:211; "To Maj. S[tephen] H. Long, Topographical Engineer," Department of War, 15th Dec[embe]r 1818, *PJCC*, 3:396; "To Dr. S[amuel] L[atham] Mitchell, President of the Medical Convention of the United States," War Department, Jan[uar]y 13, 1820, *PJCC*, 4:569; "To Lewis Cass," Department of War, 14 January 1820, *PJCC*, 4:574; "To Nathaniel Bowditch, Salem, Mass.," Department of War, October 7th, 1820, *PJCC*, 5:382; and "From [Bvt. Brig. Gen.] H[enry] Atkinson," Franklin, Missouri, October 11th 1823, *PJCC*, 8:305.

[325] "To C[harles] Tait, [Claiborne, Ala.]," Washington, 1st Oct[obe]r 1821, *PJCC*, 6:413; and "To Joseph G. Swift, New York City," Washington, 24th Aug[us]t 1823, *PJCC*, 8:243.

[326] "To Joseph G. Swift, New York City," Washington, 24th Aug[us]t 1823, *PJCC*, 8:243; and "To J[ohn] G[eorge] Jackson, Clarksburg, Va., 'Confidential,'" Washington, 29th Dec[embe]r 1823, *PJCC*, 8:430. See "To Ogden Edwards, New York City," Washington, 2d May 1823, *PJCC*, 8:45.

[327] "To [Lewis Cass]," Washington, 14th Oct[obe]r 1823, *PJCC*, 8:312. See "To Dr. J. H. Wallace, Fredericksburg, Va.," Washington, 22d. Nov. 1824, *PJCC*, 9:401.

[328] "To J[oseph] G. Swift," Washington, 26th Oct[ober] 1823, *PJCC*, 8:329.

Perturbed by Radicals who were following Randolph in beginning to idealize feudal England and the colonial South under the influence of British Romanticism, Calhoun looked to acquire a complete edition of Sir Walter Scott's *Ivanhoe* in 1820 to learn what they found so compelling therein, although Jefferson simply regarded such literature as "poison" fostering "bloated imagination[s]," "inordinate passion[s]," "sickly judgment, and disgust towards all the real business of life" among its devotees.[329] Yet Calhoun did not think that the Radicals were likely to ever gain mass appeal because if "[t]he essence of f[e]udalism was lords and vassals; that of the genius of the age is equality."[330] The U.S. citizenry, in other words, would prefer equality *sans* liberty to liberty without equality, and so Calhoun was not surprised to have won most of his postwar political struggles against the Radicals. When they attempted to thwart his effort to create a new Bank of the United States in 1816, for instance, they had denounced banking *in toto* while insisting that the federal government could only issue specie as currency. Calhoun, in contrast, held that the U.S. could always issue "paper money" in addition to "[g]old and silver" as a military necessity, for which reason it was also constitutional to bring the wide array of state bank notes under "the control of Congress."[331] His projected national bank, however, would differ from Hamilton's old Federalist version because the government would retain "a greater control than it before possessed over the operation of the bank…."[332] Nor would it impoverish "the farming interest" to the benefit of "the monied class," for it would protect and even enhance equality among whites by "present[ing] the opportunity to every capitalist, however inconsiderable, to share in the capital of the bank," the benefits of which

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[329] "To Nathaniel Burwell," Monticello, March 14, 1818, in *Thomas Jefferson: Writings*, 1411. See "To V[irgil] Maxcy, Annapolis, Md.," War Dept., 12th Aug[us]t 1820, *PJCC*, 5:327.
[330] "To C[harles] Tait, [former Senator from Ga., Claiborne, Ala.]," War Dep[artmen]t April 1821, *PJCC*, 6:69. See "To C[harles] Tait, [Claiborne, Ala.]," Washington, 1st Oct[obe]r 1821, *PJCC*, 6:413.
[331] "Speech Introducing the Bank Bill," February 26, 1816, *PJCC*, 1:333.
[332] "To Patrick Noble, Abbeville, S.C.," W[ashington] C[ity], 22d. March 1812, *PJCC*, 1:95; and "Remarks on the Form of Subscription to the Bank," November 21, 1814, *PJCC*, 1:269. See "Speech on the Military Situation," October 25, 1814, *PJCC*, 1:255; and "Speech on the United States Bank Bill," November 16, 1814, *PJCC*, 1:265.

would be spread "all over the country."[333] And if the Radicals prevented the creation of a new Union-wide B.U.S. system, Calhoun mused that a central bank might still be established "*within the District of Columbia*, the power to do which it could not be doubted came within the constitutional powers of Congress" thanks to the exclusive federal jurisdiction over the capital.[334] But he and his Kentucky political ally Henry Clay overcame the Radical "declamation against banks," soon after which the South Carolinian became President Monroe's Secretary of War."[335]

Calhoun and the Radicals constantly competed for influence within the Monroe administration, but the Secretary of War generally prevailed. The Radicals were hence openly accusing the president by 1821 of "an abandonment of his former principles and party…."[336] Monroe had in fact distanced himself from his old Radical associates by the War of 1812, during which conflict Randolph denounced him for endorsing "a conscription of the model of Bonaparte." "Ask him what he would have done," the Radical leader had jeered, "whilst governor of Virginia, and preparing to resist Federal usurpation, had such an attempt been made by Mr. Adams and his ministers; especially in 1800. He *can* give the answer."[337] No wonder, then, that some Radicals were even beginning to mutter about southern secession as they strove to exacerbate rather than overcome "the natural separation" of the Union into distinct sections.[338]

Secretary of War Calhoun was confident that he would be able to permanently shatter Radical power as the next U.S. president, but the Radicals were still far from harmless, for as he asserted in an 1823 letter, there was still "[m]uch… to be done to lay the foundation; the admin[istratio]n to be sustained; the Radicals exposed and prostrated, and all objections to my

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[333] "Remarks on the Form of Subscription to the Bank," November 21, 1814, *PJCC*, 1:269-70. See Wilentz, *The Rise of American Democracy*, 205.
[334] "Resolution on the Question of a National Bank," February 4, 1814, *PJCC*, 1:204.
[335] "Speech Introducing the Bank Bill," February 26, 1816, *PJCC*, 1:338.
[336] "To the Rev. [Moses Waddel]," Washington, 25 Sept. 1821, *PJCC*, 6:388.
[337] "John Randolph to a New England Senator," Philadelphia, December 15, 1814, in Kirk, *John Randolph of Roanoke*," 266.
[338] "To President [James Monroe]," Department of War, December 3d, 1824, *PJCC*, 9:426.

political course and administration of the [War] Dept. to be met and refuted."[339] The Radicals, after all, had scored such important victories as President Monroe's 1822 veto of the Cumberland Road Bill, after which Calhoun made sure to scrupulously detail the military dimension of all proposed federal internal improvements.[340] Lamenting that the Radicals had, under the leadership of Secretary of the Treasury William H. Crawford of Georgia, "struggled with so much industry to bring into disrepute all of our means of preperation, and to overthrow an administration because it would not yield to their scheme of demolition," he blamed them for ruining his presidential prospects by undermining his influence within the South.[341] Transferring his support to Andrew Jackson's candidacy, he predicted that the Tennessean "War Hawk" would finally crush the Radicals, thereby purifying what he and other Democrats had begun to call the "Democracy" and guaranteeing the Union's eventual triumph over the British Empire.[342]

Calhoun viewed the Radicals as the principal internal threat to "national glory" and "that splendid future, which every good citizen delights to dwell on," during the so-called Era of Good Feelings because Federalism collapsed even in New England after the War of 1812.[343] Celebrating "the prostration of the old Federal party," he was pleased to observe in 1823 that "[i]n New England, I was much gratified to find, that, since my residence there formerly, there

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[339] "To M[icah] Sterling, 'Confidential,'" Washington, 27th March 1823, *PJCC*, 7:546. See ibid., 7:547; "To John E[wing] Colhoun," Washington, 19th March 1822, *PJCC*, 6:753-54; "To J[oseph] G. Swift, [New York City?]," Washington, 5th Aug[us]t 1823, *PJCC*, 8:210; and "To V[irgil] Maxcy," Washington, 17th Sep[tembe]r 1823, *PJCC*, 8:27.

[340] See "To George P. Macculloch, Commissioner for Canals, Morristown, N.J.," War Department, August 14, 1823, *PJJC*, 8:230; and "To President [James Monroe]," Department of War, December 3d, 1824, *PJCC*, 9:428.

[341] "To [Henry Alexander Scammell Dearborn]," Washington, 8th June 1824, *PJCC*, 9:143. See "Eldred Simkins, [Representative from S.C.,] to Patrick Noble," Abbeville, S.C., 1/8 [1820], *PJCC*, 4:560; and "To R[obert] S. Garnett, [Representative from Va.]," Washington, 3d July 1824, *PJCC*, 9:199-200. Also see C. Edward Skeen, "Calhoun, Crawford, and the Politics of Retrenchment," *The South Carolina Historical Magazine*, vol. 73, no. 3 (July 1972), 141-55.

[342] "To J[oseph] G. Swift, New York City, 'confidential,'" Washington, 10th May 1823, *PJCC*, 8:58. See "To A[ndrew] Jackson," Washington, 30th March 1823, *PJCC*, 7:550.

[343] "To Charles Tait, [Elbert County, Ga.]," War Dept 20th July 1818, *PJCC*, 2:408. See "To [James Monroe]," War Dep[artmen]t, 26th July 1820, *PJCC*, 5:292.

has been a great increase of attachment to our republican Institutions."[344] "I am more confident every day," he hence predicted, "that as we… have defeated the Federalist[s], so will we trample over the Radicals and intriguers," declaring in an 1823 letter as well that "I staked every thing against Federalism, and am prepared to resist our new enemy Radicalism with equal zeal."[345] The Adams family and many other northeastern Federalists became "National Republican" Democrats before, during, and after the War of 1812 upon concluding that Junto-type Federalists were indeed British proxies working to sever the Union on Britain's behalf. John Adams thus claimed in 1801 that "[t]he Adherents of Mr. Hamilton… are chiefly the Old Tories and their Connections," and he blamed them for enhancing Jefferson's appeal due to their extreme hatred of France and excessive adulation for Britain.[346] "Pensilvania," he also complained, "was driven into the Arms of… Democracy, by the Same Hamilton, and his Essex Junto," and his wife informed their daughter in 1809 that "[t]he leaders in our State have… assumed powers which belong only to the national government; and are meditating schemes which they dare not openly avow; and which your father and mother think destructive to the Union, and independence of the country, and which will subjugate us to the power and domination of Great Britain."[347]

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[344] "To C[harles] Fisher, [former Representative from N.C.,] 'Private,'" Washington, 11th June 1823, *PJCC*, 8:108; and "To William O. DuVal [former Representative from Ky.]," War Dep[artmen]t, 22d Oct[obe]r 1820, *PJCC*, 5:407.

[345] "To S[amuel L.] Gouverneur, [New York City?]," Washington, 9th April 1823, *PJCC*, 8:10; and "To H[enry] Wheaton, [New York City,] 'Very confidential,'" Washington, 8th May 1823, *PJCC*, 8:55. See "To Joseph G. Swift, New York City," Washington, 24th Aug[us]t 1823, *PJCC*, 8:243; "To J[oseph] G. Swift," Washington, 26th Oct[ober] 1823, *PJCC*, 8:329; "To J[ohn] G[eorge] Jackson, Clarksburg, Va., 'Confidential,'" Washington, 29th Dec[embe]r 1823, *PJCC*, 8:430; and "To [Robert] S. Garnett [Representative from Va.], 'Confidential,'" Washington, June 6, 1824, *PJCC*, 9:39.

[346] "John Adams to Thomas Boylston Adams," Washington January 24 1801, Adams Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.

[347] "John Adams to the Printers of the Boston Patriot," [1809], Adams Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society; and "Abigail Adams to Abigail Adams Smith," Quincy, April 10th, 1809, *Journal and Correspondence of Miss Adams*, ed. Caroline A. S. De Windt (New York: Wiley & Putnam, 1841-42), 2:188–91. "Their language," Thomas Boylston Adams explained with reference to bilious criticism of Madison by "the Junto," "has been full of reproach and very much in the style formerly used towards your father upon his continuing to treat with the French Government in 1799. I need not add that it has proceeded from the same sources and from a similar policy." "Thomas Boylston Adams to John Quincy Adams," Quincy 10th: April 1808, Adams Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.

John Quincy Adams, for his part, had once asserted that liberty and republican government would decay "in proportion as the principle of democracy predominates in the Constitution," but he joined the Democrats in 1808 even though his brother claimed that Junto propaganda was being spread "most probably by the help of the Democrats" so as to cynically discredit moderate Federalists.[348] Many parts of Massachusetts itself, after all, had become "so totally adverse to all federalism" by 1804 "that there is no prospect, nor even chance of success for the present election…."[349] William Cunningham, Jr. therefore decried John Adams because "your Son has become a Democrat, and you have followed him…."[350] An anonymous Federalist admirer of "the profound Pickering," moreover, not only reviled Adams in 1812 for "deserting the party who rais'd you," but even for "plunging the Provinces in a wicked and unjust Rebellion against the mother Country," adding with reference to the president that loyal Federalists would hopefully "rise in their strength & sweep Him from life – but if too well gaurded by his Southern Slaves – you… may expect the same punishment for your manifold crimes."[351] Adams, however, responded by pointing out that Junto Federalists had managed to so thoroughly "identify themselves with the Tories and the English" during the War of 1812 that they had left the pro-Madison Democrats entirely "in possession of the fond Affections of the People…."[352]

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[348] "John Quincy Adams to Thomas Boylston Adams," 24. February. 1801, Adams Family Papers, Letterbooks, Massachusetts Historical Society; and "Thomas Boylston Adams to John Quincy Adams," Quincy 10th: April 1808, Adams Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society. See Robert R. Thompson, "John Quincy Adams, Apostate: From 'Outrageous Federalist' to 'Republican Exile,' 1801-1809," *Journal of the Early Republic*, vol. 11, no. 2 (Summer 1991), 161-83.

[349] "John Quincy Adams to Louisa Catherine Adams," Quincy 7. October 1804, Adams Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.

[350] "William Cunningham, Jr. to John Adams," Fitchburg, April 18th. 1811, Adams Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society. "That our Southern States should be infected with Jacobinism," Cunningham added, "is generally thought more easy of explanation than its existence here. But nature is every where the same. Vessuvius blazes in the South; the North has its Hecla; and hot springs issue from among frozen mountains, as well as under the tropicks…." Ibid.

[351] "Unknown to John Adams," [August 1812], Adams Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.

[352] "John Adams to Benjamin Rush," Quincy Septr. 18. 1812, Library of Congress.

John Quincy Adams, though, noted in 1808 that New England Federalists who wished to become Democrats could not simply join but rather had "to *negotiate* themselves into favour with Mr: Madison and his friends."[353] Calhoun welcomed the help of repentant Federalists within and beyond New England to defeat the Essex Junto and Radicals alike, but he insisted that National Republicans could not cling to their old consolidation doctrines in the process, for they had to openly endorse his kind of state's rights. They also had to support white supremacy even if they remained strongly opposed to the institution of slavery, acceding to black disenfranchisement, church disestablishment, and universal suffrage among white men as well.[354] And if they were unwilling to praise Napoleonic France, they had to at least denounce the British government. Having been appointed the U.S. ambassador to Russia by the Madison administration as a reward for his defection from the Federalists, Adams accordingly informed Madame de Staël that while he "deeply lamented" the War of 1812 and "cherished the hope that it would not last long," "England had forced it upon us by measures as outrageous upon the rights of an independent nation, as tyrannical, as oppressive, as any that could be charged upon Buonaparte."[355] But he still privately assured his brother that "I cannot reconcile myself to the idea of a War from which we can in all probability derive no benefit, and which can only promote the purposes of France. – That it is forced upon us by the stupid obstinacy of the British Cabinet, thought sufficient for our justification; is not enough to remove my anxieties…."[356]

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[353] "John Quincy Adams to Thomas Boylston Adams," Washington 12. March 1808, Adams Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.

[354] See Peter S. Field, *The Crisis of the Standing Order: Clerical Intellectuals and Cultural Authority in Massachusetts, 1780-1833* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1998).

[355] "John Quincy Adams to John Adams," St Petersburg. 22 of March 1813, Adams Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society. John Adams had similarly observed in 1804 that "[t]he mighty change" in Federalist political fortunes "could not have been accomplished without a little assistance from England," which had played into the pro-French hands of the Democrats by being so belligerent toward the Union. "John Adams to Thomas Truxtun," Quincy 13th: December 1804, Adams Family Papers, Letterbooks, Massachusetts Historical Society.

[356] "John Quincy Adams to Thomas Boylston Adams," St. Petersburg 4. March 1812, Adams Family Papers, Letterbooks, Massachusetts Historical Society.

Calhoun assumed during the Era of Good Feelings that the threat posed by Junto Federalists now existed outside the realm of formal politics in the form of so-called Benevolent Empire missionaries patronizing blacks and Indians with the same ostensible "philanthropick motive" as British abolitionists.[357] He was thus happy to bestow political favors upon National Republicans, as when he presented his "best respects" to John Quincy Adams's wife in 1820 and informed her "that on an examination of the case of Mr Boyd, he [*i.e*. Calhoun] found he could with propriety make the allowance to him, which she desired."[358] But he also expected them to defer to "War Hawk" Democrat leaders. He was aghast as a result when Henry Clay, who had effectively become a National Republican, transferred his electoral support in 1824 to John Quincy Adams and thereby denied the presidency to Jackson, for "the principles on which Mr. Adams came into power, and which have been attempted to be vindicated by his and Mr. Clay's friends, are utterly inconsistent with the principles of the Constitution…."[359] One Democrat, after all, had in 1805 described the Federalists as being split into a faction which "wished that a Son of George the 3d. might be installed King over us" and "[a] second that [hoped] Mr. Adams and his posterity might have succeeded to Kingship and retained the sovereignty over us…"[360] Jackson had won a plurality of the vote, but even worse for Calhoun than Adams becoming president *via* "a wicked conspiracy" was the fact that National Republicans were starting to evince heresies redolent of New England Federalism, betraying the true "*national policy*" by

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[357] "From Lewis Cass," Detroit, Aug. 3, 1819, *PJCC*, 4:202.

[358] "John C. Calhoun to Louisa Catherine Johnson Adams," 27th March 1820, Adams Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.

[359] "'Onslow' [John C. Calhoun] to 'Patrick Henry' [John Quincy Adams?]," [Published on October 12, 1826], *PJCC*, 10:231. See "Toast offered by Calhoun during an independence anniversary dinner at Pendleton, 7/3 [1827]," *PJCC*, 10:294.

[360] "Thomas Allen to Thomas Jefferson," [on or before March 4, 1805], Thomas Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress. "God has broken in pieces the powerful Confederacy of Federalists," the Democrat added, "by dividing their Counsels…." Ibid.

recidivating into consolidation, economic sectionalism, nativism, and British abolitionism.[361] He had thus claimed in 1823 that while his own elevation to the presidency would "strengthen and invigorate" the Democracy because he was "free alike from the charge of Federalism or Radicalism," Crawford's "would distract it" and Adams's "would endanger its existence."[362]

Asserting that President Adams was, "most unfortunately for himself," a mere "instrument" of the northeastern "monied aristocracy," Calhoun claimed that the new National Republican administration was traducing state's rights and equality among whites alike; that it was directing all western commerce toward the northeast by means of non-military internal improvements while rapidly industrializing the North at the South's expense through protective tariffs.[363] The president's "desertion of principle" was further exemplified by his conciliatory, anti-expansionist foreign policy toward Britain, for Secretary of State Adams had already irritated "War Hawk" Democrats when his 1819 treaty with Spain secured Spanish recognition of the Union's conquest of Florida but abandoned the Bonapartists of Champ d'Asile by making southwestern territorial concessions.[364] Worst of all, the Adams administration appeared to be turning what Calhoun's ally the former Louisiana congressman and governor Thomas B. Robertson called "the new born black colored sympathy of our Northern and Eastern brethren"

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[361] "To [Littleton Waller] Tazewell, [Senator from Va.,] Norfolk," Pendleton, 1st July 1827, *PJCC*, 10:293; and "To H[enry] Wheaton, [New York City,] 'Very confidential,'" Washington, 8th May 1823, *PJCC*, 8:54. See "To C[harles] Tait, [Claiborne, Ala.]," Washington, 1st Oct[obe]r 1821, *PJCC*, 6:413; "To N[inian] Edwards, 'Private,'" War Dep[artmen]t, 20th Aug[us]t 1822, *PJCC*, 7:249; "To Dr. J. H. Wallace, Fredericksburg, Va.," Washington, 22d. Nov. 1824, *PJCC*, 9:401; and "To J[oseph] G. Swift, 'Confidential,'" Pendleton, 2d Sep[tembe]r 1825, *PJCC*, 10:40.

[362] "To M[icah] Sterling, 'Confidential,'" Washington, 27th March 1823, *PJCC*, 7:547; and "To V[irgil] Maxcy, Baltimore," Washington, 13th March 1823, *PJCC*, 7:519.

[363] "To L[evi] Woodbury, [Senator from N.H.,] 'Confidential,'" Pendleton, 21st Sep[tembe]r 1826, *PJCC*, 10:206; and "To S[amuel] Smith, Baltimore," Pendleton, 28th July 1828, *PJCC*, 10:403. See "To J[oseph] G. Smith, 'Strictly Confidential,'" Washington, 10th March 1825, *PJCC*, 10:10; "To B[artlett] Yancey, [former Representative from N.C.]," Washington, 14th Jan[uar]y 1827, *PJCC*, 10:253; and "To [Micah Sterling, Watertown, N.Y.]," Pendleton, 12th August 1827, *PJCC*, 10:298 .

[364] "To [Micah Sterling, Watertown, N.Y.]," *op. cit.*, 10:298. See Ed Bradley, "Fighting for Texas: Filibuster James Long, the Adams-Onís Treaty, and the Monroe Administration," *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, vol. 102, no. 3 (January 1999), 322-42; and David E. Narrett, "Liberation and Conquest: John Hamilton Robinson and U.S. Adventurism toward Mexico, 1806-1819," *The Western Historical Quarterly*, vol. 40, no. 1 (Spring 2009), 23-50.

into federal policy, as when Adams's supporter the Connecticut-born Pennsylvania Federalist *cum* National Republican congressman Charles Miner introduced "propositions in relation to slavery in the District of Columbia" that seemed to be hostile not just to slavery but also white supremacy.[365] Having noted in 1825 that "the recognition of Hayti begins to be spoken of the Northern papers," Calhoun feared "not so much the recognition simply, as what must follow it. We must send and receive ministers; and what would be our social relations… [with] a Black minister in Washington? Must he be received or excluded from our dinners, our dances and our parties, and must his daughters and sons participate in the society of our daughters and sons? Small as these considerations appear to be they involve the peace and perhaps the union of this nation."[366] He had tried to conciliate or at least hear out northerners who blasted slavery as an affront to the spirit of "modern times" but allowed that only states and not the U.S. government could undertake emancipation; and who agreed that "the black monster" ought never to live alongside white Americans on an equal basis, for no true Democrat could, in Calhoun's view, offer enslaved blacks anything beyond gradual manumission to be followed by "colonization" or immutable resident alien status within the Union.[367] He therefore warned that he and his compatriots would never tolerate National Republicans who would "count the slave question, as among the ways and means of uniting what is called the free States…," let alone British abolitionism rising to acclaim in the North and spreading to the South *via* Henry Clay.[368] And so Vice President Calhoun leveled his highest charge of treason against the president by anonymously declaring that John Quincy Adams's policies were "in imitation of the English."[369]

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[365] "From Thomas B[olling] Robertson, [former Representative from La.]," New Orleans, April 24th 1820, *PJCC*, 5:74; and "To [Littleton Waller Tazewell?, Senator from Va.]," Washington, 13th June 1826, *PJCC*, 10:128-29.
[366] "To S[amuel] L. Southard, Confidential,'" Pendleton, 16th Aug[us]t 1825, *PJCC*, 10:39.
[367] See "From Thomas Law," [August 10, 1821], *PJCC*, 6:329.
[368] "To B[artlett] Yancey, [former Representative from N.C.]," Washington, 14th Jan[uar]y 1827, *PJCC*, 10:253.
[369] "'Onslow' [John C. Calhoun] to 'Patrick Henry' [John Quincy Adams?]," [Published on October 12, 1826], *PJCC*, 10:232.

Calhoun was confident that such rhetoric would induce northern Democrats to come to their senses, predicting in 1828 that "[t]he election of Gen[era]l Jackson, which I consider almost certain, will, I trust, contribute to a better state of things."[370] Jackson, after all, had written to him in 1820 complaining about "those itinerant Yankeys, who are endeavoring to poison the minds of our slaves as well as the Indians, and who never ought to be entrusted with an office in a southern climate."[371] "If New England will hitch herself" to Adams in 1828, Calhoun thus warned, "it is not difficult to see, that a period of mortification, worse than that which followed the reign of terror [*i.e.* the Alien and Sedition acts] will await her."[372] Jackson did indeed defeat Adams in 1828, but Vice President Calhoun was soon appalled to witness the "usurpation" and "pervertion" of his administration by Martin Van Buren, a prominent New York Democrat who had struck his own "Corrupt Bargain" in 1824 with Crawford in hopes of obtaining high office.[373] Calhoun took Van Buren for a greedy power-seeker who had secretly sold out to the National Republicans and was flattering Jackson so as "to increase his influence in the Government…."[374] Jackson was therefore failing to cure the "deep" and perhaps "fatal disease lurking in the system" due to the "arts and intrigues" of Van Buren, in whom he had "improperly

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[370] "To B[artlett] Yancey, [former Representative from N.C.]," Pendleton, 16th July 1828, *PJCC*, 10:401. See "Speech at Abbeville, S.C.," [May 27, 1825]," *PJCC*, 10:23; "To A[ndrew] Jackson, 'Private,'" Washington, 4th June 1826, *PJCC*, 10:110; "To [Littleton Waller Tazewell?, Senator from Va.]," Washington, 13th June 1826, *PJCC*, 10:128; "Rough Draft of What is Called the South Carolina Exposition," [Completed *ca*. 11/25/1828?], *PJCC*, 10:530; and "To [Virgil] Maxcy," Fort Hill, 11th Sep[tembe]r 1830, *PJCC*, 11:229.

[371] "From Andrew Jackson," Nashville, Nov[embe]r 13th 1820, *PJCC*, 5:435.

[372] "To L[evi] Woodbury, [Senator from N.H.,], 'Confidential,'" Pendleton, 21st Sep[tembe]r 1826, *PJCC*, 10:207.

[373] "To S[amuel] Smith, Baltimore," Pendleton, 28th July 1828, *PJCC*, 10:404. See "To N[inian] Edwards, [Senator from Ill.]," Washington, 12th June 1822, *PJCC*, 7:159; "To V[irgil] Maxcy, Annapolis, Md.," Washington, 2d Aug[us]t [1822], *PJCC*, 7:231; "To S[amuel] L. Gouverneur, [New York City?]," Washington, 28th April 1823, *PJCC*, 8:34; "To B[olling] Hall, [Autauga County, Ala.?]," Fort Hill, 8th Sep[tembe]r 1831, *PJCC*, 11:466; "To [Samuel D. Ingham, New Hope, Pa.]," Washington, 13th Jan. 1832, *PJCC*, 11:542; and "To J[ohn] E[wing] Colhoun, [Pendleton, S.C.]," Washington, 30th Jan[uar]y 1834, *PJCC*, 12:231.

[374] "To J[ames] H. Hammond, [Columbia, S.C.]," Fort Hill, 16th May 1831, *PJCC*, 11:382. See "To B[olling] Hall, [Autauga County, Ala.?]," *op. cit.*, 11:466; "To Christopher Vandeventer, [Erie County, N.Y.?]," Fort Hill, 27th Oct[obe]r 1831, *PJCC*, 11:483; and "To Lt. J[ames] Ed[ward] Colhoun," Washington, 28th April 1832, *PJCC*, 11:569.

placed his confidence."[375] It was not Jackson but rather Van Buren "who *really* control[led] the administration," which had ceased to stand for proper state's rights and was instead pursuing an incoherent jumble of policies, a few of which pleased the Radicals while most of the rest were trending ominously toward consolidation.[376] Jackson, after all, was assailing Calhoun's B.U.S. in the name of Radical state's rights even as he appeared to have endorsed a protective tariff.[377]

When Secretary of State Van Buren sought to open trade with the British West Indies, Calhoun foiled his bid to become the U.S. ambassador to Britain. But this petty victory did not change the fact that Calhoun was starting "to dispair, as great as is my confidence in my country men, and, I will add, the enlightened genius of the age."[378] His relations with the president deteriorated on a personal level as well, and Calhoun reported in a March 1831 letter that "all the ties between Jackson and myself are cut."[379] Jackson thus came to be a symbol for Calhoun of the adulteration at National Republican and, to a lesser extent, Radical hands of the Democracy's original ideological purity, of which the Tennessee "War Hawk" had previously been a veritable incarnation. When Calhoun resigned the vice presidency in 1832, Van Buren replaced him, and

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[375] "To J[ohn] McLean, Washington," Pendleton, 10th July 1828, *PJCC*, 10:398; and "To J[ohn] McLean, [Associate Justice,] Supreme Court, 'Confidential,'" Pendleton, 22d Sep[tembe]r 1829, *PJCC*, 11:76. See "To M[icah] Sterling, [Watertown, N.Y.]," Washington, 8th March 1831, *PJCC*, 11:358; "To S[amuel] D. Ingham, [New Hope, Pa.]," Fort Hill, 8th Sep[tembe]r 1831, *PJCC*, 11:468; "To A[rmistead] Burt, Abbeville, S.C.," Colu[mbia, S.C.], 27th Nov[embe]r 1831, *PJCC*, 11:510; and "To S[amuel] D. Ingham," Washington, 11th Feb. 1832, *PJCC*, 11:547.

[376] "To [Samuel D. Ingham, New Hope, Pa.]," Washington, 13th Jan. 1832, *PJCC*, 11:542. See "Speech on Internal Improvements," [In the Senate, April 10, 1828], *PJCC*, 10:371.

[377] See "To T[omlinson] Fort, [Milledgeville, Ga.]," [Washington, *ca*. February 15, 1830], *PJCC*, 11:122; "From D[uff] Green," Washington, 23d Oct. 1832, *PJCC*, 11:668; "Speech on the Removal of the Deposits," [In the Senate, January 13, 1834], *PJCC*, 12:221; and "Remarks on the Treasury Surplus," [In the Senate, February 17, 1836], *PJCC*, 13:85.

[378] "To V[irgil Maxcy, Washington," Fort Hill, 3d Nov. 1830, *PJCC*, 11:258. See "To Col. N[athan] Towson, [Washington?]," Fort Hill, 11th Sept 1830, *PJCC*, 11:230; "To R[obert] S. Garnett, [Essex County, Va.]," Fort Hill, 21st Sep[tembe]r 1831, *PJCC*, 11:472; and "To [Samuel D. Ingham, New Hope, Pa.]," Washington, 13th Jan. 1832, *PJCC*, 11:543.

[379] "To M[icah] Sterling, [Watertown, N.Y.]," Washington, 8th March 1831, *PJCC*, 11:358. See "To [Andrew] Jackson," Steam boat Potomac, 1st June 1830, *PJCC*, 11:199; "To S[amuel] D. Ingham, [New Hope, Pa.]," *op. cit.*, 11:468; and "Remarks on an Article in *The Globe*," [In the Senate, February 2, 1835], *PJCC*, 12:410-12.

when the "Little Magician" was elected president in 1836, Calhoun waxed nostalgic for the Era of Good Feelings, back when "[t]he people were patriotic and the public morals untainted."[380]

Calhoun also predicted that the National Republicans would create a new party in the end that would better realize their increasingly Junto-like goals than Van Buren's discordant Democracy, for when ex-Federalist abolitionists had "taught" most northerners "to hate the people and institutions of nearly one half of this Union," they would, he averred in 1836, form "the basis of a powerful political party, that will seek advancement by diffusing… hatred against the slave holding States.[381] And the northeastern "money power" would, he thought, gladly help them impose emancipation, racial equality, and even black rule upon the South in order to turn the region into a submissive agricultural colony and deprive the Democracy of its electoral power-base.[382] Calhoun's prediction seemed to have come true when Henry Clay led a National Republican exodus into the new Whig Party during the mid-to-late 1830s in hopes of more effectually advancing "what is most falsely called the American system," which was Clay's "gigantic scheme of blending into one the General and State Governments, and uniting the two with the great capitalists of the country…."[383] His cousin Cassius M. Clay, moreover, became an

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[380] "Speech at Pendleton," [August 12. 1836], *PJCC*, 13: 267.

[381] "Report from the Select Committee on the Circulation of Incendiary Publications," in the Senate of the U.S., Feb[ruar]y 4, 1836, *PJCC*, 13:65.

[382] "Speech on His Amendment to Separate the Government and the Banks," [In the Senate, October 3, 1837], *PJCC*, 13:593. See "Speech on the Force Bill," [In the Senate, February 15 and 16, 1833], *PJCC*, 12:76; "Report from the Select Committee on the Circulation of Incendiary Publications," *op. cit.*, 13:63; and "Remarks on the American Colonization Society Memorial," [In the Senate, January 27, 1837], *PJCC*, 13:371.

[383] "To J[ohn] McLean, Postmaster General, Washington," Pendleton, 4th Aug[us]t 1828, *PJCC*, 10:405; and "Remarks on Daniel Webster's Bill on the Public Deposits," [In the Senate, June 28, 1838], *PJCC*, 14:353. For Clay's National Republican *cum* Whig supporters in the upper and even lower South, see "Notice of the Organization of the Mississippi Antidueling Society," from the Vicksburg *Sentinel*, May 24, 1844, *PJD*, 2:147-53; Elizabeth R. Varon, *We Mean to be Counted: White Women and Politics in Antebellum Virginia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998); and Elizabeth R. Varon, *Southern Lady, Yankee Spy: The True Story of Elizabeth Van Lew, A Union Agent in the Heart of the Confederacy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

anti-slavery Whig and reputed abolitionist in Kentucky, having imbibed, as Calhoun put it, "poison" from the Massachusetts abolitionist and former Federalist William Lloyd Garrison.[384]

The National Republicans, Calhoun had lamented in 1833, were no longer even pretending to profess "the doctrines of State Rights," for they were "carr[ying] the principles and practice of consolidation far beyond what the Federal party, in the days of Hamilton and [Fisher] Ames, ever conceived."[385] Not even the old Essex Junto, after all, had baldly denied "the federative character of the Constitution, though they were accused of supporting a system of policy which would necessarily lead to consolidation."[386] Deploring the "Harrisonism" of the Whigs who defeated Van Buren in 1840 as "neither more nor less than old federalism, tainted with… abolition, and turned demagouge of the lowest order," he bemoaned the apparent fact that "Wall street (the head and centre, in our country, of the great moneyed, bank, stock, and paper interest, domestic and foreign) is in the ascendant in the councils of the Union," bitterly accusing abolitionist-friendly Whigs of having "transferred their allegiance to a foreign Power" as well.[387]

A Cynical Alliance Born of Defeat: John C. Calhoun and the Southern Radicals, 1824-40

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[384] Quoted in Fox-Genovese and Genovese, *The Mind of the Master Class*, 477. Clay was deeply moved by a Garrison lecture he had attended while a student at Yale in the early 1830s. See Stanley Carton, "Cassius Marcellus Clay, Antislavery Whig in the Presidential Campaign of 1844," *The Register of the Kentucky Historical Society*, vol. 68, no. 1 (January 1970), 17-36; and Marc M. Arkin, "The Federalist Trope: Power and Passion in Abolitionist Rhetoric," *The Journal of American History*, vol. 88, no. 1 (June 2001), 75-98.

[385] "To Thomas Holland and Others," Lumpkin County [Ga.], July 2nd, 1833, *PJCC*, 11:159.

[386] "Speech in Reply to Daniel Webster on the Force Bill," [In the Senate, February 26, 1833], *PJCC*, 12:132. Fisher Ames was a leading Massachusetts Junto Federalist who had fomented New England secessionism. See Winfred E. A. Bernhard, *Fisher Ames: Federalist and Statesman, 1758-1808* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1965). Ames also presented petitions against the Atlantic slave trade in Congress from the famous anti-slavery Quaker activist Warner Mifflin, who sought not just freedom but also equality for "our fellow-man, the Blacks in this Land…." "Warner Mifflin to John Adams," Philadelphia 24th of the 9th. mo. 1798, Adams Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society. See Stewart D. Smith, "Slavery and the Federalist Party, 1789-1808" (MA Thesis; Denton: North Texas State University, 1966), 107.

[387] "To A[rmistead] Burt, Abbeville, S.C.," Fort Hill, 20th Aug[us]t 1840, *PJCC*, 15:335; "Speech on the Loan Bill," [In the Senate, July 19, 1841], *PJCC*, 15:638; and "Speech on the Case of the Brig *Enterprise*," [In the Senate, March 13, 1840], *PJCC*, 15:156. See "Remarks on the Right of Petition," [In the Senate, February 13, 1840], *PJCC*, 15:104; "Remarks on the Tariff Duties and Drawbacks Bill," [In the Senate, September 4, 1841], *PJCC*, 15:760; and "Life of John C. Calhoun, Presenting a Condensed History of Political Events from 1811 to 1843," [1843], *PJCC*, 17:94, 96.

The election of Adams in 1824 was a disaster for Calhoun because "[c]unning, dexterity and corruption" had foiled "the deliberate choice of the people," leaving "[t]he real supporters of the measures of the late administration" adrift while the Radicals "profess to see in it a fulfillment of the evils which they have anticipated."[388] Gloating Crawford supporters berated him for having trusted National Republican northerners more than his fellow southerners the Radicals, and Calhoun glumly conceded their point in order to forge a temporary alliance with them that would foil Adams until Jackson could be elected in 1828.[389] Yet that certainly did not mean he had become a Radical. "If there is one portion of the Constitution, which I most admire," he wrote in an 1824 letter explaining true "State rights" to a Radical, "it is the distribution of power between the State and General government. It is the only portion, that is novel and peculiar. The rest has been more, or less copied; this is our invention and is altogether our own; and I consider it to be the greatest improvement, which has been made in the science of government…."[390] But while he and the Radicals still disagreed as to whether or not a strong U.S. government confined to its delegated powers was consolidated, they could at least temporarily unite against Adams-style consolidation as had the two wings of the southern Democracy in 1798. Calhoun began mending fences with Radicals in the mid-to-late 1820s as a result, faintly praising rather than denouncing such Radical leaders as John Taylor, Nathaniel Macon, and James Henry Hammond.[391] Now that Randolph was focusing his vitriol on Adams,

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[388] "To [Samuel L. Gouverneur?, New York City,] 'Confidential,'" Washington, 18th Dec[embe]r 1825, *PJCC*, 10:57-58.

[389] See "To M[icah] Sterling, [Watertown, N.Y.]," Washington, 31st May 1826, *PJCC*, 10:108-09; "To James Monroe, ['Oak Hill,' Loudoun County, Va.]," Washington, 23d June 1826, *PJCC*, 10:134; and "To L[evi] Woodbury, [Senator from N.H.,] 'Confidential,'" Pendleton, 21st Sep[tembe]r 1826, *PJCC*, 10:206.

[390] "To R[obert] S. Garnett, [Representative from Va.]," Washington, 3d July 1824, *PJCC*, 9:*198*.

[391] See "To V[irgil] Maxcy," Washington, 24th April 1823, *PJCC*, 8:28; "To Joseph G. Swift, New York City," Washington, 24th Aug[us]t 1823, *PJCC*, 8:243; "Speech Upon Taking the Oath of Office," [In the Senate, March 4, 1825], *PJCC*, 10:7; "To [Littleton Waller] Tazewell, [Senator from Va.,] Norfolk," Pendleton, 1st April 1827, *PJCC*, 10:282; "To [John McLean, Postmaster General, Washington]," Pendleton, 4th Oct[obe]r 1828, *PJCC*, 11:228; "To J[ames] H. Hammond, [Columbia, S.C.]," Fort Hill, 16th May 1831, *PJCC*, 11:382; "To V[irgil] Maxcy," Fort Hill,

moreover, Calhoun thinly lauded him as well.[392] Indeed, Vice President Calhoun even allowed Randolph to rant at length against Adams in the Senate even though the Virginian was evidently out of order and still put "Caesar, and Cromwell, and Bonaparte" in the same malign category.[393]

Yet when the Jackson administration failed to purify the Democracy as Calhoun had hoped, the South Carolinian reluctantly decided to prolong and deepen his alliance with the Radicals.[394] After all, they both viewed a protective "[t]ariff of monopoly" which would enrich "the great geographical Northern manufacturing interest" at southern expense and place the South in a "colonial relation" *vis-à-vis* the North as a consolidation abomination.[395] When Jackson failed to take a clear stand against protective tariffs, Calhoun reminded him that when Adams became president, "I found myself acting with many of the friends of Mr. Crawford to whom I had been recently opposed and opposed to many of my old friends with whom I had, till then, been associated."[396] Having warned Jackson that he would align with the Radicals against him as well unless he were to cast Van Buren aside, Senator Calhoun began working with the congressional Radicals once more after Jackson selected Van Buren to be his successor, endeavoring to render "possession of the government" by the North's "powerful and corrupt combination" of National Republicans and pliant Van Buren Democrats ineffectual by voting

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1st Sep[tembe]r 1831, *PJCC*, 11:464; "To A[lexander] Bowie and Others, [Abbeville District, S.C.]," Fort Hill, 9th Sept. 1832, *PJCC*, 11:651; "Speech in Reply to Daniel Webster on the Force Bill," [In the Senate, February 26, 1833], *PJCC*, 12:126; and "Speech on the Bill to Prevent the Interference of Certain Federal Officers in Elections," [In the Senate, February 22, 1839], *PJCC*, 14:569.

[392] See "'Onslow' [John C. Calhoun] to 'Patrick Henry' [John Quincy Adams?]," [Published on June 29, 1826], *PJCC*, 10:154; "To a Committee at Farmville, Va.," Washington, June 23, 1834, *PJCC*, 12:346-47; "Further Remarks on His Fifth Resolution," [In the Senate, January 11, 1838], *PJCC*, 14:88; and "Final Remarks on the Proposal to Cede the Public Lands to the States," [In the Senate, February 2, 1841], *PJCC*, 15:497.

[393] "Speech on Retrenchment and Reform," [House of Representatives], February 1, 1828, in Kirk, *John Randolph of Roanoke*, 510. See "Senate Proceedings on a Proposed Amendment of the Constitution," [In the Senate, March 30, 1826], *PJCC*, 10:88; and "Charles Francis Adams to John Adams," Washington City. May 21st. 1826, Adams Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.

[394] "To [John McLean, Postmaster General, Washington]," *op. cit.*, 10:427.

[395] "To L[ittleton] W[aller] Tazewell," Pendleton, 25th August 1827, *PJCC*, 10:300; and "To [Frederick W.] Symmes, [Editor of the Pendleton, S.C., *Messenger*]," Fort Hill, July 26th, 1831, *PJCC*, 11:436. See "To [Samuel D. Ingham, Secretary of the Treasury]," Fort Hill, 30th Oct[obe]r 1830, *PJCC*, 11:254.

[396] "To [Andrew Jackson]," Washington, 29th May 1830, *PJCC*, 11:181.

against federal internal improvements, direct taxation, a new Bank of the United States, and even military appropriations to "prevent a consolidation of all power in the General Government."[397]

At the same time, however, Calhoun insisted with reference to his own supporters that "[w]e are the real conservative body, equally opposed to aristocracy and agrarianism."[398] He still viewed the Radicals as a reactionary force of the Right, albeit one which was the lesser of two evils when compared to New England Federalism's National Republican heirs, whom Van Buren's "Albany Regency" supporters were, in Calhoun's view, not just conciliating but even emulating. Calhoun thus angrily refuted the pro-Van Buren Democratic Missouri U.S. senator Thomas Hart Benton's 1835 accusation that he had become a Radical, insisting that "[m]y opinions are now as they were formerly."[399] Radicals, in turn, mistrusted Calhoun's commitment to "the Old Republican States Rights School" even as they welcomed him as an ally against "the National Consolidation School of politics."[400] South Carolina's James Henry Hammond, for instance, deemed him a "stumbling block" to secession, suspecting that he would "sacrifice the South… on the altar of his ambition" after using Radical state's rights as a threat to coerce northern Democrats back into the "War Hawk" fold.[401] And one of Hammond's correspondents

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[397] "Speech at Pendleton," [August 12. 1836], *PJCC*, 13:268; and "To [Virgil] Maxcy," Fort Hill, 11th Sep[tembe]r 1830, *PJCC*, 11:228. See "Remarks on the Report of the Conference Committee on the Volunteer Bill," [In the Senate, March 20, 1836], *PJCC*, 13:194; "Remarks on the Indian Appropriations," [In the Senate, May 18, 1836], *PJCC*, 13:191; "Remarks on the bill to establish armories, arsenals, a foundry, and arms depots in the South and West," 6/27 [1836], *PJCC*, 13:250; "To Ja[me]s Ed[ward] Colhoun, Terrysville, Abbeville District, S.C.," Fort Hill, 12th May 1837, *PJCC*, 13:505; "To J[ames] Ed[ward] Colhoun," Washington, 7th Sep[tembe]r 1837, *PJCC*, 13:535; "To Benjamin W. S. Cabell, James M. Whittle, William Rison, and J[ones[W. Burton, [Pittsylvania Court House, Va.]," Fort Hill, 18th Nov., 1838, *PJCC*, 14:471; "Speech on the Bill to Prevent the Interference of Certain Federal Officers in Elections," [In the Senate, February 22, 1839], *PJCC*, 14:568-69, 572-73; "To Richard Vaux and Others, Philadelphia," Washington, Jan. 1, 1840, *PJCC*, 15:28; "Speech on the Loan Bill," [In the Senate, July 19, 1841], *PJCC*, 15:638; and "To Edw[ard] Delony, Clinton, La.," Fort Hill, July 6, 1843, *PJCC*, 17:293.

[398] Quoted in Fox-Genovese and Genovese, *The Mind of the Master Class*, 64. "Agrarianism" was a term used at the time to denote advocates of universal and absolute equality, including of economic condition.

[399] "Remarks on the Executive Patronage Report in Exchange with Thomas H. Benton," [In the Senate, February 13, 1835], *PJCC*, 12:465.

[400] "To Richard Vaux and Others, Philadelphia," Washington, January 1, 1840, *PJCC*, 15:28.

[401] Quoted in Drew Gilpin Faust, *James Henry Hammond and the Old South: A Design for Mastery* (Baton Rouge and London: Louisiana State University Press, 1982), 300, 248. See ibid., 172.

even declared in 1836 that "I have been steadily cursing Calhoun…. We work on… and make a doctrine popular. Of a sudden, he comes forward, seizes it… ruins the impression which might have been made on the country, by stitching the whole affair to his own political kite-tail."[402]

Calhoun, for his part, abhorred the Radicals for exaggerating and even cheering the rise of northern abolitionism and consolidation so as to popularize Radical state's rights and secession within the South.[403] The more cautious Radicals, to be more, feared that secession would result in a war which would inevitably bring about consolidation and slavery's destruction, preferring instead to remain in the Union so long as Radical state's rights remained viable. The most radical of the Radicals, however, yearned to bring about secession in order to create a new southern polity dedicated to Radical state's rights and slavery-in-the-abstract. When vestigial Federalists in Congress and a few other "designing men to the North" had demanded that the Missouri constitutional convention abolish slavery as a pre-condition for statehood in the early 1820s, Radicals urged southerners to embrace Radical state's rights or even secession in response, provoking Calhoun to observe that "I have sometimes feared that the Missouri question will create suspecions to the South very unfavorable to a correct policy."[404] Irritated by the fact that "the din of the Missouri question" was distracting Congress from "authoris[ing] the executive to occupy Florida," he worked with "temperate men" in both sections to help "defeat so dangerous and selfish [a] course."[405] A compromise, he explained in an 1821 letter, would be "for the interest of the country in general & that of the Southern States in particular, whose interest I cannot immagine to be opposed to that of the rest of the Union –

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[402] Quoted in Faust, *James Henry Hammond and the Old South*, 174.
[403] See "To [Samuel L. Gouverneur?, New York City,], 'Confidential,'" Washington, 18th Dec[embe]r 1825, *PJCC*, 10:58.
[404] "To C[harles] Tait, [Claiborne, Ala.]," War Dep[artmen]t, 26th Oct[obe]r 1820, *PJCC*, 5:413.
[405] "To C[harles] Tait, Claiborne, Ala.," War Dep[artmen]t, 29th Jan[uar]y 1820, *PJCC*, 4:618; and "To S[amuel] D. Ingham," War Dep[artmen]t, 17th Dec[em]b[er] 1820, *PJCC*, 5:500. See "To A[ndrew] Jackson, 'Private,'" War Dept., 27th March 1820, *PJCC*, 4:735; and "To C[harles] Tait, [Claiborne, Ala.]," Washington, 1st Oct[obe]r 1821, *PJCC*, 6:414.

tho' judging by language held by some to the South it would seem to be otherwise." The "intention" of such southerners, he added, was "to appear to be the exclusive advocates of that quarter of the Union in order to have its exclusive controul."[406] Yet he was wrong to have judged that the "agitators" in both sections had "not only completely failed" but also "destroyed to a great extent their capacity for future mischief" because National Republicans were bringing about "the renewal of the Missouri question" under Adams, and the Radicals had "contributed to weaken in some degree the attachment of our Southern and Western people to the Union…."[407]

Calhoun was incensed once more when Hammond and other Radicals sought to exploit the Nullification Crisis of the early 1830s to bring about secession. "Consolidation and disunion" were, he explained in an 1830 Independence Day toast, "the two extremes of our system; they are both equally dangerous and ought both to be equally the objects of our apprehension."[408] Calhoun believed that he was replicating the Virginia and Kentucky Resolves of 1798 when he convinced South Carolina to nullify the so-called Tariff of Abominations as an unconstitutional instance of "tyranny and consolidation."[409] His goal was therefore "not to destroy, but to save the Constitution and the Union" by producing a similar reaction among northerners as in 1800.[410] "I yield to none," he declared, "in a deep and sincere attachment to our political institutions, and the union of these States. I never breathed an opposite sentiment."[411] Warning northerners that he would support Radical state's rights alongside the Radicals to cripple the U.S. government until the North rejected National Republicans and Van Buren Democrats alike, and that a

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[406] "To M[icah] Sterling, [Representative from N.Y.]," Washington, 24th Sept. 1821, *PJCC*, 6:388.
[407] "To A[ndrew] Jackson, Nashville, 'Private,'" War Dep[artmen]t, 1st June 1820, *PJCC*, 5:164; "To [Littleton Waller Tazewell?, Senator from Va.]," Washington, 13th June 1826, *PJCC*, 10:128-29. See "To V[irgil] Maxcy, Annapolis, Md.," War Dept., 12th Aug[us]t 1820, *PJCC*, 5:327.
[408] "Toast by Calhoun at an Independence Day celebration," Pendleton, 7/4 [1830], *PJCC*, 11:208.
[409] "Rough Draft of an Address to the People of South Carolina," [For the S.C. General Assembly, *ca*. December 1, 1830], *PJCC*, 11:267. See "To V[irgil] Maxcy," Fort Hill, 1st Sep[tembe]r 1831, *PJCC*, 11:464.
[410] "To J[ohn] McLean, Postmaster General, Washington," Pendleton, 4th Aug[us]t 1828, *PJCC*, 10:407. See "To J[ames] Monroe, ['Oak Hill,' Loudoun County, Va.]," Pendleton, 10th July 1828, *PJCC*, 10:399.
[411] Quoted in O'Brien, *Conjectures of Order*, 827.

"revolution" would eventually ensue if they failed to do so, he insisted that "nullification… alone makes our system a federal, instead of a consolidated Government…."[412] At the seeming behest of Van Buren, however, President Jackson responded in March 1833 with the famous "Force Bill," which declared that the Supreme Court alone could invalidate unconstitutional federal laws and that the U.S. government would enforce the tariff in South Carolina by force if necessary.[413]

When Calhoun asserted in 1823 that "[n]o party ought to rise in this country, but what is identified with the old democratick Republican party, with the late war, and the measures of policy, which grew out of it…," he meant it: "With all of them, I have ever and, as I believe them to be… truth, intend ever to be identified."[414] It pained him that so "many to the North… who had long been my friends" failed to see why he was now working with the Radicals.[415] Senator Calhoun would therefore strive throughout the 1830s to make northern Democrats understand that if they returned to "conservative" state's rights, he and his supporters would toss the Radicals aside and restore "the Government to where it was when it commenced its operation in 1789…."[416] He sought to gauge the northern Democracy's strength and ideological purity in the mid-1830s by, for instance, testing to see if they would or could convince northerners to support his initiative to table all abolitionist petitions, frustrating such Radicals in the process as John Randolph's protégé N. Beverley Tucker, who had urged Congressman Hammond to take "direct action" by calling for abolitionist petitions to be rejected outright rather than merely tabled in

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[412] "To Lt. J[ames] E[dward] Colhoun, [Abbeville District, S.C.]," Washington, 25th Dec[embe]r 1831, *PJCC*, 11:529; and "To [Samuel D. Ingham, Secretary of the Treasury]," Fort Hill, 30th Oct[obe]r 1830, *PJCC*, 11:250.
[413] See "To W[illiam] C. Preston, [Columbia, S.C.]," Washington, [*ca*. February, 1833], *PJCC*, 12:37.
[414] "To J[oseph] G. Swift, 'Most confidential,'" Washington, 29th April 1823, *PJCC*, 8:38.
[415] "To [Micah Sterling, Watertown, N.Y.]," Pendleton, 12th August 1827, *PJCC*, 10:299.
[416] "Speech on the Bill to Prevent the Interference of Certain Federal Officers in Elections," [In the Senate, February 22, 1839], *PJCC*, 14:572.

order to engineer a sectional political crisis which might result in the creation of a "homogenous and united" southern polity dedicated to both Radical state's rights and slavery-in-the-abstract.[417]

Calhoun also periodically tested northern Democrats during the 1830s by urging them to support southern federal internal improvements. He therefore insisted that "[t]here ought to be a mint at New Orleans" to balance those in the North.[418] Federal military infrastructure for the South, however, was even more important. Having called for additional coastal fortresses to be constructed in all sections but especially the South, he held that an 1840 bill to establish "a dry dock at New York" should create another at Pensacola, for with British warships lurking in the Gulf, such installations were "all-important for the protection of Southern interests…."[419] But the northern Democrats usually voted with National Republican or northern Whig congressmen to reject his proposals, one of which was to establish, as he had put it when Secretary of War, "an additional military academy" that would "be placed where it would mutually accommodate the Southern and Western portions of our country," although he was still glad to see his son Patrick enter West Point.[420] And his proposed southern federal military infrastructure alarmed his Radical ostensible allies at the same time, for they feared that a strong U.S. army and navy would counterproductively provoke Britain, become an onerous tax burden upon southern planters, or even be wielded by consolidation-minded anti-slavery northerners against seceding slaveholders.

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[417] Quoted in Robert J. Brugger, *Beverley Tucker: Heart over Head in the Old South* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978), 117. See "Remarks on the Reception of the Ohio Abolition Petitions," [In the Senate, January 19, 1836], *PJCC*, 13:45; "Speech on Abolition Petitions," [In the Senate, March 9, 1836], *PJCC*, 13:98; and "Remarks on Receiving Abolition Petitions (First Report)," [In the Senate, February 6, 1837], *PJCC*, 13:390-91.

[418] "Remarks on the Bill to Establish Branch Mints," [In the Senate, February 21, 1835], *PJCC*, 12:502. See "Further Remarks on the Bill to Establish Branch Mints," [In the Senate, February 24, 1835], *PJCC*, 12:506; and "To J[ames] M[ontgomery] Calhoun, [Decatur, Ga.?]," Washington, 13th Oct[obe]r 18[3]7, *PJCC*, 13:621.

[419] "Remarks on the Naval Appropriations Bill," [In the Senate, July 11, 1840], *PJCC*, 15:304. See "Remarks on the Executive Patronage Report in Exchange with Thomas H. Benton," [In the Senate, February 13, 1835], *PJCC*, 12:465, 472.

[420] "To R[ichard] M. Johnson, Chairman, House Military Committee on Military Affairs," Department of War, January 15th, 1819, *PJCC*, 3:497. See "To Cadet Patrick Calhoun, West Point, N.Y.," Washington, 19th July 1840, *PJCC*, 15:311.

The "true policy" of his alliance with the Radicals, Calhoun reminded his friend the newspaperman Duff Green in 1837, was to "reorganize the old party" by pressuring northern Democrats to reject Van Buren in exchange for the southern Democracy repudiating Radical state's rights.[421] The Radicals were hence discomfited not only by his willingness to build federal internal improvements provided that the South received an at least equal share, but also by his calls for southern state governments to industrialize the South as quickly as possible if the U.S. government would not help do so.[422] Historians have claimed that Calhoun had a "loathing of industrialism" and feared "the onset of forces that defined modernity," but he had always admired science and industrial technology.[423] He declared in 1821, for instance, that he hoped to see "the advance of Science in this country" so that it would "obtain that consideration and polish in the new world which it has acquired in the old."[424] He also stated in 1831 that he beheld technological progress "with feelings little short of enthusiasm; not only, as the prolific source of national & individual wealth, but, as the means of enlarging the domain of man over the material world; and, thereby, of laying the solid foundation of a highly improved condition of society…."[425] And he still held in 1842 that "the great advance made in the arts by mechanical

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[421] "To Duff Green," Fort Hill, July 27th 1837, *PJCC*, 13:528. See "Speech on the Removal of the Deposits," [In the Senate, January 13, 1834], *PJCC*, 12:200; and Gretchen Garst Ewing, "Duff Green, John C. Calhoun, and the Election of 1828," *The South Carolina Historical Magazine*, vol. 79, no. 2 (April 1978), 126-37.

[422] See Jeffrey L. Zvengrowski, "John C. Calhoun and the Rise of Proslavery Modernity in the Antebellum South" (MA Thesis; Toronto: York University, 2008).

[423] Wilentz, *The Rise of American Democracy*, 461; Sinha, *The Counterrevolution of Slavery*, 7. See Richard Nelson Current, "John C. Calhoun, Philosopher of Reaction," *The Antioch Review*, vol. 3, no. 2 (Summer 1943), 223-34; Theodore R. Marmor, "Anti-Industrialism and the Old South: The Agrarian Perspective of John C. Calhoun," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, vol. 9, no. 4 (July 1967), 377-406; Tise, *Proslavery*, 341; and Cheek, Jr., *Calhoun and Popular Rule*, 84. In contrast, Michael O'Brien has observed that "Calhoun was a modern man, who saw (by his own lights) deeply into the changing nature of economic modernity." O'Brien, *Conjectures of Order*, 932. See ibid., 853.

[424] "To [Benjamin] Silliman, New Haven, Conn.," Department of War, January 13th 1821, *PJCC*, 5:556-57. See "To Mrs. Floride Calhoun, Charleston, S.C.," Washington 29th Novr. 1815, *PJCC*, 1:286.

[425] "To [Frederick W.] Symmes, [Editor of the Pendleton, S.C., *Messenger*]," Fort Hill, July 26th, 1831, *PJCC*, 11:436. See "Speech at Pendleton," [August 12, 1836], *PJCC*, 13:271-72.

and chemical inventions and discoveries, in the last three or four generations, has done more for civilization, and the elevation of the human race, than all other causes combined….”[426]

Secretary of War Calhoun had wanted every section in the Union to industrialize at an equal pace under federal supervision, remarking in an 1819 letter pertaining to army garments that “[i]t appears… but fair that a portion of the clothing should be made west of the [Appalachian] mountains….”[427] He had also hoped to develop Missouri’s mining industry, “which I have no doubt will prove productive of advantage to the United States, and highly beneficial to the Western Country.”[428] And he was especially eager “to bring in the South,” which was unfortunately the section “naturally most opposed” to industrialization thanks to the Radicals.[429] Contrary to his expectations, however, the “[t]he beneficial effects” of federal internal improvements, banks, and manufacturing did not “extend directly and immediately to every State in the Union,” and he surmised that National Republican economic sectionalism was responsible for the North’s industrial lead.[430] Thanks to protective tariffs, he explained in 1828, the northeastern “monied aristocracy” could now “in a great measure… command the industry of the rest of the Union,” prompting him to complain that southerners were becoming “the serffs of

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[426] “Speech before the Passage of the Tariff Bill,” [August 5, 1842], *PJCC*, 16:362. “I behold,” Calhoun added, “with pleasure the progress of the arts in every department, and look to them... as the great means of bringing about a higher state of civilization, with all the accompanying blessings, physical, political, and moral.” Ibid., 16:362.

[427] “To C[allender] Irvine, Philadelphia,” Department of War, 5th January 1819, *PJCC*, 3:452-53. See “Speech on the Bill to Repeal the Restrictive System,” April 6, 1814, *PJCC*, 1:248; “Debate on the Bank Bill,” November 18, 1814, *PJCC*, 1:268; “Remarks on the Form of Subscription to the Bank,” November 21, 1814, *PJCC*, 1:269; “To A[ndrew] Jackson, Nashville,” Department of War, December 24, 1819, *PJCC*, 4:506; and “To [Callender] Irvine, Philadelphia,” Department of War, December 23, 1819, *PJCC*, 4:502.

[428] “To John Scott, [Representative from Mo.],” Department of War, July 27th 1822, *PJCC*, 7:225. “I have ever had the kindest feelings towards the West,” Calhoun declared in an 1843 public letter, and “I have regarded its progress in population, wealth and improvement, with pleasure and admiration, and have omitted no opportunity to accelerate its growth.” “To W[illiam] M. Corry, Ellwood Fisher, J. L. Vattier, Stephen Hulse, and W[illiam] F. Johnson, Cincinnati,” Fort Hill, July 9th, 1843, *PJCC*, 17:302. See “Report of the Select Committee on the Extent of the Executive Patronage,” [In the Senate of the United States], Feb[ruar]y 9, 1835, *PJCC*, 12:435.

[429] “To V[irgil] Maxcy,” Washington, 17th Sep[tembe]r 1823, *PJCC*, 8:27.

[430] “To President [James Monroe],” Department of War, December 3d, 1824, *PJCC*, 9:428. See “First Speech on the Military Academies Bill,” January 2, 1816, *PJCC*, 1:287; “To C[harles] Tait, [former Senator from Ga., Claiborne, Ala.],” War Dep[artmen]t April 1821, *PJCC*, 6:69; and “To [Jacob] Brown,” Washington, 8th August 1823, *PJCC*, 8:215.

the system…."[431] He had joined the New England Society for the Improvement of Wool in 1825, after all, but the North had reciprocated, it seemed to him, with a protective tariff, "an instrument of rearing up the industry of one section of the country, on the ruins of another."[432] Calhoun therefore stressed during the Nullification Crisis that he did not oppose industrialization *per se*, for he "would rejoice to see our manufactures flourish on any constitutional principle consistent with justice…. It is not against them, but the means by which they have been forced to our ruin that we object."[433] And he concluded in the disappointing wake of that crisis that southerners ought to turn "for relief from the general to the State Government," at least until northerners accepted that "[t]he Government was framed for the mutual advantage and protection of the States, and it ought not to be forgotten that that is the basis on which the country stood."[434]

Calhoun proudly boasted in an 1824 letter regarding "[d]omestick manufactures" that he had "ever been their friend, and supported them when no man from the South dare[d] support them, but myself."[435] Crawford, in contrast, had been "supported to the South as the anti-manufacturing man…."[436] The Radicals were uncomfortable with or even hostile to such emerging trends in the South as extensive immigration from Europe and the North, large-scale urbanization, and the corporate and governmental use of slave labor in factories, mines, and

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[431] "Rough Draft of What is Called the South Carolina Exposition," [Completed *ca*. 11/25/1828?], *PJCC*, 10:456.
[432] Ibid., 10:444-46. See "To [Littleton Waller] Tazewell, [Senator from Va.,] Norfolk," Pendleton, 1st July 1827, *PJCC*, 10:293; "To L[ittleton] W[aller] Tazewell," Pendleton, 25th August 1827, *PJCC*, 10:300; "To S[amuel] Smith, Baltimore," Pendleton, 28th July 1828, *PJCC*, 10:403; "To J[ames] Monroe, ['Oak Hill,' Loudoun County, Va.]," Pendleton, 5th Sep[tembe]r 1828, *PJCC*, 10:416-17; "Toast by Calhoun at the Jefferson Birthday celebration," Washington, 4/13 [1830], *PJCC*, 11:148; and "Speech at Charleston," [November 22, 1833], *PJCC*, 12:182.
[433] "Rough Draft of What is Called the South Carolina Exposition," *op. cit.*, 10:484. See "To S[amuel] Smith, Baltimore," *op. cit.*, 10:403-04; and "To [Frederick W.] Symmes, [Editor of the Pendleton, S.C., *Messenger*]," Fort Hill, July 26th, 1831, *PJCC*, 11:436.
[434] "To [Virgil] Maxcy," Fort Hill, 11th Sep[tembe]r 1830, *PJCC*, 11:228; and "Remarks on the Bill to Establish Branch Mints," [In the Senate, February 21, 1835], *PJCC*, 12:502. See "Speech at Abbeville, S.C.," [May 27, 1825]," *PJCC*, 10:23; "To J[oseph] G. Swift, 'Confidential,'" Pendleton, 2d Sep[tembe]r 1825, *PJCC*, 10:40; and "Speech at Charleston," *op. cit.*, 12:182.
[435] "To M[icah] Sterling, [Watertown, N.Y.]," Washington, 30 Jan[uar]y 1824, *PJCC*, 8:513. See "To [Jacob] Brown," Washington, 8th August 1823, *PJCC*, 8:215.
[436] "To M[icah] Sterling, [Watertown, N.Y.]," *op. cit.*, 8:514.

railroad construction, trends which accelerated exponentially in the 1850s due in no small part to the legacy of Calhoun, who informed South Carolinians in an 1836 speech that he "rejoice[d] to see the spirit of industry, activity and enterprize, now awake in the land," adding that "[w]e of the South have had heretofore too little of this spirit."[437] Even as Calhoun began to oppose federal measures which were meant in his view to favor northern manufacturing, he declared in an 1833 Senate speech that "each State should protect its own industry" through subsidies, which he hoped would help southern factories catch up to long-protected northern industries.[438] Having long pined for the South to have its own bustling cities full of "opulent merchants, enterprizing manufacturers, ingenious mechanics, and an active and industrious population…," he was therefore enthused to note in 1838 that southern "[c]otton factories begin already to spring up," among the very earliest of which was that established in 1829 by his brother-in-law John Ewing Colhoun, Jr., whom he also advised to invest in the emerging Georgia iron mining industry.[439]

"[D]eveloping our great mineral resources" was a vital priority for Calhoun, to which end he encouraged northern technical experts to move to the South in a personal capacity as well as by urging South Carolina, which was "always ready to appreciate merit," to "be liberal in her patronage" to such individuals.[440] Among those northerners was his Pennsylvanian son-in-law

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[437] "Speech at Pendleton," [August 12. 1836], *PJCC*, 13:275. See "Speech on the Bill to Distribute the Proceeds of the Sales of Public Lands to the States," [In the Senate, August 24, 1841], *PJCC*, 15:729.

[438] "Speech on the Force Bill," [In the Senate, February 15 and 16, 1833], *PJCC*, 12:70.

[439] "Report for a Virginia Commercial Convention," [Presented by Francis Mallory at Richmond, June 14, 1838], *PJCC*, 14:335; and "To M[icah] Sterling, 'Watertown, Jefferson County,' N.Y.," Fort Hill, 26th July 1838, *PJCC*, 14:396. See "To 'Col.' J[ames] Ed[ward] Colhoun, Calhoun's mill, Abbeville [District], S.C.," Fort Hill, 21st Oct[obe]r 1839, *PJCC*, 14:631; and *PJCC*, 11:4.

[440] "To 'Gen.' J[ames] Hamilton, [Jr., Charleston?]," Washington, 7th March 1835, *PJCC*, 12:517; and "To S[amuel] P[rice] Carson, [Representative from N.C.], Pleasant Garden[s], [Burke County,] N.C.," Washington, 8th July 1832, *PJCC*, 11:602. See "From Th[omas] J[efferson]," Mont[icell]o, Nov. 28, [18]24," *PJCC*, 9:409; "To Thomas Jefferson," Washington, 29th Dec[embe]r 1824, *PJCC*, 9:467; and "To James Madison, Montpelier, Va.," Pendleton, 13th May 1827," *PJCC*, 10:288. Also see "To J[ames] Ed[ward] Colhoun, Abbeville District, S.C.," Washington, 27th March 1838, *PJCC*, 14:249; and "To M[icah] Sterling, 'Watertown, Jefferson County,' N.Y.," Fort Hill, 26th July 1838, *PJCC*, 14:396. One of Jefferson's correspondents had similarly observed that "[t]housands of Gentlemen, are Emigrating from the Eastern and Middle States, to the State, of Virginia, and to the Southern States…. They will build, and Establish Manufactories and Manufacture the Cotton, Flax and Wool raised in the

the "scientifick miner" Thomas G. Clemson, who married his daughter Anna Maria in 1838 and looked into opening coal mines in Cuba at his father-in-law's behest.[441] Clemson, moreover, had studied engineering in Paris from 1826-31, and he was so proficient in the French language that he would ably serve as the U.S. representative at the Belgian court of Leopold I from 1844-52.[442]

Calhoun, however, also wanted the southern states to produce their own scientists and engineers. He accordingly called for a greater focus on the physical sciences in education, "a step," he claimed in an 1841 letter, "of great importance, in accelerating the march of improvement and civilization, for which the age is so distinguished."[443] Calhoun had always thought that opening additional private schools in South Carolina would foster a spirit of "progressive improvement," such that "for society, morals and info[r]mation it will be equal to any other part of the United States."[444] To that end, he personally patronized the Pendleton Male Academy, which emphasized "the Sciences of Surveying, Astronomy, Optics, and Mechanics; Chemistry, Mineralogy and Geology; Electricity and Magnetism…."[445] And he even called for the establishment of more women's academies, writing to his daughter Anna Maria in 1832 of the need to institute more private schools for white women, who "have as much interest in the good condition of the country as the other sex, and tho' it would be unbecoming of them to take an active part in political struggles, their opinion, when enlightened, cannot fail to have a great

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Southern States. Such… business, is laudable. It will promote the interest, and increase the Wealth, of the southern States. You can shew them how, to hitch the powers of Mechanism to the Ploughs… and how, to Apply the power of Mechanism, to the Machinery, of the Manufactures to Drive this Machinery. and so can I, Sir." "Richard Colvin to Thomas Jefferson," Baltimore December, 29th 1823, Thomas Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.

[441] "To Daniel Webster, [Secretary of State]," Fort Hill, 1st Oct[obe]r 1841, *PJCC*, 15:778-79.

[442] See Alester G. Holmes and George R. Sherrill, *Thomas Green Clemson: His Life and Work* (Richmond: Garrett and Massie, 1937), 73-78; and O'Brien, *Conjectures of Order*, 106.

[443] "To Ex-Pres[ident] M[artin] Van Buren, Kinderhook, N.Y.," Washington, 5th Augt[us]t, 1841, *PJCC*, 15:670. See "To [Dr.] Thomas Cooper, Philadelphia," Department of War, 3d Septem[be]r 1818, *PJCC*, 3:95; "To Nat[haniel] Bowditch, [Salem, Mass.]," War Dept., 25th Oct[obe]r 1820, *PJCC*, 5:410; "To [Benjamin] Silliman, New Haven, Conn.," Department of War, January 13th 1821, *PJCC*, 5:556-57; and "To Dr. Samuel H. Dickson, [Charleston]," Washington, 22 Feb. 1840, *PJCC*, 15:116.

[444] "To Mrs. Floride Colhoun, New Port, R.I.," Abbeville 1st Octr. 1807, *PJCC*, 1:38.

[445] "Advertisement for the Pendleton Male Academy," 1.12 [1844], *PJCC*, 17:693. See "Advertisement by the Trustees of Pendleton Academy," February 1, 1838, *PJCC*, 14:116-17.

and salutary effect."[446] Yet private efforts could only go so far, and Calhoun lauded southern states which founded new public colleges even as he opposed incorporating the Smithsonian Institution at the federal level.[447] Recommending such journals as "the Southern Review to the patronage of the slave holding States," he also urged those states to "bestow increased attention on the militia" by creating military academies accessible to the lower and middling classes.[448]

Calhoun once mused that if he could be anything besides a planter, he would "take the place of chief Engineer" in a mining concern, and in 1889 Thomas G. Clemson would transform his Fort Hill plantation into the Clemson Agricultural College, which specialized in the agricultural, mechanical, and military sciences.[449] Yet he was still a wealthy planter who called himself "a farmer & living among farmers," a "farmer" who always hoped that scientific advances and new agricultural technology would improve his "very backward" plantation.[450] Calhoun had, as he put it in 1817, hoped to see "a good system of farming universally diffused" in the Union.[451] Aiming to reap more "profit from agriculture," he embraced new farming technology and praised the "establishment of agricultural societies" by planters.[452] He was

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[446] Quoted in Fox-Genovese and Genovese, *The Mind of the Master Class*, 387-8. Calhoun was also known to engage women in political discussions as intellectual equals. See O'Brien, *Conjectures of Order*, 398, 404-05.

[447] See "To Thomas Jefferson," Washington, 21st Jan[uar]y 1819, *PJCC*, 3:511; "To Nathan Crawford, Columbia Courthouse, Ga.," 6/13 [1820], *PJCC*, 5:181; and "Remarks on the Bill to Incorporate and Establish the Smithsonian Institution," [In the Senate, February 25, 1839], *PJCC*, 14:576-78.

[448] "To Ja[me]s Ed[ward] Colhoun, Terrysville, Abbeville District, S.C.," Fort Hill, 12th May 1837, *PJCC*, 13:505; and "To Alex[ander] W. Jones and Others, Norfolk," Washington, 18th June 1836, *PJCC*, 13:242. See Jennifer R. Green, *Military Education and the Emerging Middle Class in the Old South* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

[449] "To Duff Green," Fort Hill, July 27th 1837, *PJCC*, 13:526.

[450] "To [Jacob] Brown," Washington, 8th August 1823, *PJCC*, 8:215; and "To Lt. J[ames] E[dward] Colhoun, [Abbeville District, S.C.]," Washington, 26th Feb. 1832, *PJCC*, 11:556. See "To [John S. Skinner] 'the Editor of the American Farmer,' [Baltimore]," Washington, 21st Feb. 1825, *PJCC*, 9:578.

[451] "To Virgil Maxcy, Annapolis, Md.," Washington 23d. Feb 1817, *PJCC*, 1:416.

[452] "To [Christopher] Vandeventer, New York [City]," Pendleton, 9th Nov[embe]r 1829, *PJCC*, 11:86; and "To M[icah] Sterling, [Watertown, N.Y.]," War Dep[artmen]t, 16th April 1820, *PJCC*, 5:42. See "To Mrs. Floride Calhoun, Sr., Charleston, S.C.," Washington 23d. Novr. 1812, *PJCC*, 1:135-36; "To V[irgil] Maxcy," War Dept., 11th April 1821, *PJCC*, 6:41; "To C. Ridgely 'of Hamp[ton, Baltimore],'" Washington, 29th May 1822, *PJCC*, 7:133; "To [John S. Skinner] 'the Editor of the American Farmer,' [Baltimore]," Washington, 21st Feb. 1825, *PJCC*, 9:578; "To R[ichard] Rush, [Secretary of the Treasury]," Pendleton, 9th July 1827, *PJCC*, 10:294; "To Lt. J[ames] E[dward] Colhoun, [Abbeville District, S.C.]," Washington, 26th Feb. 1832, *PJCC*, 11:556; "To Lt. J[ames]

therefore pleased to learn that Virginia's prominent Radical secessionist Edmund Ruffin was urging "every planter" to give "a liberal patronage" to scientific agricultural research and thereby accelerate the "rapid improvements now making in agriculture."[453] Yet he also urged Ruffin to endorse his calls for "public patronage" from southern state governments to supplement and ultimately supersede private initiatives, for that was how southern agricultural productivity would best catch up to that of the North, where he had long thought that "[t]hey work to much more advantage than what we do."[454] Calhoun accordingly convinced the South Carolina legislature to sponsor a geological and agricultural survey of the state in 1839, in which year he asserted that federal funding for agricultural societies would be unconstitutional consolidation.[455]

Plantation agriculture was certainly important to Calhoun as both a way of life and a revenue stream, but he took more pride in being a trail-blazing southern railroad entrepreneur and corporation-builder, observing in an 1835 letter that he and other forward-looking planters "would be glad to be considered among the original stock holders" of a new southern railroad company.[456] He had advocated such infrastructure as sea walls for the "Harbour of Boston" as the Secretary of War, but since Congress was now building internal improvements primarily in the North or to link the West solely to the northeast, southern states and state-supported corporations would have to strive to "unite and conciliate the slave holding States."[457] Calhoun

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Ed[ward] Colhoun," Washington, 28th April 1832, *PJCC*, 11:568; and "To L[ewis] S. Coryell, [New Hope, Pa?]," Washington, 27th June 1836, *PJCC*, 13:249.

[453] "To [Edmund Ruffin, Editor of the *Farmers' Register*, Petersburg, Va.?]," Pendleton, S.C., Aug. 17, 1835, *PJCC*, 12:545-46. See "To [Edmund Ruffin]," Pendleton, (S.C.,) Oct. 8, 1835, *PJCC*, 12:564. Ruffin actually conceded the South's need for the "benefits of the home markets, built up by the establishment of manufactures and trade." Quoted in Faust, *A Sacred Circle*, 101.

[454] "To R[ussell] Comstock, [Washington, Dutchess County, N.Y.]," Washington, 9th February 1839, *PJCC*, 14:550; and "To John E[wing] Calhoun," Washington, 27th Sep[tembe]r 1821, *PJCC*, 6:393.

[455] See "To R[ussell] Comstock, [Washington, Dutchess County, N.Y.]," *op. cit.*, 14:550; and Faust, *James Henry Hammond and the Old South*, 213.

[456] "To Col. F[arish] Carter [in Ga.]," 'Private,'" Fort Hill, 26th Nov[embe]r [*sic*; October] 1835, *PJCC*, 12:567.

[457] "To 'Lewis [Louis]' McLane, [Representative from Del.]," War Department, 14 January 1825, *PJCC*, 9:496-97; and "To David Hubbard, [Lawrence County, Ala.]," Washington, 15th June 1[83]8, *PJCC*, 14:344-45. See "Speech on Internal Improvements," [In the Senate, April 10, 1828], *PJCC*, 10:371; "Speech on the Bill to Prevent the

noted in 1825 with reference to the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal that such a grand project could "only be effected by the nation. It is too great to be executed by a company, or by the States through which it will pass…," but he had also observed that "[t]he States have important duties to perform, in facilitating by means of roads and canals, commercial and political intercourse among their citizens; and within the spheres of these duties, they are more competent to act, than the general government…."[458] He thus hoped that non-military internal improvements would "receive from their respective Legislatures due attention."[459] "We are far in the rear of the other sections," he lamented in 1836, with "reference to internal improvements," and so he urged the slaveholding states to subsidize steamboat companies and build canals on southern rivers, which "cannot in this age of improvement… long remained neglected."[460] Southern railroads, however, would, he was convinced, "work a revolution in commerce and the means of communication."[461]

"[C]onnecting the West, by a rail-road, with the southern Atlantic States" was, Calhoun claimed in an 1835 letter, "an object which I have long considered the most important in the whole range of internal improvements."[462] His 1838 report for a southern commercial convention explained that the northeastern states had pulled ahead of the South thanks to "the earlier completion between them and the interior States by roads and canals…."[463] Yet if the southern states cooperated by means of the commercial conventions which he made a point of attending, as well as by other types of "[m]utual encouragement and joint counsels and efforts,"

Interference of Certain Federal Officers in Elections," [In the Senate, February 22, 1839], *PJCC*, 14:573; and "Speech on the Report of the Secretary of the Treasury," [In the Senate, June 21, 1841], *PJCC*, 15:590.

[458] "To V[irgil] Maxcy," Washington, 23d Jan[uar]y 1825, *PJCC*, 9:514; and "To President [James Monroe]," Department of War, December 3d, 1824, *PJCC*, 9:424.

[459] "To President [James Monroe]," *op. cit.*, 9:424.

[460] "To A[ugistin] S. Clayton and Others, Athens, Ga.," Athens [Ga.], 5th August 1836, *PJCC*, 13:264; and "To J[ohn] R. Mathew[e]s, [Clarkesville, Ga.?]," Fort Hill, 26th Nov. 1837, *PJCC*, 13:643. See "To [Francis] Granger, Representative [from N.Y.]," [Washington, January, 1837], *PJCC*, 13:329; and "To 'Gen.' R[obert] Y. Hayne, [Charleston]," Fort Hill, Oct. 28th 1838, *PJCC*, 14:451.

[461] "To S[amuel] Smith, Baltimore," Pendleton, 28th July 1828, *PJCC*, 10:404.

[462] "To J[ohn] S. Williams, [Cincinnati]," Fort Hill, Sept., 1835, *PJCC*, 12:557.

[463] "Report for a Virginia Commercial Convention," [Presented by Francis Mallory at Richmond, June 14, 1838], *PJCC*, 14:335. See "To J[ohn] S. Williams, [Cincinnati]," *op. cit.*, 12:558-59.

he was confident that they could build "a judicious system of rail roads" stretching from the southern Atlantic coast to the interior West and thereby restore economic equilibrium to the Union.[464] To that end, he corresponded with Georgia's Farish Carter, who was, like Calhoun himself, a planter embracing the industrial future as one of the South's "strong Capitalists," in hopes that Georgia would "grant a liberal charter" to a projected railroad company.[465] (The opulent South Carolina industrialist, financier, railroad promoter, state senator, and self-made man Ker Boyce also lent Calhoun money on occasion).[466] Calhoun took "a deep interest in the completion of a railroad to connect the Tennessee river with the Southern Atlantic ports," for he was "prepared to render every aid I can towards it."[467] Above all else, however, he dreamed of building what he thought would "ultimately become one of the greatest thoroughfares in the world," namely, a railroad connecting Charleston to Cincinnati.[468] Indeed, even as Calhoun told northerners that he was not motivated by any kind of reverse economic sectionalism, he privately predicted that such a railroad would redirect the bulk of the West's commerce to the South, making "Georgia & [South] Carolina the commercial centre of the Union…."[469] And Wilson Lumpkin, who was a former Democratic U.S. senator, congressman, and Georgia governor,

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[464] "Report for a Virginia Commercial Convention," *op. cit.*, 14:342; and "To W[illiam] C. Dawson, [later Representative and Senator from Ga., Greensboro, Ga.?]," Fort Hill, 24th Nov[embe]r 1835, *PJCC*, 12:574. It was hence vital to Calhoun that such "important undertakings" not be "defeated through selfish and local feelings" among the southern states. "To 'Gen[era]l R[obert] Y. Hayne, [Charleston]," Fort Hill, Nov. 17th 1838, *PJCC*, 14:467. See "To J[ohn] S. Williams, [Cincinnati]," *op. cit.*, 12:562. See Vicki Vaughn Johnson, *The Men and the Vision of the Southern Commercial Conventions, 1845-1871* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1992).

[465] "To Col. F[arish] Carter [in Ga.]., 'Private,'" Fort Hill, 26th Nov[embe]r [*sic*; October] 1835, *PJCC*, 12:566-67.

[466] For Boyce's biographical details, see William Gregg, "Practical Results of Southern Manufactures," *De Bow's Review*, vol. 18, no. 6 (June 1855), 791; Ernest M. Lander, *The Calhoun Family and Thomas Green Clemson: the Decline of Southern Patriarchy* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1983), 101, 107; and Tom Downey, *Planting a Capitalist South: Masters, Merchants, and Manufacturers in the Southern Interior, 1790-1860* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2006), 136, 217-18.

[467] "To George Cox, [Huntsville, Ala.]," Fort Hill, 10th Jan. 1844, *PJCC*, 17:690.

[468] "To J[ohn] S. Williams, [Cincinnati]," Fort Hill, Sept., 1835, *PJCC*, 12: 560.

[469] "To W[illiam] C. Dawson, [later Representative and Senator from Ga., Greensboro, Ga.?]," Fort Hill, 24th Nov[embe]r 1835, *PJCC*, 12:575. See "To C[harles] Tait, [former Senator from Ga., Claiborne, Ala.]," War Dep[artmen]t, April 1821, *PJCC*, 6:70; "To A[ugustin] S. Clayton, [former Representative from Ga., Athens, Ga.]," Fort Hill, 24th Nov[embe]r 1835, *PJCC*, 12:573; "To F[rankling] H. Elmore, [President of the Bank of the State of South Carolina], [Columbia, S.C.]," Fort Hill, 24th Nov[embe]r 1840, *PJCC*, 15:37; and "Speech on the Report of the Secretary of the Treasury," [In the Senate, June 21, 1841], *PJCC*, 15:590.

agreed, assuring him in 1841 that "[t]he completion of our Rail Roads, undertaken by the State & companies, is a subject of vast importance to Georgia, as well as all the South & West…."[470]

Calhoun, moreover, knew full well that southern banks would be needed to stimulate "the great and more useful pursuits of business and industry."[471] Although he began to oppose federal banking in tandem with the Radicals by the mid-1830s, he defied them in 1837 by stressing that he had "no unkind feeling toward the banks."[472] The problem for Calhoun was that a new Whig B.U.S. would exploit rather than serve the citizenry while concentrating the Union's banking capital in the northeast to an even greater degree.[473] He hence called for new banks to be capitalized by southern state governments, which were "fully competent to modify and reform them, and to impose all those checks… upon them which the banking system is capable of receiving."[474] Insisting as well that the over-concentration of capital in the northeast had to be evened out, Calhoun, unlike the Radicals, still called businessmen "a class which I have ever held in the highest estimation. No country ever had a superior body of merchants – of higher honor, of more daring enterprise, or of greater skill and energy."[475] And he continued to reject Radical demands for an entire "return to a specie currency," which he deemed "impracticable"

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[470] "From Wilson Lumpkin," Athens Ga., Nov. 15th 1841, *PJCC*, 15:815. See "To W[ilson] Lumpkin, [Athens, Ga.]," Washington, 4th Feb. 1842, *PJCC*, 16:108.

[471] "Speech on his Amendment to Separate the Government and the Banks," [In the Senate, October 3, 1837], *PJCC*, 13:603.

[472] "To Ja[me]s Ed[ward] Colhoun, Terrysville, Abbeville District, S.C.," Fort Hill, 12th May 1837, *PJCC*, 13:505; and "Speech on the Bill Authorizing an Issue of Treasury Notes," [In the Senate, September 18, 1837], *PJCC*, 13:561.

[473] See "Speech on the Bill to Continue the Charter of the Bank of the United States," [In the Senate, March 21, 1834], *PJCC*, 12:269; "From Edward Delius," Newyork [City], 22nd Oct. 1839, *PJCC*, 14:632; and "Speech on Felix Grundy's Report on the Assumption by the General Government of the Debts of the States," [In the Senate, February 5, 1840], *PJCC*, 15:88.

[474] "Address of the Republican Members of Congress," [Washington, July 6, 1838], *PJCC*, 14:370. See "To L[ittleton] W. Tazewell, [Governor of Va.]," Washington, 9th Feb. 1834, *PJCC*, 12:234; "Speech on His Amendment to Separate the Government and the Banks," [In the Senate, October 3, 1837], *PJCC*, 13:606; and "Further Remarks on James Buchanan's Currency Resolution," [In the Senate, March 6, 1840], *PJCC*, 15:130.

[475] "Speech on the Bill Authorizing an Issue of Treasury Notes," [In the Senate, September 18, 1837], *PJCC*, 13:568. See "Remarks on the bill to provide for the better collection of the duties on imports," 7/6 [1840], *PJCC*, 15:303. Also see "Remarks on the Publication of Secret Proceedings," April 7, 1812, *PJCC*, 1:96-97; and "Debate on the Bank Bill," November 18, 1814, *PJCC*, 1:268.

and not "suited to the commercial, and fiscal condition of the civilized world."[476] "[I]t is manifest," he noted in 1839, "that a perfect currency, such as the advanced state of the commerce & business of the world requires, must be made up partly of specie & partly of paper."[477]

The Radicals also frowned upon Calhoun's initiatives to modernize the South because they realized that southern industrialization would drastically alter slavery, which they were endeavoring to romanticize and present to the world as a paternalistic institution characterized by the same harmonious relations ostensibly found on British estates between lords and vassals.[478] They had long mistrusted pro-Bonaparte Democrats like Calhoun in no small part because Napoleon clearly regarded slavery as a pragmatic means to the end of exploiting black labor rather than as a sacred end in itself. John Randolph hence remarked upon hearing of Napoleon's return from Elba in 1814 that while "[t]he Bourbons refused to abolish the slave trade," "Bonaparte, from temporal views, no doubt, has made it the first act after his restoration!"[479] Bonaparte had evinced very little paternalism toward either free or enslaved blacks because he was committed not to slavery *per se* but rather to imperial white supremacy, and so Radicals were discomfited by Calhoun's efforts to remove slaves from the supposedly kind "domestic sphere" of the plantation to build railroads and labor in factories under impersonal corporate or governmental overseers. Randolph, after all, had warned in 1811 that slave rebellions would probably occur in a war with Britain thanks to harsh and avaricious masters like Calhoun, who

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[476] "To L[ittleton] W. Tazewell, [Governor of Va.]," *op. cit.*, 12:233. See "Speech on the Bill to Continue the Charter of the Bank of the United States," [In the Senate, March 21, 1834], *PJCC*, 12:270; and "Speech on the Bill Authorizing an Issue of Treasury Notes," *op. cit.*, 13:564.
[477] "To S[amuel] D. Ingham, New Hope, Pa.," Fort Hill, 11th Nov[embe]r 1839, *PJCC*, 14:636.
[478] See, for instance, the various Randolph documents in Kirk, *John Randolph of Roanoke*, 157, 159-60, 163, 169, 185, 188. Also see Fox-Genovese and Genovese, *The Mind of the Master Class*, 83, 84, 377.
[479] Quoted in Hugh A. Garland, *The Life of John Randolph of Roanoke*, 13th ed. (1851; reprint, New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1874), 2:71.

retorted that such rebellions were most likely to occur when sentimental masters indulged slaves and least probable when "our militia [is] the best prepared; and standing force the greatest."[480]

Calhoun dismissed abolitionist critiques of slavery as an inhumane institution before the Senate in 1837, explaining that due to the "patriarchal mode by which the labor of the African race is among us commanded," there were few lands in which "so much is left to the share of the laborer, and so little exacted from him, or where there is more kind attention to him in sickness or infirmities of age."[481] His own goal, however, was not to ameliorate conditions for enslaved blacks but rather to accelerate southern industrialization, and so he sent slaves into a Georgia gold mine which Clemson helped him establish, teaching them to use "the aid of Machinery to work it."[482] Blacks were not humble, faithful, and child-like dependents in his view but rather an alien, brutish, and hostile race which ought to be placed increasingly under corporate, governmental, or, preferably, military control. Accusing the Radicals of coddling slaves and rendering them unproductive as a result, Calhoun hoped that the slaveholding states would industrialize the South by reinforcing the "feeble and flexible will of a master" with "the stern and powerful will of the government" even if the lot of slaves became more "oppressive" in the process.[483] The British Empire, after all, had developed a system of white rule in India that made traditional chattel slavery seem woefully inefficient, for while the "the greatest slave dealer on earth" had had the "effrontery" to wield racially egalitarian abolitionism as a weapon against

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[480] "Speech on the Report of the Foreign Relations Committee," December 12, 1811, *PJCC*, 1:81.

[481] "Remarks on Receiving Abolition Petitions (Revised Report)," [In the Senate, February 6, 1837], *PJCC*, 13:396. See "Report from the Select Committee on the Circulation of Incendiary Publications," [In the Senate of the U.S.], Feb[ruar]y 4, 1836, *PJCC*, 13:63.

[482] "To A[ndrew] P[ickens] Calhoun, [Marengo County, Ala.]," Fort Hill, 6th July 1843, *PJCC*, 17:292. See "To Andrew [Pickens Calhoun in Ala.?]," Washington, 13th Dec[embe]r 1834, *PJCC*, 12:371; and "To 'Col.' J[ames] Ed[ward] Colhoun, Calhoun's mill, Abbeville [District], S.C.," Fort Hill, 21st Oct[obe]r 1839, *PJCC*, 14:631.

[483] "Report from the Select Committee on the Circulation of Incendiary Publications," [In the Senate of the U.S.], Feb[ruar]y 4, 1836, *PJCC*, 13:66. And it was ironically thanks to "incendiary" abolitionist rhetoric emanating from Britain and the North, he observed, that many an indulgent and inefficient master had been forced to "resort to the most rigid discipline and severe police, to the great injury of the present condition of the slaves…." Ibid., 13:65.

both the Union and Napoleonic France, it had also been busy turning "[t]he whole of Hindustan" into "one magnificent plantation, peopled by more than one million slaves, belonging to… the East India Company, whose power is far more unlimited and despotic than that of any southern planter over his slaves; a power upheld by the sword and bayonet, exacting more and leaving less by far of the product of their labor to the subject race than is left under our own system…."[484]

Secretary of War Calhoun first dabbled with government-coerced labor in 1819 by sending convicts "to Southern stations to labor on public works," using soldiers as well to build infrastructure that was "decidedly of a Military character."[485] But he preferred to apply governmental force to black rather than white laborers, musing that "[t]here is no doubt in the climate of Louisiana, but the employment of slaves to work on the fortifications has many advantages over that of white men, drawn from the northern States," and he thereafter sanctioned the use of "slavery in the navy and arsenals of the United States, in the Southern section of the Union."[486] Predicting in 1820 that "the next War with G Britain" would occur sooner rather than later, Thomas Jefferson's son-in-law the Virginia governor Thomas Mann Randolph also informed the War Department that "not fewer than 1,000 slaves are employed at this time in the Coal mines" in one part of his state.[487] He requested U.S. troops for security, and Calhoun was happy to oblige, for "in a point so important nothing ought, if possible, to be left to hazard."[488]

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[484] "Speech on the Case of the Brig *Enterprise*," [In the Senate, March 13, 1840], *PJCC*, 15:149-50.

[485] "To Moses Porter, Boston," 12/10 [1818], *PJCC*, 3:373; and "To Jacob Brown, Brownville, N.Y.," Dep[art]m[en]t of War, 22 Sept. 1819, *PJCC*, 4:342. See "Speech on the Transfer of Appropriations," February 14, 1817, *PJCC*, 1:413; and "To Daniel P[ope] Cook, [Representative from Ill.]," Dep[art]m[en]t of War, 31 December 1819, *PJCC*, 4:528.

[486] "To J. Villers [*sic*; Jacques Philippe Villeré], Gov[erno]r of Louis[ian]a, New Orleans," Department of War, November 25th 1820, *PJCC*, 5:453; and "Remarks on the Reception of the Ohio Abolition Petitions," [In the Senate, January 19, 1836], *PJCC*, 13:45. See "Remarks on the Enlistment of Negroes in the Navy," [In the Senate, July 29, 1842], *PJCC*, 16:341.

[487] "Th[omas] M[ann] Randolph, [Governor of Va.,] to Col. W[alker] K. Armistead, [Chief Engineer], Richmond," Jan[uar]y 28, 1820, *PJCC*, 4:613.

[488] "From Th[omas] M[ann] Randolph, [Governor of Va.]," Richmond, April 18th 1821, *PJCC*, 6:56; and "To Thomas M[ann] Randolph, Governor of Va., [Richmond]," Department of War, April 30th 1821, *PJCC*, 6:84.

Calhoun also asserted in 1822 that "[t]he conduct of the Indians towards their Slaves is deeply to be regretted," bemoaning "the want of authority in the Government to restrain and punish it."[489] Yet after he aligned himself with the Radicals, he insisted with regard to slavery that "[t]he door must be closed against all interference on the part of the General Government in any form, whether in the District of Columbia, or in the States or territories."[490] The Radicals, however, were troubled by the fact that Calhoun still held that southern state governments could infringe upon slaveholder property rights in regulatory, judicial, and tax-levying capacities. And they were also annoyed that he did not modify his own slaveholding practices to at least appear more paternalistic, for he was still notoriously quick inflict corporal punishment upon slaves even though he did allow that in the case of "a faithful domestick raised in the family" "[i]n such an one the character of a slave… is in a great measure lost in, that of a friend, humble indeed, but still a friend."[491] Prioritizing "habits of industry and business," however, he even came to be known as the "Cast-Iron Man" due in part to his lack of paternalistic regard for his own slaves.[492]

Yet the Radicals were far more perturbed by Calhoun's unwillingness to endorse their slavery-in-the-abstract doctrines. They were commonly claiming by the mid-1830s that slavery was a Biblically-mandated institution of universal applicability that could benevolently resolve the modern world's wrenching conflicts between capital and labor. Slaveholders, they maintained, had economic incentives to treat their slave property well, incentives which did not exist with regard to "wage slaves" hired by the hour. The race of the South's slaves was hence a mere accident of history for Radicals, some of whom suggested that all-white societies should

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[489] "To R[obert] C[arter] Nicholas," Department of War, August 23d 1822, *PJCC*, 7:254.
[490] "To A[ugistin] S. Clayton and Others, Athens, Ga.," Athens [Ga.], 5th August 1836, *PJCC*, 13:263.
[491] "To V[irgil] Maxcy," Washington, 18th March 1822, *PJCC*, 6:751. See "To Charles J. Ingersoll, [Philadelphia]," War Depa[rtmen]t, 4th August 1818, *PJCC*, 6:9; "To J[ohn] E[wing] Colhoun, [Pendleton?]," Washington, 15th Jan[uar]y 1827, *PJCC*, 10:254; "To Lt. J[ames] E[dward] Colhoun, U.S.N., Midway, Abbeville [District, S.C.]," Fort Hill, 27th Aug[us]t 1831, *PJCC*, 11:462-63; and "To A[rmistead] Burt, Abbeville, S.C.," Fort Hill, 1st Sep[tembe]r 1831, *PJCC*, 11:463.
[492] "To M[icah] Sterling, 'Confidential,'" Washington, 27th March 1823, *PJCC*, 7:547.

enslave their lower classes so as to achieve the high degree of harmony and affection ostensibly extant between labor and capital in the slave South. Calhoun, to be sure, was intrigued by Radical ideas pertaining to slavery, which he deemed a "positive good" insofar as southerners had realized its potential to be the most humane of all possible labor systems. He thus informed the Senate in 1836 that the South had "an entire exemption from those dangers originating in a conflict between labor and capital, which at this time threatens so much danger to constitutional Governments."[493] "Every plantation is a little community," he also declared in 1838, "with the master at its head, who concentrates in himself the united interests of capital and labor, of which he is the common representative."[494] But Calhoun emphasized at the same time that he did not think that slavery could be both humane and productive, insisting as well that he would regard the enslavement of whites as an abomination under even the most benevolent of slave regimes.

Calhoun, after all, first rose to fame by denouncing white "enslavement" at British hands. With the Royal Navy forcibly searching U.S. vessels and impressing American citizens deemed British deserters "under the Orders in Council and the British system of blockade," he had fumed in 1811 that Britain "enslaves our seamen; and, in spite of our remonstrances, perseveres in these aggressions."[495] He maintained during the War of 1812 that rescuing U.S. sailors "from English slavery" was a paramount duty even though New England Federalists and southern Radicals alike did not seem to care about their plight, for "the war is opposed, even attempted to be defeated, by the friends, connections and neighbors of these brave defenders of our national

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[493] "Speech on Abolition Petitions," [In the Senate, March 9, 1836], *PJCC*, 13:109. See ibid., 98; "Remarks on Receiving Abolition Petitions (First Report)," [In the Senate, February 6, 1837], *PJCC*, 13:390; "Speech on the Case of the Brig *Enterprise*," [In the Senate, March 13, 1840], *PJCC*, 15:153; "Remarks on the Controversy between Virginia and New York over Fugitive Slaves," [In the Senate, February 7, 1842], *PJCC*, 16:112; "To the Rev. Alexander McCaine, [Baltimore?]," Washington, 3d August, 1842, *PJCC*, 16:349; and "Life of John C. Calhoun, Presenting a Condensed History of Political Events from 1811 to 1843," [1843], *PJCC*, 17:97.

[494] "Further Remarks in Debate on His Fifth Resolution," [In the Senate, January 10, 1838], *PJCC*, 14:84. See Fox-Genovese and Genovese, *The Mind of the Master Class*, 63.

[495] "Speech on the Report of the Foreign Relations Committee," December 12, 1811, *PJCC*, 1:80, 67. See "Report on Relations with Great Britain," November 29, 1811, *PJCC*, 1:66.

rights and honor."[496] The British Empire, Calhoun thought, went on to become, at least in the Americas, a "race-traitor" regime which refused to acknowledge that the black and white races were "separated into castes by a natural line too strongly drawn ever to be effaced."[497] The Radicals, however, insisted that abolitionism had spread not from Britain to the North but rather from the North to Britain, where it was, they believed, espoused not so much by the aristocracy as by the "Puritan" middle classes. And while they concurred with Calhoun that emancipation through "Northern domination" would render the South "the most degraded portion of the civilized world," their prioritization of class hierarchy over and above racial caste made them much more concerned about the threat posed by abolitionism in the North to the institution of slavery than to white supremacy, for which they had little enthusiasm when uncoupled from slavery.[498] Chattel slavery for Calhoun, in contrast, was in the last analysis simply a form of white rule that "concerned a vast amount of property," and he regarded the hostility of Anglo-abolitionists toward white supremacy as far more dangerous than their invective against slavery *per se*.[499] As advocates of racial equality who would use a consolidated U.S. government to forcibly destroy both slavery and white supremacy, abolitionists were, he believed, either British agents or "fanatics and madmen."[500] "Our condition," he thus warned in 1835 with regard to the

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[496] "To Dr. James Macbride, Charleston, S.C.," Washington 25th Decbr 1812, *PJCC*, 1:155; and "Speech on the Bill for an Additional Military Force," January 14, 1813, *PJCC*, 1:154-55. See "Remarks on the Defense of the American Coast," February 8, 1814, *PJCC*, 1:208; and "Speech on the Bill to Repeal the Restrictive System, April 6, 1814, *PJCC*, 1:243.

[497] "Life of John C. Calhoun, Presenting a Condensed History of Political Events from 1811 to 1843," [1843], *PJCC*, 17:96. See ibid., 97.

[498] "To [William F.] Gordon, [former Representative from Va., Albemarle County, Va.]," Fort Hill, 22d May 1835, *PJCC*, 12:537. See "Remarks on the American Colonization Society Memorial," [In the Senate, January 27, 1837], *PJCC*, 13:371; and "Report for a Virginia Commercial Convention," [Presented by Francis Mallory at Richmond, June 14, 1838], *PJCC*, 14:336.

[499] "Remarks on the bill to establish a board of commissioners to hear claims against the U.S.," 1/24 [1840], *PJCC*, 15:59.

[500] "Speech on the Removal of the Deposits," [In the Senate, January 13, 1834], *PJCC*, 12:205. See "To B[olling] Hall, [Autauga County, Ala.?]," Fort Hill, 25th March, 1833, *PJCC*, 12:147; "Remarks on the Right of Petition," [In the Senate, February 13, 1840], *PJCC*, 15:104; and "Life of John C. Calhoun, Presenting a Condensed Political Events from 1811 to 1843," [1843], *PJCC*, 17:94, 96.

seeming complacence of Van Buren Democrats in the face of growing abolitionist influence within the North, "will be worse than our slaves; who will have the sympathy and kindness of our masters at Albany, while we shall be the object of their scorn and hatred…."[501] "Be assured," the South Carolinian also informed the Senate in 1837, "that emancipation itself would not satisfy these fanatics – that gained, the next step would be to raise the negroes to a social and political equality with the whites; and… we should soon find the present condition of the two races reversed. They and their northern allies would be the masters, and we the slaves…."[502]

John C. Calhoun and the Revitalization of the Pro-Bonaparte Democrats, 1840-51

For Calhoun, the 1830s were a miserable time in which the pro-Bonaparte Democrats were utterly eclipsed by the Union's two Anglophile factions. The 1830 revolution in France, moreover, had not given rise to a new Bonapartist regime which could inspire and assist "War Hawks" in challenging a dauntingly dominant British Empire, but rather to the Orleanist regime of the "Citizen King" Louise Phillippe, who seemed to be even more submissive toward Britain than the post-1815 Bourbon kings. Louis Philippe had befriended many prominent northeastern Federalists when living in the U.S. during the 1790s, and such abolitionist-friendly Whigs as Oliver Wendell Holmes, Sr., who first used the term "Brahmin" to describe elite Bostonians of Federalist descent, and Charles Sumner very much enjoyed visiting Orleanist France, which was markedly egalitarian in terms of race and less pro-slavery than the post-Waterloo Bourbons, though still characterized by sharp inequalities among whites.[503] Yet they were alarmed by the rampant nostalgia for Napoleon I and the growing popularity of the Bonapartist ideology for which he stood in France, much like they were irritated by the persistence of pro-Bonaparte

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[501] "To [William F.] Gordon, [former Representative from Va., Albemarle County, Va.]," Fort Hill, 22d May 1835, *PJCC*, 12:537.
[502] "Remarks on Receiving Abolition Petitions (Revised Report)," [In the Senate, February 6, 1837], *PJCC*, 13:397.
[503] See McCollough, *The Greater Journey*, 11, 44, 94, 120-21, 144, 170-72.

sympathies and memories among Democrats, who usually disliked both the "red republican" descendants of the Jacobins and their Bourbon or Orleanist antagonists when visiting France.[504]

Britain's post-Bonaparte world order was, Calhoun had believed even during the darkest days of the 1830s, bound to encounter mounting resistance from the white masses because it was not only maintaining but even exacerbating inequality among whites. He had observed in 1816 that the "capital employed in manufacturing produced a greater dependence on the part of the employed, than in commerce, navigation or agriculture," and that was why a southern industrial system based upon the exploitation of black rather than white labor would, he thought, prove far more stable than the British-like National Republican economic order emerging in the North.[505] By choosing to emulate Britain instead of following the lead of the "War Hawks," Calhoun mused in 1834, the National Republicans had put the "capitalists and the operatives" in the North on a collision course.[506] National Republican elites were hence beginning "to feel, what I have long foreseen," namely, "that they have more to fear from their own people, than we from our slaves."[507] And they would feel even more uncomfortable upon seeing the enthusiastic reception of Napoleon's nephew Louis-Napoleon Bonaparte by Democrats in general but especially urban working-class northern Democrats when the future French emperor toured the Union in 1837.[508]

Louis-Napoleon headed for the U.S. after Louis Philippe expelled him for launching an unsuccessful *coup* in 1836 partly because Napoleon I had urged his mother Hortense de Beauharnais, who was the wife of Louis Bonaparte, to join him in America with her children.

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[504] See O'Brien, *Conjectures of Order*, 103, 115-16.
[505] "Speech on the Tariff Bill," April 4, 1816, *PJCC*, 1:355.
[506] "Speech in Support of His Bill to Repeal the Force Act," [In the Senate, April 9, 1834], *PJCC*, 12:297. See "Remarks on the Controversy between Virginia and New York over Fugitive Slaves," [In the Senate, February 7, 1842], *PJCC*, 16:112.
[507] "To J[ames] Ed[ward] Colhoun, [Abbeville District]," Washington, 8th Feb. 1834, *PJCC*, 12:232. See "To Duff Green, [Editor of the *United States' Telegraph*, Washington]," Fort Hill, 30th Aug[us]t 1835, *PJCC*, 12:547.
[508] See Gordan Dorrance and Clarence E. Macartney, *The Bonapartes in America* (Philadelphia: Dorrance and Company, 1939), 164-65.

He was met by a cheering crowd upon disembarking at Norfolk in March 1837, and he proceeded to visit Baltimore, Philadelphia, his uncle's New Jersey residence, and New York City.[509] Democrats welcomed him wherever he went, moreover, but his relations with northern Whigs of New England Federalist descent were usually strained.[510] He had to cut his stay short upon learning that his mother's health was failing, but he informed the American people in a June 1837 public letter before leaving that the Union was "a country which has excited my sympathy, since its history and prosperity are so intimately bound up with the memory of our French glory…."[511] And his Democratic friends wished him success in bringing *la gloire* to France once more, hoping that he would be able to establish a new Bonapartist regime which would challenge abolitionist Britain in the name of equality among whites and white supremacy.

Louis-Napoleon based his famous 1839 manifesto *Des idées Napoléoniennes* on his experiences in the U.S. much like his Whig-friendly political rival Alexis de Tocqueville, whose contemporaneous *Democracy in America* was far less ideologically apposite for Democrats than *Des idées Napoléoniennes*, which called for equality among whites in France and seemed to endorse French imperial white supremacy abroad. Louis-Napoleon celebrated the fact that "the royalists" of the Right had been toppled by the French Revolution. Unfortunately, "1793 followed hard upon 1791." While "the Jacobins" of he Left had laudably "destroyed all that feudal edifice," their fanatic and unscientific doctrines "served only to demolish," dividing and alienating the French masses such that France was nearly defeated by the Revolution's reactionary external enemies. Fortunately, Napoleon steered "the vessel of state" between "the two rocks which were always to be feared," namely, the "terror" and "the *ancien régime*," transcending them both as he "cleared up the chaos of nothingness... separated truth from

[509] See John Bierman, *Napoleon III and His Carnival Empire* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1988), 11.
[510] See Dorrance and Macartney, *The Bonapartes in America*, 164-65.
[511] Quoted in ibid., 172.

passions, the elements of success from the seeds of death, and reduced to synthesis, all those great principles, which, contending together unceasingly, compromised the cause in which all were interested." Napoleon became "a centre around which all the national forces grouped themselves," for a France "fatigued by disorders and continual changes" had called upon him to "reunite the French, now divided, repulse feudal Europe, now in league against me; heal my wounds; spread light among the nations...." "C'est cette union des sentimens, d'instinct et de volontés," Louis-Napoleon explained, "qui a fait la force de l'Empereur," who had spread the true essence the French Revolution "everywhere in Europe," liberating other white nations from the oppression of the Right while steering them away from the false universalism of the Left.[512]

Because Napoleon "brought all Frenchmen to concur in one sole object, the prosperity of France," Louis-Napoleon insisted that the "basis" of his uncle's rule was "the democratic spirit of the nation," for "the French people always supported him by their suffrages, sustained him by their efforts, and encouraged him by their attachment." After all, "l'aristocratie n'a pas besoin de chef, tandis que la nature de la démocratie est de se personnifier dans une homme." Heeding the "wishes of the majority," Napoleon, upholding "principes d'égalité, d'ordre et de justice," imprisoned those on the Left who, "desiring to subject the nation to an abstract theory, which becomes, for a country, a bed of Procrustes...," refused to repudiate atheism, class warfare, and racial equality. Yet he also consecrated "the heart of Vauban," lauding Left-leaning generals who won battles against the invading armies of the *ancien régime* in order to conciliate amenable Jacobins. At the same time, moreover, he "pacified *la Vendée*" and incarcerated those on the Right who, in their "folly," wished to restore the "ancient regime." When Napoleon "re-established the clergy" and restored "public worship," he therefore guaranteed equal political

[512] Emperor Napoleon III, *Napoleonic Ideas: Des idées Napoléoniennes*, trans. James A. Dorr (1839; New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1859), 93, 23, 27, 24, 93, 23, 101, 87, 23-24, 16, 26; and Bonaparte, *Des idées Napoléoniennes*, 16.

rights for non-Catholics and insisted that the Church would have to serve the nation as opposed to the nation serving the Church. He "revived at Orleans the memory of Jeanne d'Arc" as well to please those on the Right who were anxious to preserve France's Catholic heritage even as he placated partisans of the Left who were advocating greater equality for French women. And while Napoleon allowed returning *émigrés* to hold titles of nobility which carried no legal privileges, he did not restore their nationalized property and conferred symbolic new titles as rewards for meritorious service to the nation that were "open to all classes, all services, and all professions." "Sous l'Empire," Louis-Napoleon boasted, "toute idée de caste étatit détruite...."[513]

According to Louis-Napoleon, his uncle had also been so successful because equality among whites and martial might were mutually reinforcing phenomena. Napoleon therefore delegated civilian administrative matters to the provinces so that the central government could focus on military affairs. He had also sponsored military-minded scientific research in French universities and academies that served "to illuminate the nation, and hasten the progress of science," as desirable byproducts, for new martial technology usually augmented the nation's agricultural and industrial productivity as well. And while "[*t*]*he public works*, which the Emperor caused to be executed on so great a scale," facilitated "social progress" by binding the nation together commercially, "destroy[ing] the spirit of locality," and giving work to the poor, their primary purpose was to enhance French military power. Even as he improved "the lot of the poorer classes" by means of veterans' pensions, public education, the Napoleonic Code, government-run hospitals, and subsidized theater prices so that the "poorer classes might enjoy the masterpieces of literature," he accordingly insisted upon patriotic military service and an

[513] Napoleon III, *Napoleonic Ideas*, 100, 42, 149, 32, 42, 87-88, 43, 27, 28, 45, 43; and Bonaparte, *Des idées Napoléoniennes*, 28, 39, 41. See Napoleon III, *op. cit.*, 28, 45, 46. According to Louis-Napoleon, the nation had not even wanted to keep a national legislative body, preferring Napoleon to reign absolutely instead; but he insisted upon retaining one for the sake of democracy because "it was the intention of the Emperor to re-establish the elective system upon the broadest basis...." Ibid., 94. See ibid., 90, 91, 97, 106-07, 110, 124, 140, 142, 149.

"improvement of manners" from the poor. The French emperor, to be sure, "favored the creation of the bank of France…," but he also "reserved over it a power of control." Requiring "stock-brokers" to maintain the nation's credit, pay a higher share of taxes, and consent to the compensated confiscation of their property when necessary, he found "a just balance between rich and poor, between those who labor and those who employ, between the agents of power and those who are controlled by them." Napoleonic conscription, after all, not only made France immensely powerful but also "consecrate[d] the principle of equality," for "every citizen" was "a soldier" and "died for him with happiness, because they knew that they died for France."[514]

Louis-Napoleon also claimed that his uncle had invaded other European countries in order to destroy every *ancien régime* and forge a French-led confederation of European nations organized along Bonapartist lines, "conquering" nations "in order to regenerate them." In Italy, Napoleon had vitiated "that provincial spirit which is the death of nationality," uniting and modernizing the petty kingdoms there to make Italians aware of their "common nationality." In Spain, moreover, he had sought to render the clergy patriotic servants of the nation rather than bulwarks of the *ancien régime*. And in "[l]a Pologne, cette soeur de la France, toujours si dévouée...," he had eradicated serfdom and helped the Poles develop "a complete nationality" by creating the Duchy of Warsaw. But Britain had foiled all of his plans. Whereas Napoleon had sought to create "a holy alliance of the nations through their kings," Britain had led an alliance of "kings against the nations." In Louis-Napoleon's view, the forces upholding inequality among whites on the Right were divided into an older aristocracy holding "property in land" and a newer "counting-room" one commanding urban-industrial "vassals and serfs." The latter kind of aristocracy often "engaged in a contest with the first" for power, as when Louis Philippe replaced

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[514] Napoleon III, *Napoleonic Ideas*, 45, 71, 60, 111, 54, 50, 55, 83-84, 101, 82. See ibid., 42-43, 47, 51, 54-58, 60, 64-69, 71-75, 78, 80, 82, 100, 104.

Charles X. The British *ancien régime*, however, was remarkably resilient and strong because the old "feudal aristocracy" there had agreed to share power with the newer mercantile variety. Louis-Napoleon therefore deemed Britain an "aristocratic country," not a "democratic" one like Bonapartist France. Yet the strongest regime of the Right had still been no match for Napoleon in his view, as even "our terrible adversary" Prime Minister William Pitt had supposedly admitted. The combined forces of the British Empire and the great European *ancien régime* powers had thus been required to beat Napoleonic France, not to mention plenty of good luck.[515]

Besides France itself, Louis-Napoleon identified Russia and the Union as the two nations most likely to adopt Bonapartism in the future. Russia, he predicted, would become even more powerful if a new tsar were to transform himself into a Bonaparte-like democratic emperor and end "the abuses" of "feudal" serfdom. The Union, in contrast, was already committed in theory to equality among whites, but it was still "weak" in his view because it lacked "central power" and a strong military. The U.S. also faced a grave internal threat from a subversive "money power," the mostly northeastern Whig members of which wanted to control rather than serve the national government. Their religiously intolerant ancestors, after all, had exemplified inequality among whites insofar as "la première loi des Puritains fondant une nouvelle société dans l'état de Massachuset, est la peine de mort pour cuex qui s'écarteront de leur doctrine religeuse!"[516]

Given that the Right and Left would likely coalesce under British leadership against a new Napoleonic France, Louis-Napoleon urged French Bonapartists to cultivate "allies upon whom she can count in time of danger." He thus warned European monarchs that they would be overthrown by the Left if they did not mollify and uplift their subjects by adopting Bonapartism, promising as well that a revived Napoleonic France would only be hostile to zealots of the Left

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[515] Napoleon III, *Napoleonic Ideas*, 117, 126-27, 131, 138, 65, 67, 124, 48, 54; and Bonaparte, *Des idées Napoléoniennes*, 154. See Napoleon III, *op. cit.*, 19, 55, 57, 83, 117-19, 122, 124-32, 138-39, 145-46, 149, 155.
[516] Napoleon III, *op. cit.*, 20, 89; and Bonaparte, *Des idées Napoléoniennes*, 35.

and recalcitrant aristocrats of the Right, not to regimes which were developing their own versions of Bonapartism. Boasting that "Napoleonic Ideas have germinated everywhere," Louis-Napoleon stressed that other white nations would not have to emulate Napoleonic France in all "details" so long as they were "copying in the spirit." And he proffered a grand vision of the future in which allied white Bonapartist nations that had been forever freed from the incubi of the Left and Right were advancing "the happiness of humanity" by extirpating savagery and pagan superstition among the non-whites of the world by means of imperial white supremacy.[517]

The actual 1840s, however, did not begin as auspiciously as Louis-Napoleon had predicted in *Des idées Napoléoniennes*, for he was imprisoned after he failed yet again to overthrow Louis Philippe in 1840, which year also saw the Whigs take the U.S. presidency. Yet Calhoun would become tentatively confident by the mid-1840s that northern Democrats were finally returning to proper Democratic ideology *en masse* and bringing a solid majority of northerners along with them. He had, after all, inflicted immense damage upon the Whig Party during the Tyler presidency by manipulating the Radical Democrats who had become Whigs. The Radicals often proudly described themselves as liberty-loving Whigs in the old English-American tradition, and many of them joined the Whig Party in the mid-to-late 1830s upon concluding that Jackson and his successor had become the greater of two evils, for while Van Buren and the northern Whigs both appeared to oppose slavery and favor consolidation, the latter at least seemed to favor a degree of hierarchy among whites.[518] John Tyler and his fellow Virginia Radicals Abel P. Upshur and N. Beverley Tucker thus quit the Democracy after Jackson's "corruption" by Van Buren, whom they took pleasure in defeating by adding their

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[517] Napoleon III, *Napoleonic Ideas*, 112, 151, 153, 110. See ibid., 86, 90, 119-20, 139-40, 144-46, 148-54.

[518] See "To C[hristopher] Vandeventer, Baltimore," Washington, 31st March 1832, *PJCC*, 11:564; "To B[olling] Hall, [former Representative from Ga., Autauga County, Ala.?]," Washington, 12th Jan[uar]y 1833, *PJCC*, 12:7; and "To F[rancis] W. Pickens, [Representative from S.C.], Edgefield, S.C.," Fort Hill, 19th May 1835, *PJCC*, 12:534.

electoral heft to the Whigs in 1840. Yet while Henry Clay, Daniel Webster, and other prominent National Republicans who became Whig leaders were happy to receive Radical votes in the South, they had no intention of letting Radical southern Whigs formulate party policy. Vice President Tyler, however, ascended to the presidency after President Harrison's untimely death, and Calhoun leapt at the chance to become Secretary of State even though he had announced in an 1841 Senate speech that the Whig agenda "point[s] to one common object, whether intended or not – to build up a great overruling moneyed power, and to reduce the rest of the community to servitude; yes, to the very condition the great producing classes are reduced to in Europe."[519]

Secretary of State Calhoun strove to exacerbate papered-over ideological divisions between Tyler's Radical Whigs and the rest of the Whig Party. To the displeasure of both Van Buren and the northern Whigs, the South Carolinian convinced Upshur and other Radical administration Whigs to support his efforts to bring the Republic of Texas into the U.S. as a new slave state, thwarting in the process what he took to be a British conspiracy to turn it into an abolitionist client state which would help Britain gain "exclusive control of the cotton trade" while endangering "the safety of the Union" and "the very existence of the South."[520] With ideological tensions worsening within the Whig Party due in no small part to Calhoun, Tyler's followers began returning to a southern Democracy in which, thanks to their absence, such younger "War Hawks" as James K. Polk and Jefferson Davis were rapidly rising to power.[521] Having observed in 1836, moreover, that the "complete restoration of our system" would require

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[519] "Remarks on the Goochland County Resolutions," [In the Senate, August 20, 1841], *PJCC*, 15:703-04. "I shall not – cannot – believe," he added, "that this free, gallant, and enlightened people, are prepare to sink down into base servitude to an odious moneyed power, till I have witnessed the reality of the sad spectacle." Ibid., 15:704.

[520] "To [Abel P.] Upshur, [Secretary of State], 'Confidential,'" Fort Hill, 27 Aug[us]t 1843, *PJCC*, 17:381-82. See See Claude H. Hall, *Abel Parker Upshur, Conservative Virginian, 1790-1844*, 2 vols. (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1964).

[521] Polk was an ardent proponent of U.S. expansion at Britain's expense, and he had also pressured Radicals in the Tennessee legislature to accede to the building of internal improvements and founding of public schools as the Democratic governor of Tennessee from 1839-41. See Robert W. Merry, *A Country of Vast Designs: James K. Polk, the Mexican War, and the Conquest of the American Continent* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2009).

detaching "men of wealth and talents in the North" from the Whigs, Calhoun was pleased to see such cultivated but strongly anti-abolitionist Democrats as Franklin Pierce and James Buchanan gain influence within the northern Democracy.[522] Indeed, his old Democratic allies in Massachusetts were even beginning to edge out Van Buren's supporters there thanks to Tyler's Secretary of the Navy David Henshaw, who owed his 1826 appointment as Port Collector at Boston to Calhoun.[523] An enthused Calhoun mounted a Democratic presidential run for 1844 as a result.[524] He made of point of appealing to working-class northerners and especially Irish immigrants to that end, for lower-class northerners were, he believed, turning against both Van Buren and the Whigs because they had realized that abolitionism would serve only to degrade their wages, social status, and electoral power even further. And Calhoun had been warning workers "in the manufacturing States" since the late 1820s that they would benefit but little from the economic exploitation of the South: "After we are exhausted, the contest will be between the Capitalists and operative, for into these two classes it ultimately must divide society."[525]

Secular and Catholic working-class northern Democrats welcomed Calhoun's presidential bid even though the South Carolinian was still technically a member of Tyler's nominally Whig but increasingly Democratic cabinet. Calhoun, after all, had become even less of a Protestant as a nominal Unitarian whose "deity" was "of the most philosophical type, from all accounts."[526] Abolitionist-friendly northern Whigs, in contrast, were usually aggressive advocates of Protestant moral reform causes, which Radical southern Whigs deprecated even as they practiced their own pro-slavery version of militant pro-slavery Protestant piety, for John

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[522] "To S[amuel] D. Ingham, [New Hope, Pa.?]," Washington, 3d April 1836, *PJCC*, 13:138.
[523] See Craig M. MacAllister, "New England's Calhounites: The Henshaw Faction of the Massachusetts Democratic Party, 1828-1850" (PhD Dissertation; Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 2009).
[524] See Matthew A. Fitzsimons, "Calhoun's Bid for the Presidency, 1841-1844, *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, vol. 38, no. 1 (June 1951), 39-60.
[525] "Rough Draft of What is Called the South Carolina Exposition," [Completed *ca*. 11/25/1828?], *PJCC*, 10:480.
[526] Entry for March 11, 1861, in *Mary Chesnut's Civil War*, ed. C. Vann Woodward (1881-84; reprint, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981), 22.

Randolph had once "received an indignant remonstrance from a Roman Catholic of Washington City, 'on my invective against that sect,' of which you may see some notice in to-morrow's *Moniteur*."[527] New York City's Irish immigrant Democrats were especially fond of Calhoun, who had recently boasted that he had "ever taken pride in my Irish descent."[528] They also appreciated the fact that he had convinced Tyler to refrain from sending U.S. troops to suppress an anti-Whig rebellion in Rhode Island with which they strongly sympathized. John Adams once observed that the Essex Junto was "more decidedly powerful and irresistible" in New England states other than Massachusetts.[529] The Junto-style Federalists of Rhode Island came to be known as the "Standing Order," which managed to preserve the colonial charter and thereby keep non-landowning white men unfranchised while letting black landowners vote until 1842, when Thomas W. Dorr launched a disorganized insurrection against the pro-Whig Standing Order and its black supporters on behalf of Rhode Island's urban industrial workers and Irish Catholic immigrants. Dorr's goal was to enfranchise every white man in the state while disenfranchising all Rhode Island blacks, and while many of New York City's Irish Democrats had been eager to join the rebellion, the so-called Dorr War ended when he surrendered rather than plunge the state into civil war. The Standing Order, however, was shaken by Tyler's failure to heed Rhode Island's request for U.S. troops, and its adherents soon conceded universal suffrage for native-born white men while preserving equal suffrage rights for blacks.[530] As a

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[527] "John Randolph to Dr. John Brockenbrough," Washington, D.C., February 1, 1822, in Garland, *The Life of John Randolph of Roanoke*, 2:160.

[528] Quoted in Bryan Giemza, *Irish Catholic Writers and the Invention of the American South* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2013), 62. See Wilentz, *The Rise of American Democracy*, 534-35.

[529] "John Adams to the Printers of the Boston Patriot," [1809], Adams Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society. See "John Quincy Adams to Louisa Catherine Adams," Quincy 7. October 1804, Adams Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.

[530] Rhode Island's property qualifications for immigrants to vote were not removed until 1888. See John B. Rae, "Democrats and the Dorr Rebellion," *The New England Quarterly*, vol. 9, no. 3 (September 1936), 476-83; William M. Wiecek, "'A Peculiar Conservatism' and the Dorr Rebellion: Constitutional Clash in Jacksonian America," *The American Journal of Legal History*, vol. 22, no. 3 (July 1978), 237-53; Erik J. Chaput, "Proslavery and Antislavery

result, working-class Democrats throughout the North believed Calhoun when he claimed, in the words of his 1843 campaign biography, to despise the "vast affiliated stock interests" which "had been permitted to grow up almost unconsciously, [and] which threatened to absorb the whole power and influence of the Confederacy…."[531] Indeed, one New York City Democrat even called him "the Master Spirit" who would "lead the industrial armies to victory and harmony."[532]

Calhoun ultimately threw his support behind Polk to defeat Van Buren at the 1844 Democratic convention, convincing Tyler to abandon a projected third-party candidacy as well. And so when he declared that "[a] revolution in our politicks of a highly salutary character" had occurred, and that there was now "a better prospect" for a restoration of true Democratic ideology throughout the Union "than there has been since the election of Genl. Jackson in 1828," the Radicals surmised that they had been correct to suspect that he would turn against them in the end.[533] Calhoun, after all, had more or less repudiated Radical state's rights by asserting in his campaign biography that "[t]he Union may be destroyed as well by *consolidation* as by *dissolution*…. It is the duty of the patriot to resist both, and hold the government firmly in its allotted sphere."[534] When he endorsed a northern anti-abolitionist work which justified slavery as more of a necessary evil than a divine blessing in 1845, James Henry Hammond accused him of treason to the South as a result, excoriating him for suggesting that slavery was "only *permitted* & *regulated*, not *ordained* by God." Calhoun, in turn, came as close as he ever did to

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Politics in Rhode Island's 1842 Dorr Rebellion," *The New England Quarterly*, vol. 85, no. 4 (December 2012), 658-94; and Erik J. Chaput, *The People's Martyr: Thomas Wilson Dorr and His 1842 Rhode Island Rebellion* (Lawrence: Kansas University Press, 2013).

[531] "Life of John C. Calhoun, Presenting a Condensed History of Political Events from 1811 to 1843," [1843], *PJCC*, 17:108. See "Resolution of the South Carolina General Assembly Nominating John C. Calhoun for the Presidency," [In the S.C. House of Representatives, December 19, 1842], *PJCC*, 16:575; and "Address of the South Carolina Democratic Convention: Address of the Convention of South Carolina, *Met at Columbia, on the 22d of May, 1843*, to the Democratic Republican party of the United States," [Adopted May 24, 1843], *PJCC*, 17:196.

[532] "From J. B. W.," New York [City,] Oct. 1, [18]43, *PJCC*, 17:483-84.

[533] Quoted in Faust, *James Henry Hammond and the Old South*, 247.

[534] "Life of John C. Calhoun, Presenting a Condensed History of Political Events from 1811 to 1843," *op. cit.*, 17:71.

an apology by retracting his endorsement, insisting that he had only read the book "cursorily" to save face.[535] But he drew a line at making concessions to the Radicals who were beginning to call for the African slave trade to be re-opened. Many Radicals, after all, had no objection to living in a society that was overwhelmingly comprised of slaves, but Calhoun had always opposed the importation of black slaves from abroad as a "nefarious affair," although his desire to limit black population growth was at least as important as any humane motives on his part.[536]

Despite Polk's encouraging election to the presidency in 1844, Calhoun was not yet ready to cast the Radicals wholly aside, for he did not yet fully trust the North as a whole nor even the northern Democracy, in which Van Buren's supporters were still a powerful faction.[537] Fearing to fight Britain until he could be certain as to the North's ideological soundness, he called for the peaceful partition of the Oregon territory with the British to the chagrin of Polk's supporters throughout the Union. Calhoun also opposed the Mexican War for fear that northern Whigs would manage to turn millions of conquered "mixed blood" Mexican mestizos into U.S. citizens ("Ours is the government of the white man"), or that they still might be able to employ a re-empowered federal government to impose emancipation and racial equality upon a subjugated South in the future.[538] He had praised Pennsylvania and New York, after all, for being more "sound[ly] Democratical" than many a Radical-inflected southern state back in 1823.[539] But they let him down subsequently, and he was disappointed once more though not entirely unsurprised

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[535] Quoted in Fox-Genovese and Genovese, *The Mind of the Master Class*, 477.

[536] "To C[harles] Fisher, [Salisbury, N.C.?]," Washington, 2d Dec[embe]r 1823, *PJCC*, 8:390.

[537] See "To H[enry] St. George Tucker, [Professor of Law, University of Virginia]," Fort Hill, 31st March 1843, *PJCC*, 17:131; "To R[obert] M. T. Hunter, L[l]oyds, Essex County, Va.," Fort Hill, 2d April 1842 [*sic*; 1843], *PJCC*, 17:133-34; and "To A[rmistead] Burt, [Representative from S.C.], Washington," Fort Hill, 23d Dec[embe]r 1843, *PJCC*, 17:639.

[538] Quoted in Wilentz, *The Rise of American Democracy*, 612. See Ernest McPherson Lander, Jr., *Reluctant Imperialists: Calhoun, the South Carolinians, and the Mexican War* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1980).

[539] "To an Unknown Addressee, 'Private,'" War Dep[artmen]t, 18th March 1823, *PJCC*, 7:531. See "To Ogden Edwards, New York City," Washington, 2d May 1823, *PJCC*, 8:45; "To [Littleton Waller Tazewell?, Senator from Va.]," Washington, 13th June 1826, *PJCC*, 10:128; and "To H[enry] Wheaton, [New York City,], 'Very confidential,'" Washington, 8th May 1823, *PJCC*, 8:54.

when a majority of northern Democrats bowed to what he viewed as surging abolitionist sentiment in the North by supporting the Wilmot Proviso, which would have banned slavery in all of the territory acquired from Mexico. The Whigs, however, won the 1848 election all the same, and a distressed Calhoun responded by organizing the Nashville Convention in 1850, threatening to endorse not just Radical state's rights but even secession itself so as to induce the North to change course. "Nullification," after all, "may, indeed, be succeeded by secession."[540]

Calhoun had warned in 1831 that if the North trended toward abolitionism and consolidation for "15 years more," he and likeminded southern Democrats might well tire of enervating the U.S. government in tandem with the Radicals and launch a "revolution" through secession instead to create a new southern-based American Union devoted to "conservative" state's rights and white supremacy through slavery.[541] "You will see," he declared with reference to the Wilmot Proviso, "that I have made up the issue between North and South. If we flinch we are gone, but if we stand fast on it, we shall triumph either by compelling the North to yield to our terms, or declaring our independence of them."[542] Yet Calhoun also offered incentives to entice northerners into rejecting abolitionism and consolidation, for he promised that if the North behaved as desired, every section would modernize and expand at Britain's expense. He thus informed the well-known New York Democratic editor John L. O'Sullivan that if the northern Democracy managed to purify itself ideologically and crush the Whigs,

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[540] "To James Hamilton, Jr., [Governor of S.C.]," Fort Hill, August 28th, 1832, *PJCC*, 11:632.

[541] "To Lt. J[ames] E[dward] Colhoun, [Abbeville District, S.C.]," Washington, 25th Dec[embe]r 1831, *PJCC*, 11:529. See "Second Speech on the Bill for the Admission of Michigan," [In the Senate, January 5, 1837], *PJCC*, 13:350; and "Speech in Reply to Daniel Webster on the Subtreasury Bill," [In the Senate, March 22, 1838], *PJCC*, 14:233.

[542] Quoted in Chaplain W. Morrison, *Democratic Politics and Sectionalism: The Wilmot Proviso Controversy* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1967), 35. See Arthur Styron, *The Cast-Iron Man: John C. Calhoun and American Democracy* (London: Longmans, Green and Company, 1935), 275.

northern Democrats would soon find that most of their southern counterparts were not actually committed to Radical doctrines but rather to national "progress" and U.S. "Manifest Destiny."[543]

Calhoun oscillated during the 1830s and '40s between bitter pessimism as to "these corrupt & degenerate times" and optimistic confidence "that our principles and doctrines are destined to gain a permanent ascendancy."[544] Democracy for him was not a system in which corrupt parties of small majorities and large minorities perpetually jockeyed for power and wealth at one another's expense, but rather an overwhelming and preferably unanimous consensus as to the nature of the Constitution (neither consolidation nor Radical state's rights), American national identity (equality among whites coupled with white supremacy), and U.S. destiny (conquering Britain's racially egalitarian empire in the Americas).[545] As his life ebbed away in 1850, Calhoun savored the irony of his career having come full circle in a sense, for the Union's current position was beginning to resemble that of 1812. "War Hawk" Democrats were finally on the verge of returning to power in both the North and South, and when they did they would surely encounter resistance from the Anglophile factions of each section upon moving to challenge the same old British "[a]bolitionists," who had "more sympathy for the negroes of the

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[543] "To J[ohn] L. O'Sullivan, [Editor of *The United States Magazine and Democratic Review*]," Fort Hill, 14th Oct[obe]r 1838, *PJCC*, 14:440.

[544] "To 'Col.' James E[dward] Colhoun, Calhoun's Mill, Abbeville District, S.C.," Fort Hill, 7th Feb. 1844, *PJCC*, 17:772; and "To Andrew Pickens Calhoun, [Marengo County, Ala.]," Washington, 7th Dec[embe]r 1839, *PJCC*, 15:13.

[545] See "Resolutions on the Chesapeake-Leopard Affair," [Abbeville, Aug. 3, 1807], *PJCC*, 1:36; "Report on the Causes and Reasons for War," June 3, 1812, *PJCC*, 1:113; "To B[artlett] Yancey, [former Representative from N.C.]," Pendleton, 16th July 1828, *PJCC*, 10:401; "To [Virgil Maxcy, Washington]," Fort Hill, 6th Aug[us]t 1831, *PJCC*, 11:451; "Speech on the Force Bill," [In the Senate, February 15 and 16, 1833], *PJCC*, 12:81, 87, 93; O'Brien, *Conjectures of Order*, 851-52, 864; and James H. Read, *Majority Rule Versus Consensus: The Political Thought of John C. Calhoun* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2009). "Our history abounds with many instances of… sympathy of the whole with any part," Calhoun had explained during the War of 1812, and "[w]hen it ceases to be natural, we will cease to be one nation. It constitutes our real union. The rest is form." "Speech on the Loan Bill," February 25, 1814, *PJCC*, 1:217.

West India islands, than for the starving and oppressed white laborers of England."[546] But they might well receive support from France, the ruler of which was now Louis-Napoleon Bonaparte.

South Carolina's Cast-Iron Man never forgot his old Bonapartist friends during the interregnum. Indeed, he even sought to secure Claudius Crozet the New Orleans port collectorship in 1844, albeit without success.[547] A nostalgic Calhoun had also lauded Napoleon every now and then as an ideological and geopolitical ally of the true Democrats during the long and lean years between the two Napoleonic regimes.[548] His 1843 campaign biography hence explained that "[t]he overthrow of Bonaparte was followed throughout Europe by a powerful reaction against the popular principles on which our government rests, and to which, through the influence of our example, the French Revolution was traced." That work also proudly boasted that "General Bernard, who had been a favourite aide-de-camp of the Emperor Napoleon, and saw and knew much of him, and who was chief of the board of engineers while Mr. Calhoun was secretary, and had an equal opportunity of observing him, not unfrequently, it is said, compared his administrative talents to those of that extraordinary man."[549] Calhoun, moreover, initially feared that the 1848 revolution in France might head in the same wrong direction as had the original French Revolution thanks to ideological heirs of the *Amis des Noirs* who were hostile to both slavery and white supremacy. As Amelia Gayle noted in a March 1848 letter, "Mr. Calhoun tapped at my door this morning for me to take a long walk with him before breakfast. Fortunately I was awake & soon dressed for I enjoy of all things a walk with him. We discussed the French revolution, its probable effects upon all Europe, the destination & final settlement of

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[546] "Remarks on the Bill Relating to Tariff Duties and Drawbacks," [In the Senate, August 28, 1841], *PJCC*, 15:742.
[547] See "From C[laudius] Crozet," New Orleans, March 30th 1844, *PJCC*, 17:905-06; and "From J[ohn] C. Spencer, Secretary of the Treasury," 4/10 [1844], *PJCC*, 18:193.
[548] See "Remarks on the Bill to Establish a Board to Recommend Rules and Regulations for the Navy," [In the Senate, April 1, 1842], *PJCC*, 16:209; and "To [Joseph] Gales, [Jr.] and [William W.] Seaton, [Editors of the Washington *Daily National Intelligencer*]," Fort Hill, July 28, 1843, *PJCC*, 17:320.
[549] "Life of John C. Calhoun, Presenting a Condensed History of Political Events from 1811 to 1843," [1843], *PJCC*, 17:30, 45. See ibid., 17:20-21.

the royal family &c &c….”[550] The new French republic had worryingly enacted an immediate emancipation of all slaves in France’s colonies, but Calhoun’s fears that the French might become a grave threat to the Union by espousing universal equality as opposed to equality among whites and white supremacy were assuaged when Louis-Napoleon Bonaparte was elected president of France in late 1848.[551] Louis-Napoleon, after all, was a personal friend of Duff Green’s close business partner the wealthy Philadelphia businessman and former U.S. diplomat Henry Wikoff, who purchased John L. O’Sullivan’s *United States Magazine and Democratic Review* in 1846 and penned an admiring biography of the French president in 1849.[552] And so it was entirely fitting that the Savannah Library Society’s members would pore over such volumes as Las Cases’s *Mémorial*, Dominique Vivant Denant’s *Voyage dans la Basse et Haute Égypte, pendant les campagnes du général Bonaparte*, which was dedicated simply “A Bonaparte,” and Pierre Etienne Herbin de Halle’s *Conquêtes des Français en Egypte* during the 1850s under the ever vigilant gaze of a Calhoun bust which had been presented to the Society as a gift in 1851.[553]

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[550] Quoted in O’Brien, *Conjectures of Order*, 405.

[551] See Charles M. Wiltse, “A Critical Southerner: John C. Calhoun on the Revolutions of 1848,” *The Journal of Southern History*, vol. 15, no. 3 (August 1949), 299-310.

[552] See Henry Wikoff, *Napoleon Louis Bonaparte, First President of France; Biographical and Personal Sketches, Including a Visit to the Prince at the Castle of Ham* (New York: George P. Putnam, 1849); and *PJCC*, 17:728.

[553] See O’Brien, *Conjectures of Order*, 504, 507. Denant had been one of Napoleon’s scientists and scholars in Egypt. He oversaw the transfer of vast amounts of art and other valuables to the *Musée Napoléon* in Paris. A devoted Bonapartist, he was denied employment after Waterloo. See Dominique Vivant Denant, *Voyage dans la Basse et Haute Égypte, pendant les campagnes du général Bonaparte*, 2 vols. (Paris: L’Imprimerie de P. Didot L’Aine, 1802); and Judith Nowinski, *Baron Dominque Vivant Denon (1747-1825): Hedonist and Scholar in a Period of Transition* (Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Presses, 1970).

Chapter 2
Jefferson Davis and the Resurgence of the "True Democrats," 1844-60

"Jeff Davis is a disciple of John C. Calhoun."[1]

Mary Chesnut, 1865

Calhoun was, as Richard E. Beringer and Herman Hattaway have observed, Jefferson Davis's "mentor."[2] Davis recollected in the late 1880s that "[i]n my early manhood I enjoyed his personal acquaintance, and perhaps more of his consideration, from the fact that, as Secretary of War, he gave me the appointment as a cadet in the United States Military Academy."[3] When the Kentucky-born Mississippian resigned his U.S. army commission in 1835, he began delving into politics soon after reading Calhoun's speeches urging Congress to table abolitionist petitions.[4] Having known the South Carolinian "with some degree of intimacy" since 1836, Davis first rose to prominence within the Democracy by calling for him to be nominated as the Democratic presidential candidate at the 1844 Mississippi Democratic convention even "[t]hough instructed by the delegation from Warren to cast the vote of our county, in this convention, for Mr. Van Buren, as the presidential candidate...."[5] Davis, moreover, recalled that as a rookie congressman in 1845, "I frequently visited him [*i.e.* Calhoun] at his lodgings. His conversation was both instructive and peculiarly attractive."[6] And when Calhoun was returning home after attending a Memphis commercial convention to advocate the building of more state and federal internal improvements in the South, Davis hosted a grand reception for him *en route* at Vicksburg in November 1845, thereby angering Mississippi's Whig and Democratic Radicals who were

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[1] Entry for March 12, 1865, in *Mary Chesnut's Civil War*, 758.
[2] Richard E. Beringer and Herman Hattaway, *Jefferson Davis, Confederate President* (Lawrence: Kansas University Press, 2002), 20. See *PJD*, 2:94.
[3] Quoted in Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis, Ex-President of the Confederate States of America: A Memoir, by his Wife Varina Davis*, 2 vols. (1890; reprint, Baltimore: The Nautical & Aviation Publishing Company of America, 1990), 1:274. See "Jefferson Davis to John C. Calhoun," Transylvania University, July 7, 1824, *JDC*, 1:1.
[4] See "To Joseph Emory Davis," Washington, D.C., January 2, 1838, *PJD*, 1:435.
[5] Varina Davis, *op. cit.*, 1:208; and "Notice of the Proceedings of the State Democratic Convention – Speech Recommending John C. Calhoun," January 8, 1844, *PJD*, 2:71-72.
[6] Quoted in Varina Davis, *op. cit.*, 1:274. See *PJD*, 2:372.

angered by Calhoun's stance.[7] Much as "[t]he Steam Boat Calhoun" had once "attracted the attention of the citizens of Frankfort and its vicinity," Davis greeted the South Carolinian's steamboat with an enthusiastic crowd and booming cannons, proclaiming his desire to, in the words of his wife Varina Banks Howell Davis, see the ship of state "with State rights sails all set and Mr. Calhoun at the helm."[8] Mississippi's newspapers would thereafter describe Davis as "a Calhoun democrat," and they would also "predict that he becomes the Calhoun of Mississippi."[9]

The Davises became close friends of Calhoun, who told Davis's brother-in-law that the Mississippian's "talents were of the highest order."[10] And Varina Davis's friendship with Calhoun "lasted through his life, and was attested by long letters on government subjects, written as though to an intellectual equal."[11] Besides their shared fascination with modern industrial technology of military use, Davis and Calhoun were both sons of uneducated but up-and-coming slaveholding farmers from the "backcountry" who married women of a higher social class.[12] Hailing from an old and prestigious Federalist *cum* Whig Delaware family which had relocated to Mississippi to reverse its declining financial fortunes, Varina Banks Howell was pleasantly surprised upon first meeting her future husband in 1843 to encounter a well-educated Democrat: "he is most agreeable and has a peculiarly sweet voice and a winning manner of asserting

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[7] See "Notice of a Public Meeting – Arrangements for the Reception of John C. Calhoun," Vicksburg, Mississippi, November 5, 1845, *PJD*, 2:361. See "Speech at Jackson," May 29, 1857, *PJD*, 6:124, 127.

[8] "From Richard M. Johnson," Great Crossings, [Ky.,] 29th March 1819, *PJCC*, 3:702; and Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 1:212. See "Notice of the Reception for John C. Calhoun, Speech by Jefferson Davis," Vicksburg, Mississippi, November 18, 1845, *PJD*, 2:370.

[9] "Notice of a Political Metering – Speeches by Jacob Thompson and Jefferson Davis," Vicksburg, Mississippi, November 1, 1845, from the Vicksburg *Sentinel and Expositer*, November 4, 1845, 2:356. See *PJD*, 3:227.

[10] "Joseph D. Howell to Margaret K. Howell," Brierfield, Mississippi, November 21, 1845, *PJD*, 2:375. See "Andrew P. Butler and John C. Calhoun to James K. Polk," Senate Chamber, July 6, 1848, *PJD*, 3:331-32.

[11] Varina Davis, *op. cit.*, 1:213. See ibid., 1:214, 1:462.

[12] See ibid., 1:16, 140; and Beringer and Hattaway, *Jefferson Davis, Confederate President*, xvi. Davis's father Samuel Emory Davis hence urged his young son to "use every possible means to acquire usefull knowledge as knowledge is power the want of which has brought mischiefs and misery on your father in old age." "From Samuel Emory Davis," June 25, 1823, *PJD*, 1:5.

himself…. Would you believe it, he is refined and cultivated, and yet he is a Democrat!"[13] Their marriage, moreover, was more companionate than patriarchal, for she told her mother at the dawn of the Mexican War that "if Jeff was a cross bad husband, old, ugly, or stupid, I could better bear for him to go on a years campaign, but he is so tender, and good that I feel like he ought never to leave me...."[14] She weaned him away from his old U.S. army habits of profanity and drink, while in turn he prevailed upon her to be less haughty toward lower-class whites, although she would eventually admit after his passing that, much like Floride Bonneau Colhoun Calhoun, she could never truly regard such whites as being on "the social plane of our family."[15]

Calhoun's last Senate speeches in 1850 also made a deep impression upon Davis, who procured a special metallic casket for the ailing South Carolinian.[16] After Calhoun passed away, Davis accompanied the body and casket to South Carolina, delivering several public eulogies as well.[17] James Henry Hammond faulted the deceased Calhoun for his "deep, long cherished, and I might almost say superstitious attachment to the Union," but Davis hailed "that distinguished statesman Mr. Calhoun" throughout the 1850s, identifying "the incorruptible Calhoun" as the South's "brightest luminary" in order to claim his ideological mantle.[18] He accordingly

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[13] "Varina Banks Howell to Margaret K. Howell," December 19, 1843, *PJD*, 2:52-53.

[14] "Varina Banks Howell Davis to Margaret K. Howell," Washington, D.C., June 6, 1846, *PJD*, 2:642. See "To Varina Banks Howell," March 15, 1844, *PJD*, 2:127.

[15] Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 1:589. See "To Varina Davis," Mouth of the Rio Grande, August 16, 1846, *PJD*, 3:16; and "To Varina Howell Davis," Washington, D.C., April 18, 1848, *PJD*, 3:302. Floride Calhoun worsened the rift between her husband and President Jackson by snubbing Margaret "Peggy" O'Neill Eaton, who was the scandalous lower-class wife of Secretary of War John Eaton and dear to Old Hickory. See John F. Marszalek, "The Eaton Affair: Society and Politics," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly*, vol. 55, no. 1 (Spring 1996), 6-19.

[16] See "Reply to Stephen A. Douglas," May 17, 1860, *PJD*, 6:318; and *PJD*, 4:344.

[17] See "Speech at Jackson," from the *Mississippian*, November 22, 1850, *PJD*, 4:375; "Speech of President Davis in Charleston," from the Charleston *Daily Courier*, November 3, 1863, *JDC*, 6:76; and Varina Davis, *op. cit.*, 462.

[18] Quoted in O'Brien, *Conjectures of Order*, 833; "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the admission of California, August 13, 1850," *JDC*, 1:500; and "Speech of Jefferson Davis at the Grand Ratification Meeting, Faneuil Hall, Monday Evening, October 11, 1858," *JDC*, 3:328. See "Further Remarks on the Army Increase Bill. January 27, 1858," *JDC*, 3:163; "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the loan bill. May 25, 1858," *JDC*, 3:252; "Speech of Jefferson Davis before the Democratic State Convention at Jackson, Miss.," July 6, 1859, from the New York *Daily Tribune*, August 31, 1859, *JDC*, 4:87; and "Speech of Jefferson Davis on retiring from the Senate. January 21, 1861," *JDC*, 5:42.

maintained that his own political course was perfectly consonant with Calhoun's true goal, which was to bring about the ultimate triumph of "War Hawk" ideology within the Democratic Party and throughout the Union.[19] Only Calhoun's political tactics had changed over time, the Mississippian hence insisted, not his "devotion to the principles he had always advocated…."[20]

Jefferson Davis's Political and Ideological Rejection of the Southern Radicals, 1844-50

Davis commended Calhoun in 1844 for "his administration of the war department," wherein the South Carolinian had introduced "order," "prompt accountability," and "an organization so perfect."[21] When Polk unseated Van Buren within the Democracy and defeated Clay to become president later that year, Davis optimistically concluded that Calhoun had indeed vanquished the forces of both consolidation and Radical state's rights within the party and throughout the Union as a whole, thus allowing the U.S. government to construct internal improvements of military value once more. He hence called for the government to build military-related infrastructure in his congressional campaign. It was, after all, the "duty of the federal government" and not the states to protect the Union, doing so in part by building martial internal improvements "in a national point of view," which in his view meant more infrastructure for the ostensibly neglected and exploited South.[22] Having observed in 1844 that "the South has a delicate and daily increasing interest in the navy," Davis invoked military necessity to promote the building of levees on the Mississippi and Yazoo; worked to have a marine hospital established at Natchez; endeavored to found a federal "navy yard" to "repair or construct vessels

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[19] See "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on Compromise Bill of June 27, 1850," *JDC*, 1:375; "Reply to Stephen A. Douglas," May 17, 1860, *PJD*, 6:318; and "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the deficiency bill. May 22, 1860," *JDC*, 4:341.

[20] "Reply to Stephen A. Douglas," May 17, 1860, *PJD*, 6:318.

[21] "Speech of Jefferson Davis before the State Democratic Convention held in Jackson, Mississippi, January 3, 1844 for the purpose of sending delegates to the National Convention of the party and for the selection of presidential electors," from the *Mississippian*, January 12, 1844, *JDC*, 1:7-8.

[22] Ibid., 1:8. See "Notice of a Political Meeting – Speech by Jefferson Davis," Carrollton, Mississippi, September 8, 1845, from the Carrollton *Mississippi Democrat*, September 10, 1845, *PJD*, 2:334.

of the largest class" and develop "the nautical feeling of our youth" at Ship Island off Mississippi; and sought "to remove the bar in the Gulf channel near Pass Christian... to facilitate commerce between New Orleans and Mobile."[23] While he would "always feel respect" for advocates of Radical state's rights insofar as they opposed consolidation-minded northerners and would join them in opposing federal infrastructure of no military value, Radicals were, he explained in an 1849 speech, incorrect to assert that an increase of "the action of the Federal Government" meant that "its constitutional power ha[d] been magnified," for to "restrain it to its constitutional limits" was "not to cripple or to destroy" it. "Within their spheres," he added, "the powers of the General Government are supreme, entitled to the respect and support of all...."[24]

Even as Davis insisted as a congressman from 1845-46 and U.S. Senator from 1847-51 that the South ought to receive a compensatory share of military internal improvements, he stressed that he supported additional such infrastructure for the North because he was free from "petty sectional hostility."[25] He was annoyed but not surprised to encounter Radical opposition in Congress as a result, acknowledging in 1849 that his policy agenda was "one on which I

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[23] "Notice of the Proceedings of the State Democratic Convention – Speech Recommending John C. Calhoun," January 8, 1844, *PJD*, 2:74; "Notice of a Motion for Leave to Introduce a Bill concerning the Building of a Levee," February 16, 1846, *PJD*, 2:496; "Amendment to the Bill Providing for the Civil and Diplomatic Expenses of the Government," May 25, 1846, *PJD*, 2:611; "To the People of Mississippi," Steamer on the Mississippi, July 13, 1846, *PJD*, 3:5-6; and "Notice of the Presentation of a Petition concerning the Gulf Channel," December 30, 1845, *PJD*, 2:404. See "Jefferson Davis to William Allen," Warren County, Mississippi, July 24, 1840, *JDC*, 1:5.

[24] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the bill to establish the Department of the Interior. March 3, 1849," *JDC*, 1:227, 229-30. For Davis's praise of the famous Radical leaders John Randolph and Nathaniel Macon insofar as they opposed consolidation, see, for instance, "To Lewis Cass," Hurricane P.O., Mississippi, August 3, 1857, *PJD*, 6:133; and "Reply to Stephen A. Douglas," May 17, 1860, *PJD*, 6:318-19. Davis could accordingly unite with Radicals to oppose northern Whigs who wished to build federal insane asylums and agricultural colleges, decrying such internal improvements as consolidation since because was no apparent military justification for them. See "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the bill granting lands to the several states for the benefit of the indigent insane. Sept. 26, 1850," *JDC*, 1:557-58; and "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the bill granting land to the indigent insane. Feb. 11, 1851," *JDC*, 2:17-18. Yet he still held that the U.S. government could build mail roads that were of no military value, for that was to exercise a delegated power. See "Resolution concerning the Establishment of a Mail Route," December 19, 1845, *PJD*, 2:395.

[25] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on March 8, 1850, on Compromise resolutions concerning slavery," *JDC*, 1:312.

expect the democracy to be divided...."[26] He had, after all, seconded Calhoun by maintaining *contra* the Radicals that inter-state rivers were "great national highway[s]" that were a federal responsibility rather than "within the jurisdiction of a State."[27] Radicals clashed with him at the state level too, for while they opposed energetic state governments to safeguard the independence of each little plantation fiefdom, Davis encouraged southern state governments to fund agricultural societies, underwrite banks, subsidize factories, establish public schools, and build non-military infrastructure.[28] He hence urged Mississippians to establish state-supported "Manufactories" even though he had admitted that they were unlikely to ever "become a manufacturing people" due to geographic limitations.[29] And he advised the slaveholding states to undertake non-military railroad projects even as he voted against federal funding for railroads which would benefit the South commercially but had no clear military justification.[30] Urging the government to grant unused federal lands to southern states for the purpose of building such railroads, he hoped to see the construction of "an entire chain of railways from the Mississippi at Vicksburg to the Atlantic, and to the metropolis of our Union – a chain like a system of nerves to couple our remote members of the body politic to the centre of the Union, and rapidly to transmit sensation from one to the other…."[31] Much progress to that effect was actually made during the

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[26] "Speech of Jefferson Davis in the Democratic State Convention," from the Columbus *Democrat*, August 1, 1849, *JDC*, 1:241.

[27] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on bill to remit the duties and make free the navigation of the Louisville and Portland Canal. Dec. 23, 1850," *JDC*, 2:12. See "Jefferson Davis to Franklin Pierce: Report of the Secretary of War," War Department, Washington, D.C., December 1, 1853, *JDC*, 2:324.

[28] See "Jefferson Davis to Stephen Cocke," Senate Chamber, June 7, 1850, *JDC*, 1:357; "Jefferson Davis to the People of Mississippi," Warren County, Mississippi, September, 25, 1851, *JDC*, 2:106; "M. W. Philips to Jefferson Davis," Log Hull, January 12, 1853, *JDC*, 2:179-82; and "Speech at Oxford," July 15, 1852, *PJD*, 4:279.

[29] "Speech at Oxford," *op. cit.*, 4:279; and "Jefferson Davis to the People of Mississippi," Steamer *Star Spangled Banner*, Mississippi River, July 13, 1846, from the Vicksburg *Sentinel*, July 21, 1846, *JDC*, 1:54.

[30] See "Remarks of Jefferson Davis in Senate April 30, 1850, on the bill granting land to Illinois to construct the Central Railroad," *JDC*, 1:327.

[31] "Jefferson Davis to the People of Mississippi," *op. cit.*, 1:55. See "Albert G. Brown to Jesse Speight," Executive Chamber, Jackson, Mississippi, March 7, 1846, *PJD*, 2: 495; and "To W. Cook," April 10, 1846, *PJD*, 2:548.

1850s, and in 1857 Davis would hail the completion of a "Southern Railroad" connecting Mississippi to South Carolina as a partial realization of the "conception of John C. Calhoun's."[32]

When several state-backed Mississippi banks failed in 1843, Radicals called for the legislature to let the banks die and repudiate their debts. Davis, in contrast, opposed repudiation, maintaining that whenever "the State might create a debt… in such case the people are bound to pay it...."[33] Unlike the Radicals, he had no problem with the federal or state governments accruing debts to meet their respective responsibilities.[34] But that hardly made him a Henry Clay-style Whig masquerading as a Democrat, for while he believed that banks and corporations had an important role to play in American industrialization, he wanted them to be strictly regulated and controlled by governments. "[I]t surely must be elsewhere than in the ranks of the Democracy that advocates are to be found," Davis declared in 1845, for the benefit "of the few, by sacrificing the rights of the many."[35] Pining to rein in Whig-friendly corporations which seemed to regard the U.S. government as their instrument, he urged Congress to, with regard to internal improvements which had been built by private corporations but transported U.S. mail and soldiers, pass legislation "by which the government would be secured from the exorbitant charges monopolies have it in their power to impose…."[36] Davis also worried that contracted corporations would seek to "feed upon the Federal Government" and hence the citizenry, endorsing a federally-supported railroad project in 1850 only because "the said railroad shall be

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[32] "Speech at Jackson," May 29, 1857, *PJD*, 6:124.
[33] Quoted in Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 1:183. See "Jefferson Davis to the Editor of the *Sentinel*," Brierfield, Mississippi, July 5, 1845, *JDC*, 1:16.
[34] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the bill to pay the California Claims. April 28, 1848," *JDC*, 1:203; "Speech of Jefferson Davis in the Democratic State Convention," from the Columbus *Democrat*, August 1, 1849, *JDC*, 1:241; and "Remarks of Jefferson Davis in regard to the fugitive slave law. Feb. 24, 1851," *JDC*, 2:58.
[35] "Jefferson Davis to the Editor of the *Sentinel*," Brierfield, Mississippi, July 5, 1845, *JDC*, 1:16. See "Speech of Jefferson Davis in the Democratic State Convention," *op. cit.*, 1:242.
[36] "Jefferson Davis to the People of Mississippi," Steamer *Star Spangled Banner*, Mississippi River, July 13, 1846, from the Vicksburg *Sentinel*, July 21, 1846, *JDC*, 1:54. See "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on bill to remit the duties and make free the navigation of the Louisville and Portland Canal. Dec. 23, 1850," *JDC*, 2:12.

and remain a public highway, for the use of the Government of the United States, free from toll or other charge upon the transportation of any property or troops of the United States….”[37] Yet he worried about contracted individuals as well. Having been intrigued by early demonstrations of “electro-magnetic power,” he feared that federal funding in that vein would encourage frauds to cheat the government, preferring the army to conduct scientific research instead.[38] At the same time, he called for the creation of a special court versed in the sciences to protect patents of genuine inventors from “pirate” businessmen, doing so not for the sake of the inventors themselves but rather to spur science of potential military significance.[39] Davis wanted to thwart land speculators too, praising the U.S. army for invoking the Fifth Amendment in 1850 to take over Oregon Territory lands from speculators so as to build military infrastructure. And suspecting that the affected speculators would demand excessive compensation for their property, he proclaimed that “private claims are required to give way to the public service....”[40]

The U.S. army was the quintessence of equality among whites for Davis, who was, after all, named in honor of “that sage and patriot, Mr. Jefferson,” “the Apostle of Democracy.”[41] Davis was as committed to that ideal as Calhoun, and while he had been disappointed that his mentor did not yet trust the purity and power of the northern Democracy enough to abandon the Radicals and re-empower the federal government during Polk’s presidency, he was sure that his efforts to reform and strengthen the U.S. army would receive Calhoun’s blessing in the end.

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[37] “Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the bill limiting expense collecting revenue from customs. January 14, 1850,” *JDC*, 1:258; and “Remarks of Jefferson Davis on bill granting land to Mississippi to construct the Brandon and Montgomery Railroad. June 25, 1850,” *JDC*, 1:367. See “Remarks of Jefferson Davis in Senate April 30, 1850, on the bill granting land to Illinois to construct the Central Railroad,” *JDC*, 1:328, 330; and “Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the bill granting land to the indigent insane. Feb. 11, 1851,” *JDC*, 2:21.
[38] “Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the civil and diplomatic bill. Sept. 23, 1850,” *JDC*, 1:556. See ibid., 1:555-57.
[39] “Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the bill to encourage the useful arts. Dec. 19, 1850,” *JDC*, 2:1. See ibid., 2:2-4.
[40] “Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the bill creating the office of surveyor general of public lands in Oregon, and making donations of land to actual settlers. Sept. 17, 1850,” *JDC*, 1:550. See ibid., 1:546-50.
[41] “Remarks of Jefferson Davis on Compromise Bill of June 27, 1850,” *JDC*, 1:387; and “Jefferson Davis to Messrs. Barksdale and Jones,” Brierfield, Mississippi, February 16, 1852, from the Yazoo *Democrat*, March 10 and 17, 1852, *JDC*, 2:162.

Davis wanted to reward U.S. soldiers more than any other group of lower-class whites, for while he usually exhibited a "tender consideration for the helpless or sorrowful people who came to him," he was particularly willing to confer personal charity upon impoverished whites of military mien.[42] He also called for the elimination of flogging in the U.S. army as an affront to equality among whites, hoping to see corporal punishment discarded in civilian schools as well.[43] And he pressed for troop salaries to be increased for the sake of fairness and as a military necessity because U.S. soldiers were often paid less than unskilled civilian laborers in many locales and hence tempted to desert.[44] Yet Davis had precious little sympathy for deserters because he expected patriotic devotion from the troops in exchange for the nation's gratitude. Constructing fortifications, "building block-houses and opening roads," for instance, entailed "severe labor," but he insisted that soldiers undertake such work when hired-out slaves were unavailable.[45] And while he regularly urged Congress to grant pensions to honorably discharged U.S. soldiers, he also called for those pensions to be staggered such that wounded soldiers would receive more money while families of soldiers who had died in the line of duty would receive the most of all.[46]

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[42] Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 1:565. As Davis noted with regard to one such beggar, "[h]e was miserably poor, but his threadbare coat was brushed and his copperas linsey trousers and his horny hands were clean, so I gave him the money." Quoted in ibid., 2:919. See "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on bill to establish a branch mint at New York. May 27, 1850," *JDC*, 1:353.

[43] See "Extract: Jefferson Davis, Ex-President of the Confederate States of America: A Memoir," Beauvoir, Mississippi, November, 1889, *PJD*, 1:lxxiv-lxxvi.

[44] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Naval Appropriations bill. Sept. 28, 1850," *JDC*, 1:575-76.

[45] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Oregon war debt bill. May 30, 1860," *JDC*, 4:374. Davis, however, was willing at times to offer "extra pay" in such situations as a matter of fairness and to discourage desertions. See ibid., 4:374; "Jefferson Davis to Franklin Pierce: Report of the Secretary of War," War Department, Washington, D.C., December 1, 1853, *JDC*, 2:297; "Jefferson Davis to John Pope," War Department, Washington, D.C., January 5, 1855, *JDC*, 2:437; "Jefferson Davis to Franklin Pierce: Report of the Secretary of War," War Department, Washington, D.C., December 1, 1856, *JDC*, 3:74; and *PJD*, 6:517-18.

[46] See "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the resolution of thanks to Gen. Taylor. May 28, 1846," *JDC*, 1:47; and "Bill reported by Jefferson Davis, Sept. 14, 1850," *JDC*, 1:542-43.

Unsurprisingly, Davis was exasperated by Radicals in "the National Legislature" who exhibited an "extreme distrust in our army."[47] Having declared himself to be "a friend to the army," he strove to increase the army's size, augment officer salaries, place state arsenals under federal control, and increase funding for military-related scientific research.[48] But the Radicals disputed his assertion that because "[t]he influence of military skill – the advantage of discipline in the troops – the power derived from the science of war, increases with the increased size of the contending armies," state militia regiments would never be "the most desirable force" on a modern battlefield.[49] They were incensed, moreover, when he claimed in 1846 that the U.S. army best "illustrates our national character, and adds new glory to our national name" with each new "triumph of our arms," as well as when he hailed West Point graduates in 1850 for "greatly increas[ing] the science which has been spread broadcast across the land...."[50] Having emphasized as well "the unquestionable necessity of a military education to prepare a man" for both "command in the army" and "professional" supervision of infrastructure projects, Davis alarmed the Radicals most of all by attempting to both stimulate and fully democratize "the military ardor of the people of the United States."[51] He hoped that most citizens would volunteer

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[47] "Jefferson Davis to B. Pendleton and others," Brierfield, Mississippi, November 10, 1850, from the *Mississippi Free Trader*, November 30, 1850, *JDC*, 1:589.

[48] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the resolution of thanks to Gen. Taylor. May 28, 1846," *JDC*, 1:46. See "Remarks on the Bill Providing for the Receipt of the Public Property of Texas. February 4, 1846," *PJD*, 2:436; "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the bill to raise a regiment of mounted riflemen. March 8, 1846," *JDC*, 1:37-38; "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on a bill to increase the army. In the Senate, January 3, 1848," *JDC*, 1:182; "Remarks of Jefferson Davis. June 6, 1850," *JDC*, 1:356-57; "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the bill to increase the rank and file of the army. June 11, 1850," *JDC*, 1:359; "Resolution offered by Jefferson Davis, July 26, 1850," *JDC*, 1:422; "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the admission of California. August 10, 1850," *JDC*, 1:480; "Resolution offered by Jefferson Davis, August 10, 1850," *JDC*, 1:501; and "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Naval Appropriations bill. September 28, 1850," *JDC*, 1:576.

[49] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the resolution of thanks to Gen. Taylor, May 28. 1846," *op. cit.*, 1:49; and "Speech of Jefferson Davis, August 5, 1850, in defense of Gen. Taylor, on the resolution of Mr. Cass in relation to the exercise of civil power by the military officers of the United States," *JDC*, 1:444. See "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the bill to increase the rank and file of the army. June 11, 1850," *op. cit.*, 1:358.

[50] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the resolution of thanks to Gen. Taylor. May 28, 1846," *op. cit.*, 1:46; and "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Military Academy bill. August 29, 1850," *JDC*, 1:526.

[51] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the bill to raise two regiments of riflemen delivered in the House, March 27, 1846," *JDC*, 1:40; "Remarks of Jefferson Davis April 16, 1850 on appropriation for the Mexican boundary

to serve in the U.S. army or at least a state militia due to "the desire common in our people to engage in the military service of the country," but he also held that the power of Congress to raise armies would allow the federal government to, if necessary, compel state governments to draft their citizens in order to fill up any and all state militia regiments called into U.S. service.[52]

Davis also disagreed with the Radicals regarding slavery all through the 1840s and '50s. They insisted that southern slavery was a harmonious or "organic" form of social organization, proffering it as a model for the world to emulate while looking askance at local, state, and especially federal governmental regulation of the institution. Davis agreed with them insofar as he too held that southern slavery was remarkably humane, asserting that "[o]ur slaves are happy and contented. They bear the kindest relation that labor can sustain to capital."[53] Yet he did not indulge in their utopian flights of fancy, for he conceded that slaves often desired freedom no matter how kindly they were treated, and that there was indeed "cruelty" in the South's practice of slavery, although it "probably exists to a smaller extent than in any other relation of labor to capital."[54] To the chagrin of many a Radical, moreover, Davis called for state governments to regulate slavery in the states and even for the U.S. government to do likewise in the territories. "The power to oppress dependents exists in all countries," he explained, "and bad men everywhere abuse the power."[55] More governmental regulation was needed, after all, "from the

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commission," *JDC*, 1:325; and "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on a bill to increase the army. In the Senate Jan. 3, 1848," *JDC*, 1:181.

[52] "Jefferson Davis to the People of Mississippi," Steamer *Star Spangled Banner*, Mississippi River, July 13, 1846, from the Vicksburg *Sentinel*, July 21, 1846, *JDC*, 1:52.

[53] "Remarks on the Protection of Property," Washington, D.C., April 20, 1848, *PJD*, 3:315. See "Speech on the Oregon Bill," July 12, 1848, *PJD*, 3:355, 358.

[54] "Speech of Jefferson Davis in Senate Feb. 13 and 14, 1850 on Slavery in the Territories," *JDC*, 1:267. See "Remarks of Jefferson Davis in regard to the fugitive slave law, Feb. 24, 1851," *JDC*, 2:36.

[55] "Speech on the Oregon Bill," July 12, 1848, *PJD*, 3:355.

nature of the property, in the case of slaves, than any other...," and the South's ostensibly self-sustaining system of slavery could not function but for "special laws and police regulations."[56]

Rejecting Radical notions of slavery "in the abstract," Davis endorsed slavery "in the concrete" on racial grounds instead.[57] In his view, southern slavery was not so much a universal model for the generic organization of labor as an efficacious system of white supremacy that reinforced equality among whites by allowing "poor men, who own no negroes themselves," to "*stand upon the broad level of equality with the rich man*."[58] Yet even as Davis praised slavery for enhancing social and political equality among white Americans in the South by instituting white supremacy, he was, unlike the Radicals, both alarmed and upset by its tendency to exacerbate economic inequalities among whites. Calling for the fruits of black labor to be distributed among whites on a more equal basis, he wanted to see the number of slaveholders greatly "multiplied" as a result.[59] Davis, moreover, deemed the enslavement of whites an abomination, castigating serfdom even though many well-treated "serfs of Russia refused to be liberated by their landlords."[60] Southern slavery, then, was a so-called positive good only in relation to the ostensibly inferior African black, whom it had delivered from a state of "abject slavery" under "a barbarian master" to "a Christian land. It brought him from a benighted region, and placed him in one where civilization would elevate and dignify his nature."[61]

The South, Davis claimed, had vastly improved a savage African institution which had been conceived in "heathen darkness" by "barbarian tribes" in their "constant wars" against one

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[56] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Compromise Bill. July 18, 1850," *JDC*, 1:412. See "Jefferson Davis to the People of Mississippi," Warren County, Mississippi, September 25, 1851, *JDC*, 2:91.
[57] "Speech of Jefferson Davis before the Mississippi Legislature. November 16, 1858," *JDC*, 3:351.
[58] "Speech of Jefferson Davis at Aberdeen, Mississippi, May 26, 1851," from the Monroe *Democrat*, June 4, 1851, *JDC*, 2:73. See "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on March 8, 1850, on Compromise resolutions concerning slavery," *JDC*, 1:312.
[59] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on March 8, 1850, on Compromise resolutions concerning slavery," *op. cit.*, 1:312.
[60] "Speech on the Oregon Bill," July 12, 1848, *PJD*, 3:364.
[61] "Speech of Jefferson Davis in Senate Feb. 13 and 14, 1850 on Slavery in the Territories," *JDC*, 1:284. See "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on a petition on the subject of colonizing free negroes. January 12, 1849," *JDC*, 1:219.

another.[62] He riled the Radicals, however, because he was willing to consider the idea that southern slavery was not necessarily the optimal form of white supremacy. Davis, to be sure, was in no hurry whatsoever to begin phasing out the institution, but he was open to the prospect of "a practical and useful emancipation of the slave" occurring in the future provided that all of the manumitted blacks were subjected to some form of white rule under which they would be forced to engage "in useful employment, restrained from the vicious indulgences to which their inferior nature inclines them," or removed from the Union altogether.[63] "[O]ur slaves are a distinct race," he emphasized, "physically differing so much from ourselves that no one can look to their emancipation without connecting it with the idea of removal, separation of the races."[64] Lauding the U.S. army's use of both convict black and hired-out slave labor, Davis echoed his deceased mentor by calling throughout the 1850s for more slaves to be utilized in such industries as mining, which was "better adapted to slave labor than to any other species of labor recognized among us...."[65] He had accordingly hoped that a Mississippi cotton planting machine prototype would not only increase productivity on plantations but also reduce their overall need for labor.[66] Davis and his wife, after all, did not consider themselves to be planters *per se* but rather "towns-people," and they did spend more time in Washington, D.C. than at their Brierfield plantation.[67]

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[62] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on a petition on the subject of colonizing free negroes. Jan. 12, 1849," *JDC*, 1:219; and "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on March 8, 1850, on Compromise resolutions concerning slavery," *JDC*, 1:315. See "Speech of Jefferson Davis in Senate Feb. 13 and 14, 1850 on Slavery in the Territories," *JDC*, 1:285.

[63] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the bill to establish a territorial government in Oregon. July 12, 1848," *JDC*, 1:212; and "Speech of Jefferson Davis in Senate Feb. 13 and 14, 1850 on Slavery in the Territories," *JDC*, 1:300. Blacks, Davis insisted, were "not fit to live in America amongst civilized people…." "Speech at Fayette," July 11, 1851, *PJD*, 4:202.

[64] "Speech on the Oregon Bill," July 12, 1848, *PJD*, 3:356.

[65] "Speech of Jefferson Davis in Senate Feb. 13 and 14, 1850 on Slavery in the Territories," *op. cit.*, 1:289. See "On the recapture of Fugitive slaves. August 23, 1850," *JDC*, 1:522-23.

[66] See "James J. B. White and George W. Woodbury to Jefferson Davis," Tokè ba (near Yazoo City), Mississippi, October 8, 1855, *JDC*, 2:525-26.

[67] Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 1:592. See ibid., 2:617; "To Payne & Harrison," November 16, 1857, *PJD*, 6:550; and *PJD*, 6:117. Davis even let his rather Radical-minded brother Joseph implement an ostensibly utopian system of slave management at Brierfield in which the power of white overseers was limited by a slave-managed jury

Jefferson Davis and the External British Abolitionist Enemy, 1844-50

The Radicals wanted to keep the South and preferably the entire Union as agricultural as possible by trading their staple crops for British manufactured goods without hindrance, hoping as well to save Britain from what they took to be the levelling influence of the "Roundhead" North. Davis, in contrast, viewed the U.S. as the ideological antithesis of Britain, which was, he thought, more committed than ever to racially egalitarian abolitionism and hence inequality among whites. Patriotism, he explained in 1845, entailed the "expulsion from among us of the English practice[s]...." "My thoughts, my feelings are American," he added, and "to England, the robber nation of the earth, whose history is a succession of wrongs and oppressions, whose tracks are marked by the crushed rights of individuals, – to England I cannot go for lessons of morality and justice."[68] He therefore gloried in the fact that his father had been "a Revolutionary Soldier."[69] And one of his first memories was the news arriving of his brother Samuel's horse being wounded at the Battle of New Orleans, for his sibling had been one of the "gallant soldier[s] of the War of 1812."[70] Trumpeting his hatred on levels both personal and ideological for abolitionist Britain, he proudly boasted in 1850 that "attachment to this Union was among the first lessons of my childhood; bred to the service of my country from boyhood, to mature age I wore its uniform."[71] Davis's attachment, however, was to a country dedicated to "strict equality" among whites and to a Union standing for "the *equality* of the *white* race" in "a political and

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system and slave foremen. See "To Varina Howell Davis," [Brierfield], July 20, 1857, *PJD*, 6:129-30; "To William B. Howell," Brierfield, April 24, 1859, *PJD*, 6:247; and *PJD*, 6:137.

[68] "Jefferson Davis to Editor of the *Sentinel*," Brierfield, Mississippi, July 5, 1845, *JDC*, 1:16-17.

[69] "Speech of Jefferson Davis at the Portland Convention. August 24, 1858," *JDC*, 3:285.

[70] Quoted in *PJD*, 5:286. See "To James E. Heath," January 12, 1851, *PJD*, 4:152; "Jefferson Davis to William J. Brown," Washington, D.C., May 7, 1853, *JDC*, 2:218; and Beringer and Hattaway, *Jefferson Davis, Confederate President*, 1.

[71] "Speech of Jefferson Davis in Senate Feb. 13 and 14, 1850 on Slavery in the Territories," *JDC*, 1:303.

social point of view."[72] U.S. "national independence," then, would be utterly meaningless for him if it were no longer predicted upon "the fraternal feeling growing out of the revolutionary struggle" of the Patriots against the Redcoats and their Hessian, Tory, Indian, and black allies.[73]

Whereas democratic equality among whites and non-Radical state's rights would, Davis claimed like Calhoun, stimulate "the energy and restless spirit of adventure which is characteristic of our people," the British government "load[ed] the laboring masses with oppressive taxation to support a favored class."[74] Britain's aristocratic regime did not simply exploit "the suffering peasantry of England" either, for it also imposed dire ethnic and religious inequalities upon non-British and non-Protestant whites within the British Empire.[75] Hundreds of thousands of Irish Catholics, after all, perished in the 1840s thanks to a famine which Britain had ostensibly exacerbated. And to Davis's disgust, the British ruling classes seemed to direct their sympathy toward non-whites and especially blacks across the Atlantic even as the Irish perished next door, with the London *Times* describing him as a fiscally ignorant bumpkin to boot when falsely accusing him of having been a supporter of Mississippi debt repudiation in 1849.[76]

Yet the British Empire was not just a theoretic antipode in Davis's view but a dire military threat as well, for "the fiery cross of St. George" was menacing the U.S. in all directions.[77] Because the Gulf coast was still vulnerable to the Royal Navy, he urged Congress to build upon Calhoun's "general system of Coast Defence," calling too for the creation of "an

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[72] "Jefferson Davis's Speech at Trenton, N.J.," from the Washington, D.C. *Union*, July 16, 1853, *JDC*, 2:239; and "Speech of Jefferson Davis at Aberdeen, Mississippi, May 26, 1851," from the Monroe *Democrat*, June 4, 1851, *JDC*, 2:74-75.
[73] "Speech of Jefferson Davis on the Increase of the Army, February 10 and 11, 1858," *JDC*, 3:213; and "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on river and harbor bill. May 24, 1858," *JDC*, 3:242. See "Jefferson Davis's Speech at Trenton, N.J.," *op. cit.*, 2:240; and "Jefferson Davis's Speech at Newark, N.J.," from the Washington, D.C. *Union*, July 23, 1853, *JDC*, 2:252-53.
[74] "Speech on the Resolution to Terminate the Joint Occupation of Oregon," February 6, 1846, *PJD*, 2:453; and "On rivers and harbor bill. March 3, 1851," *JDC*, 2:65.
[75] "Speech of Jefferson Davis on the resolutions concerning the relations of the states. May 8, 1860," *JDC*, 4:279.
[76] See *PJD*, 4:327.
[77] "Speech of Jefferson Davis delivered in the House Feb. 6, 1846, on the Oregon question," *JDC*, 1:34.

Arsenal in the interior of Mississippi" and more lighthouses in addition to fortifications.[78] The Royal Navy could also still easily attack the Atlantic coast, to secure which he advocated building coastal fortresses from Maine to Florida that would put "the batteries of Great Britain" at the Bahamas to shame.[79] Truly "defending the United States," however, would, he claimed, require a vastly augmented navy – preferably "the largest Navy in the world" – and U.S. control over British North America.[80] The threat posed by that colony, after all, did not consist simply of the troops and warships stationed there by Britain. Due in part to the "unwillingness" of many northerners "to have negroes among them...," British North America had long been the terminus of the so-called Underground Railroad for U.S. fugitive slaves.[81] Upon arriving in Upper Canada or the Maritime provinces, moreover, blacks were warmly welcomed by Anglo-Protestant Loyalists and granted equal rights as British subjects.[82] The first black to win the Victoria Cross, in fact, was Nova Scotia's William E. Hall, a Royal Navy veteran who was born to Maryland slaves whom Admiral Cockburn had freed; and he earned his medal thanks to his famous but rather ironic role in crushing the 1857 "Sepoy Mutiny" against British rule in India.[83]

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[78] "Notice of a Political Meeting – Speech by Jefferson Davis," September 8, 1845, *PJD*, 2:334. See "Jefferson Davis to the People of Mississippi," Steamer *Star Spangled Banner*, Mississippi River, July 13, 1846, from the Vicksburg *Sentinel*, July 21, 1846, *JDC*, 1:55.

[79] "Speech of Jefferson Davis before the State Democratic Convention held in Jackson, Mississippi January 3, 1844 for the purpose of sending delegates to the National Convention of the party and for the selection of presidential electors," from the *Mississippian*, January 12, 1844, *JDC*, 1:8. See "Speech of Jefferson Davis in Senate Feb. 13 and 14, 1850 on Slavery in the Territories," *JDC*, 1:297.

[80] "Notice of a Political Meeting – Speech by Jefferson Davis," September 8, 1845, *PJD*, 2:334. See "Remarks on the Occupation of the Yucatan," May 5, 1848, *PJD*, 3:320.

[81] "On the recapture of fugitive slaves, Aug. 22, 1850," *JDC*, 1:518. See ibid., 1:520-21.

[82] See Austin Steward, *Twenty-two Years a Slave, and Forty Years a Freeman; Embracing a Correspondence of Several Years, While Resident of Wilberforce Colony, London, Canada West* (Rochester: William Alling, 1857); John N. Grant, "Black Immigrants into Nova Scotia, 1776-1815," *The Journal of Negro History*, vol. 58, no. 3 (July 1973), 253-70; Sharon A. Roger Hepburn, "Following the North Star: Canada as a Haven for Nineteenth-Century American Blacks," *Michigan Historical Review*, vol. 25, no. 2 (Autumn 1999), 91-126; James W. St. G. Walker, *The Black Loyalists: The Search for a Promised Land in Nova Scotia and Sierra Leone, 1783-1870* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999); and Gregory Wigmore, "Before the Railroad: From Slavery to Freedom in the Canadian-American Borderland," *The Journal of American History*, vol. 98, no. 2 (September 2011), 437-54.

[83] See David W. States, "William Hall, V.C. of Horton Bluff, Nova Scotia: Nineteenth Century Naval Hero," *Collections of the Royal Nova Scotia Historical Society*, vol. 44 (1995), 71-81.

Davis hailed Secretary of War Calhoun for quelling Indian resistance on the old northwest frontier, but he believed that the Hudson's Bay Company was still arming and inciting Indians against the U.S. on the new northwestern frontier extending from Lake Superior to the Oregon territory. Asserting that the government was only required to pay compensation for property impressed from U.S. citizens, he emulated his mentor by championing several unsuccessful bills to confiscate all of the property within the Union owned by the Hudson's Bay Company and Puget's Sound Agricultural Company, as well as to permanently exclude their agents from U.S. territory.[84] With Polk ensconced in the White House, moreover, Davis was ready to resume the course of Manifest Destiny at the British Empire's expemse. The Union and Britain had placed the Oregon territory under joint administration pending a final settlement of borders, and Davis urged Congress to "retain the whole territory" for "the extension of our Union" by taking "exclusive possession" of Oregon in bald defiance of "the voracious demands of England."[85] The Hudson's Bay Company had also come to own a vast amount of land within Mexico to the west of the Union by purchasing land-backed Mexican bonds.[86] Davis hence called for the U.S. to acquire all Mexican territory through to the Pacific as a double blow against British power in the west, for Mexico's debt was "in the hands chiefly of Englishmen" – to the tune of more than $50 million by the early-to-mid 1850s.[87] Mexico, he thought, was as "weak" as ever thanks to its largely non-white population, but it had become an increasingly "perverse and offending neighbor" by contesting the U.S. border's extension to the Rio Grande

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[84] See *PJD*, 5:476-77.
[85] "Speech of Jefferson Davis delivered in the House Feb. 6, 1846, on the Oregon question," *JDC*, 1:30, 33-34.
[86] See "Notice of a Political Meeting – Speech by Jefferson Davis," September 5, 1845, *PJD*, 2:328; Alice B. Maloney, "Hudson's Bay Company in California," *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, vol. 37, no. 1 (March 1936), 9-23; and John S. Galbraith, *The Hudson's Bay Company as an Imperial Factor, 1821-1869* (Oakland: University of California Press, 1957).
[87] "Persifor F. Smith to Jefferson Davis," San Antonio, December 22, 1853, *JDC*, 2:339.

and moving toward racial equality at the behest of its British creditors.[88] As the Pennsylvanian migrant and prominent Mississippi Democrat Robert J. Walker observed in 1845, "diffused" and fugitive southern slaves would probably attain not just freedom but also citizenship in Mexico.[89]

Commodore Thomas ap Catesby Jones's *United States* seized the Mexican port of Monterey, California in September 1842 believing that Mexico was about to cede that harbor to Britain because a small British fleet had departed from Peru without declaring a destination.[90] The U.S. returned Monterey to Mexico with compensation in 1843, but direct or indirect war with Britain on a continental scale seemed to be imminent by 1846. Varina Davis deemed most of the martial rhetoric "nothing but empty vapouring about our abilities, or power to whip England," but she knew that her husband was in earnest, for he had begun reading "a little pocket edition of military tactics" at "the first harbinger of war," confessing his "strong desire" to command a Mississippi regiment in the ensuing struggle against Britain and its pro-abolitionist Mexican client: "My education and former practice would, I think, enable me to be of service to Mississippians who take the field. If they wish it, I will join them as soon as possible, wherever they may be."[91] After Mexican forces fired upon General Zachary Taylor's soldiers near the Rio Grande in April 1846, Davis outlined an ideal scenario in which a fully mobilized Union would fight Britain for Oregon after swiftly defeating Mexico. He thus mused a day before the U.S. declared war on Mexico that "[t]he Oregon question will scarcely be settled, by negotiation, and when the joint convention shall be abrogated conflicts with England will probably ensue. Before

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[88] "Jefferson Davis to A. G. Brown," Warren County, Mississippi, August, 15, 1847, *JDC*, 1:94.

[89] See Stephen Hartnett, "Senator Robert Walker's 1844 Letter on Texas Annexation: The Rhetorical 'Logic' of Imperialism," *American Studies*, vol. 38, no. 1 (Spring 1997), 27-54.

[90] See Brooke, Jr., *John Mercer Brooke*, 6-7, 9; and Gene A. Smith, "The War That Wasn't: Thomas ap Catesby Jones's Seizure of Monterey," *California History*, vol. 66, no. 2 (June 1987), 104-13.

[91] Quoted in Lesley J. Gordon, "'To Comfort, To Counsel, To Cure'; Davis, Wives, and Generals," in *Jefferson Davis's Generals*, ed. Gabor S. Boritt (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 106; Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 1:284; and "Jefferson Davis on the War with Mexico," Washington, D.C., May 12, 1846, from the Port-Gibson *Correspondent*, June 3, 1846, *JDC*, 1:46. See "Jefferson Davis to A. G. Brown," *op. cit.*, 1:93-94.

that time we ought to close all questions with Mexico, and have the ship [of state] overhauled for action on a larger scale."[92] Unexpectedly stiff Mexican resistance and Polk's decision to partition the Oregon territory with Britain in June dashed Davis's hopes to see "the field widened for the exhibition" of the U.S. army's prowess in the near future, although he was still entirely determined to confront Britain later on and thereby "reserve as far as we might, the North American Continent for republican institutions."[93] Calhoun, however, convinced a disappointed Davis that Polk had made the correct decision given that the northern Whigs and even many northern Democrats would oppose a war against Britain with far greater vehemence than they were already exhibiting in objecting to and hindering the current conflict with Britain's Mexican client. Praising Polk for avoiding a daunting dual war against the Mexicans and British that might well have convulsed the Union, Davis accordingly noted in 1848 that the Mexicans had, during the Oregon boundary dispute, "cherished the hope that there would be a war between this country and England, and that, with the latter as an ally, they would be able to regain Texas."[94]

With little prospect of winning fame *via* an impending invasion of British North America, Senator Davis strove to open the Oregon territory to slavery in 1848 not so much to actually introduce the institution there but rather to test the northern Democracy and increase the likelihood of future conflict with Britain by replacing British abolitionist racial equality with American slavery and white supremacy in that tense border region, doing so, he would later

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[92] "Jefferson Davis on the War with Mexico," Washington, May 12, 1846, from the Port-Gibson *Correspondent*, June 3, 1846, *JDC*, 1:46.

[93] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the resolution of thanks to Gen. Taylor, May 28, 1846," *JDC*, 1:49; and "To the People of Mississippi," Steamer *Star Spangled Banner*, Mississippi River, July 13, 1846, *PJD* 3:7.

[94] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Mexican War. In Senate, March 21, 1848," *JDC*, 1:198. See "Exchange with John C. Calhoun on the Ten-Regiment Bill," March 17, 1848, *PJD*, 3:277-86; and *PJD*, 3:435.

claim, upon "the authority of Mr. Calhoun."[95] Yet his thirst for renown had been slaked at least temporarily thanks to the Mexican War, during which he took one of Calhoun's young protégés under his wing as the colonel of the 1st Mississippi Infantry.[96] He had begun a decades-long effort at West Point to impress his countrymen as an inspiring military hero by means of expensive martial regalia and vigorous exercise, striding with a military gait throughout his life as well.[97] Lieutenant Davis's career on the northwestern frontier, however, disappointed him from the moment he arrived in full dress uniform at his dusty outpost in 1829 and was desultorily greeted by a bored major playing solitaire.[98] He therefore complained to his sister that "[t]o day I am 22 years old when I was a boy and dreamed with my eyes open as most do I thought of ripening fame at this age of wealth and power as I grew older I saw the folly of this but still thought that at the age of 22 I should be on the high way to all ambition desired and lo: I am 22 and the same obscure poor being that I was at fifteen...."[99] His disappointment was compounded when he missed most of the 1832 Black Hawk War due to an ill-timed leave, and he resigned his commission in 1835. Yet when Congressman Davis returned to service in 1846, he soon led his famous regiment, which he equipped with flashy uniforms and modern rifles at his own expense, into battle at Monterey, where he was "twice fired at by sharp shooters."[100] One of his officers proudly informed him that "[w]e advanced following *your* lead" during the chaotic urban warfare in Monterey, which was, Davis would later boast, "believed by the Mexicans to be

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[95] "Reply to Stephen A. Douglas," May 17, 1860, *PJD*, 6:318. See "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the bill to establish a territorial government in Oregon. July 12, 1848," *JDC*, 1:211-13; "Speech of Jefferson Davis in Senate Feb. 13 and 14, 1850 on Slavery in the Territories," *JDC*, 1:275-77; and "Speech of Jefferson Davis, August 5, 1850, in defense of Gen. Taylor, on the resolution of Mr. Cass in relation to the exercise of civil power by the military officers of the United States," *JDC*, 1:467.
[96] See "To John C. Calhoun," Brazos Sant Iago, May 28, 1847, *PJD*, 3:180.
[97] See Beringer and Hattaway, *Jefferson Davis, Confederate President*, 389.
[98] See *PJD*, 1:114.
[99] "To Lucinda Davis Stamps," Fort Winnebago, June 3, 1829, in *Jefferson Davis: The Essential Writings*, ed. William J. Cooper, Jr. (New York: Random House, 2003), 9-10.
[100] "Jefferson Davis to John A. Quitman," Monterey, September 28, 1846, *JDC*, 1:107.

impregnable. In all the domestic struggles, the Indian incursions, and various wars of Mexico, it had never been taken."[101] Having inspired his soldiers as well by leaping his horse over a deep ravine under enemy fire at the Battle of Buena Vista in 1847, he was welcomed as a hero by a large and enthusiastic crowd upon disembarking at New Orleans with his discharged regiment.[102]

Davis cherished the "thrilling scenes" of the Mexican War as memories for the rest of his life, but his reluctance to undertake the frustrating task of suppressing Mexico's non-white and ostensibly pro-British "guerilleros" induced him to decline the new 2nd Mississippi Infantry's "*unanimous*" request for him to become their leader.[103] He also refused Polk's offer of a brigadier general's commission even though he had come to be known as "Genl. Jefferson Davis," taking a seat in the Senate instead.[104] Yet he still believed that the Union should intercede on behalf of the pro-U.S. Hispanic whites in the Yucatan who had seceded from Mexico and were now being massacred by Mayan guerillas wielding British arms.[105] White Yucatan society was structured rather like the South in that the great landowners of Valladolid prized their Castilian bloodlines, favored hierarchies among whites, jealously guarded their *haciendas* from governmental interference, and did not want to whiten their society *via*

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[101] "Captain Reuben N. Downing to Jefferson Davis," Camp near Monterey, September 26, 1846, *JDC*, 1:131; and "Speech of Jefferson Davis, August 5, 1850, in defense of Gen. Taylor, on the resolution of Mr. Cass in relation to the exercise of civil power by the military officers of the United States," *JDC*, 1:452.

[102] See "Speech at New Orleans," June 10, 1847, *PJD*, 3:181; and Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 1:350. Also see "Honor to our Volunteers," from the Vicksburg *Sentinel*, November 10, 1846, *JDC*, 1:61; "N. D. Coleman and others to Jefferson Davis," Vicksburg, November 2, 1847, from the Vicksburg *Sentinel*, November 17, 1847, *JDC*, 1:178; "Brutus to Jefferson Davis," from the Washington, D.C. *Union*, February 17, 1848, *JDC*, 1:183-84, 189; "Speech of Jefferson Davis at Aberdeen, Mississippi, May 26, 1851," from the Monroe *Democrat*, June 4, 1851, *JDC*, 2:70; and "Jefferson Davis to Messrs. Barksdale and Jones," Brierfield, Mississippi, February 16, 1852, from the Yazoo *Democrat*, March 10 and 17, 1852, *JDC*, 2:145.

[103] "Speech at Washington," June 13, 1848, *PJD*, 3:328; "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Mexican War. In Senate, March 21, 1848," *JDC*, 1:191; and "A. McWillie and others to Jefferson Davis," Buena Vista, Mexico, July 16, 1847, from the Vicksburg *Sentinel*, September 29, 1847, *JDC*, 1:99. See "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Mexican War. In Senate, March 21, 1848," *op. cit.*, 1:198; and "Jefferson Davis to John Jenkins," Brierfield, Mississippi, September 21, 1847, *JDC*, 1:100.

[104] "A. McWillie and others to Jefferson Davis," *op. cit.*, 1:99. See "Zachary Taylor to Jefferson Davis," Baton Rouge, Louisiana, July 10, 1848, *JDC*, 1:208; "W. H. Emory to Jefferson Davis," Camp on Gipsum Creek, 70 miles East of Antelope Hills, July 11, 1859, *JDC*, 4:89; and "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Army Appropriation bill. June 7, 1860," *JDC*, 4:473.

[105] See "Remarks on the Occupation of the Yucatan," May 5, 1848, *PJD*, 3:318-20.

immigration even though they were outnumbered seven-to-one by their mestizo and Mayan *peons*, who were essentially debt-bound serfs. The pro-U.S. "liberals" of Campeche and Mérida, in contrast, advocated democratic equality among whites, industrialization, separation of church and state, religious tolerance, public education for all whites, European immigration, and the state-enforced appropriation of *peon* labor to build infrastructure. When the U.S. warships *Mississippi* and *Missouri* appeared off Campeche during the Mexican War, liberals precipitated a civil war among the peninsula's whites by rebelling against Mexico in the name of Yucatan independence. Taking advantage of that situation, several thousand *peons* and non-white *barrio* dwellers took Valladolid by storm in January 1847, slaughtering eighty-five whites before pillaging and burning the city. Rumors of rape and cannibalism reached the U.S. as tens of thousands of white refugees fled from the interior to the coast. The Yucatan whites soon united to suppress the rebellious *Indios*, committing a slew of atrocities in their own right. In response, the Mayan rebel leaders offered no terms but death or expulsion to the whites and proceeded to behead white prisoners, at which point the less acculturated and relatively autonomous Mayans of the southeastern jungles joined the rebellion, Mayans whom an American traveler described in 1841 as "[n]aked, armed with long guns and with deer and wild boars slung on their backs, their aspect was the most truculent of any people we had seen."[106] And so Yucatan whites flocked to the Union-occupied city of Carmen for safety as Mayan rebels advanced toward Campeche, the leaders of which beseeched the U.S. to either land marines or evacuate the white population.[107]

The Mayan rebels were able to achieve their initial victories thanks in part to the weaponry which they were receiving from the British colony of Belize (British Honduras), the

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[106] Quoted in Nelson Reed, *The Caste War of Yucatan* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1964), 56.
[107] See ibid., 19, 21, 23, 25, 31, 33, 42-43, 59, 63-64, 68, 83; and Marie LaPointe, "Les Origines De L'insurrection Indienne De 1847 Au Yucatán," *Canadian Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Studies*, vol. 19, no. 37/38 (1994), 155-87.

five thousand or so black slaves of which had become officially equal British subjects alongside the colony's Indians during the 1830s. A few of the Belize merchants who supplied modern Enfield rifles to the Mayan rebels in exchange for loot plundered from Yucatan whites were hence black British subjects. And those rifles were decidedly superior to the old muskets of the white Yucatecans. The Royal Navy, moreover, tightened its loose but long and uncontested control over the Yucatan coast, inflaming suspicions among whites in the U.S. and Yucatan alike that the peninsula would become a *de facto* or even *de jure* component of the British Empire once Britain's Mayan proxies had killed or driven off the white Yucatecans. The Crown Superintendent of British Honduras Colonel Charles St. John Fancourt, after all, refused to stop Belize's trade with the Mayans when he was asked to do so by the Yucatan government. Insisting that the Mayans were simply seeking equal rights rather than waging a war of racial extermination, he also declined to sell weapons to the Yucatan whites and threatened to intervene militarily if the Yucatan government were to arrest British subjects trading with Mayan rebels.[108]

Appalled by Britain's lack of racial solidarity, the Yucatan governor Santiago Méndez offered to cede the peninsula to Spain, the Union, or Britain in exchange for intervention, calculating that only the U.S. was likely to accept his offer given Spain's weakness, Britain's support for the Mayan rebels, and the Union's sympathy for likeminded whites and fears as to British expansion and encirclement. Senator Davis, in turn, aired suspicions in May 1848 that "Great Britain may be interfering in the affairs of the Yucatan…," especially by "insidiously arming the Indians." Urging Congress to answer "the call of humanity" by authorizing Polk to "hold posts in Yucatan" to protect the white population, he also called for the Union to invoke the Monroe Doctrine if necessary and "interpose" itself against Britain to prevent the Yucatan

[108] See Reed, *The Caste War of Yucatan*, 16, 18, 55, 65, 85, 93-94, 97, 113, 115-16, 123, 131, 163, 222.

from falling into British hands.[109] Davis, moreover, encouraged U.S. citizens to assist the Yucatan whites as volunteers, and his efforts bore fruit in the summer of 1848 when Captain Joseph A. White and many other members of the mustering-out 13th U.S. Infantry formed an unofficial new regiment at New Orleans to serve in the Yucatan.[110] Hoping to rescue their fellow whites, collect cash and land bounties, and turn the Yucatan into a U.S. territory, White's 938 mostly southern and overwhelmingly Democratic soldiers sailed unhindered by Polk for the Yucatan, where they were tasked with cutting off trade between British Honduras and the Mayan-controlled Yucatan jungles. They proved to be ineffective in that role, however, and quite a few of them resigned in preference to dying from disease or a British-supplied Mayan bullet. Seventy of the volunteers perished while another one hundred fifty were wounded, thus validating Calhoun's prediction that a U.S. occupation of the Yucatan would see Britain indirectly "impose on us a very heavy cost of both men and money – first to take possession, and then to keep it," although he had declared in response to northern Whigs who were evincing sympathy for the Mayans and accusing Yucatan whites of committing even worse atrocities than the *Indios* that "my sympathies are for the white race. I am not so sophisticated by misguided philosophy or false philanthropy as to lose the natural feelings which belong to me."[111]

Davis concluded as a result that Calhoun had been wise to keep the U.S. out of a British trap in which white American soldiers would have suffered horrendous casualties at the hands of Mayan guerillas without inflicting any direct damage upon the British Empire. But the Polk administration still helped the Yucatan whites by letting U.S. citizens send weapons and

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[109] "Remarks on the Occupation of the Yucatan," May 5, 1848, *PJD*, 3:321-22.
[110] See *PJD*, 3:439.
[111] "Speech on the Proposed Occupation of the Yucatan, delivered in the Senate, May 15th, 1848," in *The Works of John C. Calhoun*, ed. Richard K. Crallé, vol. 4 (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1883), 472, 469. Also see Reed, *The Caste War of Yucatan*, 85, 110-11, 113-16; and Joseph A. Stout, *Schemers & Dreamers: Filibustering in Mexico, 1848-1921* (Fort Worth: Texas Christian University Press, 2002), 14-15.

provisions in a private capacity, and Davis was delighted to see what he took to be the natural superiority of the white race evinced when the Yucatecan whites drove the Mayan rebels into the jungles toward British Honduras in 1849. The Yucatan government accomplished that feat by instituting conscription, although wealthy *hacendados* often managed to secure draft, tax, and impressment exemptions for themselves. The *hacendados*, however, could not stop thousands of *peons* from volunteering to labor and even fight under white officers against the Mayan rebels in exchange for material rewards and freedom from the *hacienda*. Such *peons* did not receive equal legal status *vis-à-vis* whites, but Mayans and mestizos who were captured in arms against the Yucatan government or even suspected of disloyalty were usually subjected to summary and gruesome executions. Mayan rebels who surrendered, moreover, were sentenced to convict labor or reduced to slavery and sold to Cuba, which also sent war *matériel* to the Yucatan whites. Yet when Mayans who had not joined the rebellion began to be targeted by kidnappers for sale to Cuba, Superintendent Fancourt and the Royal Navy sprang into action by interdicting the trade and sentencing apprehended white slave traders to four years or more of hard labor in Belize.[112]

Fancourt, however, balked at giving refuge in Belize to the increasingly desperate Mayan rebel leaders, rebuffing their request to annex the eastern Yucatan coast as well. Yet he continued to furnish them weapons while promising sanctuary to white Yucatecan deserters. He even visited the Mayan rebels as an ostensible mediator in November 1849 at the behest of an abolitionist British minister, and he received a rousing welcome from thousands of unbowed *Indios*. The rebel Mayans kept up guerilla resistance in the Yucatan southeast throughout the 1850s with informal British support, killing or enslaving over four thousand whites from 1857-

[112] See Reed, *The Caste War of Yucatan*, 30, 48, 57, 62, 65, 103, 117, 128, 152, 179. The Yucatan government drafted all white men between the ages of 16-60 – 17% of the Yucatan's total white population. See ibid., 61.

61.[113] And their penchant for turning captured white women into concubines outraged Davis and his fellow Democrats even more than their grisly executions of captive white males. In all, about one hundred thousand people perished through violence in the Yucatan Caste War, and the peninsula's 1846 population of 504,000 plummeted to 299,000 in 1850 as a result of those deaths combined with disease and out-migration. But the Mayans bore the brunt of the toll, declining from 75% to 60% of the entire population thanks to the racial wrath of the white Yucatecans.[114]

For Davis, the vicious struggle for racial dominance in the Yucatan was but one facet of a vast and ongoing continental struggle between the U.S. and abolitionist Britain, a struggle in which all non-whites were to be regarded as actual or at least potential allies of the British Empire. In contrast, all of the whites in North and Central America who had refused to "betray" their race by supporting or sympathizing with Britain would, he thought, naturally support the Union. Davis accordingly declared in 1848 that not just "the cape of Yucatan" but also "the island of Cuba must be ours," warning that "Great Britain has already attempted, under the pretext of establishing a hospital on the Island of Cuba… to build up a Gibraltar to overlook the Spanish Moro Castle."[115] Calhoun, after all, had once written to Andrew Jackson as follows: "I entirely agree with you, as to the importance of Cuba to our country. It is, in my opinion, not only the first commercial and military position in the world, but is the key stone of our Union."[116] Davis believed that Cuba was increasingly riven between pro-U.S. whites and pro-British blacks, reasoning as well that the Spanish would rather see the island fall to Britain than the Union because Spain's post-Waterloo ruling regime was more committed to the preservation

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[113] See Marie Lavoie-Lapointe, "La prolongation de la guerre des castes au Yucatán (1850-1901)," *Cahiers du monde hispanique et luso-brésilien*, no. 34 (1980), 85-87.
[114] See Reed, *The Caste War of Yucatan*, 61, 97, 103, 121, 124-25, 127, 170, 153, 175, 178-81, 200, 232. The Yucatan would only surpass its pre-Caste War population in the 1940s. See ibid., 269.
[115] "Remarks on the Occupation of Yucatan," May 5, 1848, *PJD*, 3:320.
[116] "To Andrew Jackson, Nashville, 'Private,'" 1/23," [1820], *PJCC*, 4:591.

of inequality among whites than to either white supremacy or the institution of slavery. Davis's and Calhoun's mutual friend the famous Venezuela-born filibuster Narciso López, whose principal lieutenant the Cuban planter Cristobal Madan was brother-in-law to John L. O'Sullivan, invaded Cuba from New Orleans in 1850 with a small private army as a result. But the white Cubans who were supposedly pining for democratic equality among themselves and U.S. annexation did not rise in revolution López as expected, and Spain executed him as well as many a member of his "gallant" and mostly Democratic "band of… brave youths."[117] Nor did Spain object when the Royal Navy began patrolling directly off the Cuban and U.S. Gulf coasts to prevent any future "piratical" attacks emanating from the Union.[118] A well-informed correspondent would therefore tell Davis that "the English government considers itself pledged to interfere, should we attempt to take Cuba," adding that the British "have no love for us," and in "every thing relating to the South and to slavery – they have a peculiar dislike to us."[119]

Promising the whites of North America, Central America, and the Caribbean that they would enjoy a glorious future as U.S. citizens after Britain had been expelled from the Americas by a victorious Union, Davis also insisted that such a victory would be "for the good of others as much as our own…."[120] In the unlikely event that Britain crushed the Union, the non-white allies of the British would, he held, oppress and exploit subjugated whites only as retrogressive barbarians. According to Davis, blacks, Indians, and "mongrels" were bound to revert to

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[117] "Speech of Jefferson Davis at the Democratic State Convention at Jackson, Mississippi, January 8, 1852," *JDC*, 2:124. See Tom Chaffin, *Fatal Glory: Narciso López and the First Clandestine U.S. War against Cuba* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1996), 2, 6, 35, 46-47, 78-79. Joseph A. White of Yucatan fame also joined up with López. See Reed, *The Caste War of Yucatan*, 114.
[118] "Speech at Jackson," June 9, 1852, *PJD*, 4:261.
[119] "From Edward B. Buchanan," London, June 26, 1854, *PJD*, 5:74-75.
[120] "Speech of Jefferson Davis at State Fair at Augusta, Me.," from the *Eastern Argus*, September 29, 1858, *JDC*, 3:313. The Union, Davis held, was destined to become "a family of States embracing the new world and its adjacent islands." "Speech at Portland," September 11, 1858, *PJD*, 6:223.

savagery if they were not subjected to a rigorous system of white supremacy.[121] He hence asserted in 1849 that the relations "existing between our Government and the Indian tribes" ought to be "consonant with the relations of guardian and ward," for only white rule could "prevent them from lapsing again into barbarism."[122] He reasoned along similar lines *vis-à-vis* Hispanic mestizo, insisting as well that the British West Indies were once "among the most productive and profitable colonies" but had "sunk into decay, and are relapsing to desert and barbarism," thanks to British abolitionists who had eliminated both slavery and white supremacy there.[123] If the South were to "fall to the possession of the negro" due to a "servile war" sparked and fueled by Britain, the whole region would thus fall "into idleness and barbarism."[124] A Union championing equality among whites and white supremacy was, in Davis's view, the best hope for progress in the Americas, which a British Empire espousing inequality among whites and racial equality would plunge back into colonial dependence and even outright savagery.[125]

Yet Davis was confident on the whole that the racial nightmare which would supposedly follow a British triumph over the U.S. was unlikely to occur, even boasting in 1850 that Britain was evincing "fears" of and "jealousy" toward the Union, which had, after all, steadily expanded despite British efforts to establish "a sanitary cordon" around the U.S. and especially the South.[126] Mississippi itself had once been "claimed by Great Britain as a part of West Florida...," and while Seminoles were still keeping up guerilla resistance in the Florida swamps,

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[121] "Speech on the Oregon Bill," July 13, 1846, *PJD*, 3:345.
[122] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the bill to establish the Department of the Interior. March 3, 1849," *JDC*, 1:234. See "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the bill to increase the rank and file of the army. June 11, 1850," *JDC*, 1:360.
[123] "Speech of Jefferson Davis in Senate Feb. 13 and 14, 1850 on Slavery in the Territories," *JDC*, 1:289-90. See "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the joint resolution to confer the title of lieutenant-general by brevet on Major General Scott. Feb. 12, 1851," *JDC*, 2:23; and "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on bill for relief of the American Colonization Society. March 11, 1851," *JDC*, 2:67, 70.
[124] "To Malcolm D. Haynes," Brierfield, Mississippi, August 18, 1849, *PJD*, 4:35.
[125] See "Jefferson Davis to George M. Dallas," Washington, D.C., December 16, 1849, *JDC*, 1:247; and "Remarks of Jefferson Davis in regard to the fugitive slave law. Feb. 24, 1851," *JDC*, 2:39.
[126] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis in Senate May 8, 1850, on presenting the report of the Legislature of Mississippi on the slavery question, and the Nashville Convention," *JDC*, 1:338; and quoted in Oakes, *Freedom National*, 265.

most of Britain's old Indian allies had surrendered to the U.S. or been wiped out.[127] Thanks to the Polk administration, moreover, the Union's anti-abolitionist empire of equality among whites and white supremacy had burgeoned at the expense of abolitionist Britain's domains of control and influence, albeit not to the extent desired by Davis. But all of those U.S. conquests would, he believed, come to naught if a majority of northerners were to enter Britain's geopolitical and ideological orbit by embracing British abolitionism. He was therefore perturbed to see that it was increasingly the case among northerners that one could "hear of nothing which is progressive in human reform… which does not concentrate itself in this question concerning the African race," for all true Americans valued their fellow citizens far more than blacks and realized that white supremacy was necessary for "human and social progress and happiness."[128]

Jefferson Davis's Perceptions of Internal British Abolitionist Enemies, 1844-50

Unfortunately for Davis, there was a small but noisy and growing minority in the North composed of "American citizens [who] have followed the English example" and hence "devoid of American sympathies."[129] They were, he surmised, usually descendants of northeastern Junto Federalists, and they were calling not just for the immediate and uncompensated abolition of slavery *via* federal consolidation but also championing racial equality.[130] And like the British abolitionists, they seemed to regard racial equality as a means to the end of undermining equality among whites, for they "love[d] the negro race" more than their own and wished to see the "poor white man... become a menial for the rich" – to see him "reduced to an equality with the free

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[127] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Compromise Bill. July 24, 1850," *JDC*, 1:416. See "To Thomas M. Green et al.," July 1, 1845, *PJD*, 2:277.

[128] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on a petition on the subject of colonizing free negroes. Jan. 12, 1849," *JDC*, 1:218; and "Remarks of Jefferson Davis in Senate May 8, 1850, on presenting the report of the Legislature of Mississippi on the slavery question, and the Nashville Convention," *JDC*, 1:334.

[129] "To Malcolm D. Haynes," Brierfield, Mississippi, August 18, 1849, *PJD*, 4:33. See ibid., 4:35.

[130] See "Speech of Jefferson Davis in the House of Representatives, December 19, 1845, on the Subject of Native Americanism and the Naturalization Laws," *JDC*, 1:24; "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Vermont resolutions on the subject to slavery. Jan. 10, 1850," *JDC*, 1:253; and "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the reception of a petition against the extension of slavery in the Territories. February 12, 1850," *JDC*, 1:262-63.

blacks, into a degraded position...."[131] Davis was accordingly appalled by their assertion that the Declaration of Independence endorsed black citizenship rather than equality among whites and white supremacy.[132] Even if the Declaration did in fact suggest that black slaves possessed a natural right to liberty, the nation which Jefferson had helped take "from the colonial condition into one of national independence" by justifying secession from the British Empire was, the Mississippian insisted, meant to be exclusively white.[133] Northern abolitionists, moreover, were, he charged, eliminating the possibility of gradual emancipation in the South by promoting racial equality. "[T]he system must be perpetual," Davis explained, if there was any chance for "the slave [to] become the master" and thereby "convert a portion of the States of the Union into negro possession, or, to witness the more probable result, their extermination by a servile war."[134] If rebellious blacks were ever to be slaughtered *en masse* in the South, then, the blame would fall entirely upon abolitionists who "came from New England and from Great Britain."[135]

Northern abolitionists did not just think like British abolitionists in Davis's view; even worse, they were traitorous agents of Britain who would, in the tradition of the Hartford Convention, endeavor to split the Union if they could not turn it into a pliant British ally. He accused them time and again of "unit[ing] with our foreign enemies to defame us" – of abetting "British agitation" by sending incendiary "British publications against slavery" into the southern heart of the Democracy.[136] Accusing the "New York Anti-Slavery Society" of working "in close

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[131] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on a petition on the subject of colonizing free negroes. Jan. 12, 1849," *JDC*, 1:219; and "Speech of Jefferson Davis at Aberdeen, Mississippi, May 26, 1851," from the Monroe *Democrat*, June 4, 1851, *JDC*, 2:74.

[132] For an early example of an anti-slavery activist invoking the Declaration to advance racial equality, see "Warner Mifflin to John Adams," Philadelphia 24th of the 9th. mo. 1798, Adams Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.

[133] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on March 8, 1850, on Compromise resolutions concerning slavery," *JDC*, 1:313.

[134] Ibid., 1:313.

[135] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the bill to establish a territorial government in Oregon. July 12, 1848," *JDC*, 1:212.

[136] "Speech on the Oregon Bill," July 12, 1848, *PJD* 3:264-65. For connections between British and northern abolitionists in the antebellum era, see Thomas F. Harwood, "British Evangelical Abolitionism and American

affiliation with similar societies in Great Britain and Scotland," Davis warned that the growing influence of British abolitionism among northerners was distracting Congress from "the useful legislation of the country" and even endangering the Union itself, for if much or, worse yet, most of the North were to become pro-British, disunion and civil war would be all but inevitable.[137] Comparing the North's abolitionists to China's British opium dealers, he predicted that if northern abolitionists were allowed to spread their variety of British poison in the Union unchecked, the U.S. would share the fate of China, which had fallen "back behind all the other nations of the world in commerce and in power, until at last a little British squadron had been able to dictate terms to the most ancient and populous nation on the earth."[138] Northern abolitionists were, he directly charged, working "to distract our nationality" and "scatter the seeds of dissension and disunion" at Britain's behest.[139] "For years past," he lamented in an 1849 Senate speech, "we have seen our fraternity disturbed, our country torn by domestic contention; even now we see our Government seriously embarrassed by a dissension, the seeds of which were sown by the British emissaries, who assumed the false pretext of philanthropy to mask their unholy designs to kindle the fires of civil war among the United States."[140] And

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Churches in the 1830's," *The Journal of Southern History*, vol. 28, no. 3 (August 1962), 287-306; Clare Taylor, *British and American Abolitionists*: *An Episode in Transatlantic Understanding* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1974)*;* R. J. M. Blackett, *Building an Anti-Slavery Wall: Black Americans in the Atlantic Abolitionist Movement, 1830-1860* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1983); Van Gosse, "'As a Nation, the English Are Our Friends': The Emergence of African American Politics in the British Atlantic World, 1772-1861," *American Historical Review*, vol. 113, no. 4 (October 2008), 1003-28; and W. Caleb McDaniel, *The Problem of Democracy in the Age of Slavery: Garrisonian Abolitionists and Translatlantic Reform* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2013).

[137] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Vermont resolutions on the subject to slavery. Jan. 10, 1850," *JDC*, 1:251-52. See "Speech on the Oregon Bill," July 12, 1848, *PJD*, 3:365.

[138] "Speech on the Naturalization Laws and the Native American Party," December 18, 1845, *PJD*, 2:390.

[139] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on a petition on the subject of colonizing free negroes. Jan. 12, 1849," *JDC*, 1:219; and "Remarks of Jefferson Davis in the Senate concerning the opinions of Father Mathew, on the resolution to admit him to a privileged seat. Senate Dec. 20, 1849," *JDC*, 1:248.

[140] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis in the Senate concerning the opinions of Father Mathew, on the resolution to admit him to a privileged seat. Senate Dec. 20, 1849," *op. cit.*, 1:247. See "Speech of Jefferson Davis in Senate Feb. 13 and 14, 1850 on Slavery in the Territories," *JDC*, 1:302; "Remarks of Jefferson Davis in Senate May 8, 1850, on presenting the report of the Legislature of Mississippi on the slavery question, and the Nashville Convention," *JDC*,

because China had fatally failed to suppress Chinese opium peddlers employed by the British Empire, Davis would indignantly "say to the horde of abolitionists, foreign and domestic, that if I had the power to exclude them all from this Chamber, I would not hesitate a moment to do it."[141]

Very few northerners actually identified themselves as abolitionists, but Davis believed that sympathy for abolitionism was pervasive among the northern Whigs. "I doubt, very much," he asserted, "whether there is one Senator in this hall who would call himself an Abolitionist," but that did not change the fact that northern Whigs were abetting "the assault of Abolitionism."[142] Just like William Lloyd Garrison and the North's other avowed abolitionists, after all, abolitionist-friendly northern Whigs usually had Federalist roots, and that was why Davis referred to them as the "Bank whigs or Federalists."[143] They had nothing in common with the Patriot Whigs of the American Revolution, he insisted; rather, they resembled Britain's current Whigs, among whom stood out the influential British politician and renowned historian Thomas Babington Macaulay, who had called for racial equality in British-ruled India while insisting that blacks were intrinsically equal to whites as an exponent of British abolitionism.[144]

"Abolitionism," Davis claimed, "may as a generic term include all the associations making war on the slave holding states," where white supremacy and hence equality among whites were strongest.[145] Northern Whigs were advocates of inequality among whites, he held, because they were determined to hold down non-Anglo whites and especially Irish Catholic

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1:338; "Remarks of Jefferson Davis in regard to the fugitive slave law. Feb. 24, 1851," *JDC*, 2:37; and "To Caleb Cushing," June 18, 1853, *PJD*, 5:23.

[141] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis in the Senate concerning the opinions of Father Mathew, on the resolution to admit him to a privileged seat. Senate Dec. 20, 1849," *JDC*, 1:249.

[142] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Texas Boundary. Aug. 9, 1850," *JDC*, 1:479; and "Jefferson Davis to B. Pendleton and others," Brierfield, Mississippi, November 10, 1850, from the *Mississippi Free Trader*, November 30, 1850, *JDC*, 1:587.

[143] "Jefferson Davis to George W. Jones," West Warrenton, Mississippi, February 9, 1839, *JDC*, 1:2.

[144] See John Clive, *Macaulay: The Shaping of the Historian* (New York: Vintage Books, 1973), 70-71, 110-111, 232, 235. Also see Simon Morgan, "The Anti-Corn Law League and British Anti-Slavery in Transatlantic Perspective, 1838-1846," *The Historical Journal*, vol. 52, no. 1 (March 2009), 87-107.

[145] "Jefferson Davis to Stephen Cocke," Brierfield, Mississippi, August 2, 1849, *JDC*, 1:245.

immigrants. Macaulay, after all, opposed universal suffrage among white British subjects and especially voting rights for Anglophobic Irish Catholics.[146] The advent of the Whigs, moreover, had followed hard upon a wave of anti-Catholic hysteria in Massachusetts directed against Irish and French-Canadian immigrants, for the Boston Ursuline Convent was razed by a Protestant mob in 1834, and Maria Monk's *exposé* of alleged Montreal convent horrors soon become a best-seller among northern Whigs.[147] Davis therefore declared in 1845 that he "detested" Whig nativists "above all others" due to their "arrogant assumption" that they were superior to other whites. "England," he added, "alone retained th[e] blot on her national escutcheon" of denying white immigrants equal rights, "[a]nd should we imitate her in that which was her disgrace?"[148] Since many Whigs were evidently inclined to do so, he accused them of "toryism" and denounced them as far worse Americans than the Catholic immigrants whom they scorned.[149] Many an Irish Catholic, after all, had fought against Britain "in our modern revolution" and the War of 1812, and Washington himself had been adopted "by the Irish as a son of St. Patrick, although he had no Irish blood in his veins."[150] Urging Congress to let white immigrants who had yet to be naturalized by northern states serve in the U.S. army, Davis challenged the British Protestant immigrants whom northern Whigs habitually welcomed to volunteer at rates similar to the Irish Catholics in order to prove their American patriotism and repudiation of British ways.[151]

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[146] See Clive, *Macaulay*, 168, 230-31.
[147] See Maria Monk, *Awful Disclosures of the Hotel Dieu Nunnery. Revised, with an Appendix* (New York: Hoisington & Trow, 1836); and Jeanne Hamilton, "The Nunnery as Menace: The Burning of the Charlestown Convent, 1834," *U.S. Catholic Historian*, vol. 14, no. 1 (Winter 1996), 35-65.
[148] "Speech of Jefferson Davis in the House of Representatives, December 19, 1845, on the Subject of Native Americanism and the Naturalization Laws," *JDC*, 1:24.
[149] "Jefferson Davis to F. H. Elmore," Washington, D.C., April 13, 1850, *JDC*, 1:323.
[150] "Speech of Jefferson Davis in the House of Representatives, December 19, 1845, on the Subject of Native Americanism and the Naturalization Laws," *op. cit.*, 1:245.
[151] See "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the bill to raise a regiment of mounted riflemen. March 8, 1846," *JDC*, 1:38.

Davis regarded militant Protestants in the North who detested Catholicism as Anglophile traitors, for such "so-called Christians" were forging "evangelical alliances" in "close affiliation with similar societies in Great Britain and Scotland" to assail slavery, white supremacy, religious toleration, and the Democratic Party.[152] By denouncing slavery as sinful and calling for racial equality, Protestant abolitionists were, he held, defying, in their "arrogance," both "the Bible and the Constitution."[153] Yet their "attempts to degrade us in the eyes of Christendom" were meeting firm opposition from the Papacy, which condemned the Atlantic slave trade and endorsed gradual emancipation but did not consider either slaveholding or white rule to be sinful, condemning abolitionism as a recipe for race war as well.[154] Philip A. Roach was an influential Irish Catholic Democrat who had moved to California, wherefrom he would accordingly tell his friend and political ally Davis that Catholicism had rendered Indians and other non-whites there "quiet orderly and conservative," a fact with important implications for U.S. expansion into "Cuba or Sonora etc." Northern Protestant influence among non-whites, in contrast, invariably spread "the *Schisms* or *isms* of higher law or humbug."[155] The Yucatan's "Cruzob" Mayan rebels, after all, had ended up rebelling against Catholicism in addition to white supremacy by reviving pagan rituals and singling Catholic priests out for particularly grisly deaths.[156] Davis, for his part, needed little convincing from Roach. He had been annoyed during the Mexican War

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[152] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis in Senate May 8, 1850, on presenting the report of the Legislature of Mississippi on the slavery question, and the Nashville Convention," *JDC*, 1:340-41; and "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Vermont resolutions on the subject to slavery. Jan. 10, 1850," *JDC*, 1:251. See "To Malcolm D. Haynes," Brierfield, Mississippi, August 18, 1849, *PJD*, 4:33, 35-36; and "Remarks of Jefferson Davis in regard to the fugitive slave law. Feb. 24, 1851," *JDC*, 2:39.

[153] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on March 8, 1850, on Compromise resolutions concerning slavery," *JDC*, 1:317.

[154] "Speech of Jefferson Davis in Senate Feb. 13 and 14, 1850 on Slavery in the Territories," *JDC*, 1:299. For pro-abolitionist sentiment among Protestants worldwide and Catholic anti-abolitionism, see Mark A. Noll, *The Civil War as a Theological Crisis* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 138-43, 145-55. Also see James J. Henesey, S. J., *American Catholics: A History of the Roman Catholic Community in the United States* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983), 73-74.

[155] "Philip A. Roach to Jefferson Davis," San Francisco, February 25, 1855, *JDC*, 2:443.

[156] See Nelson A. Reed, "Juan de la Cruz, Venancio Puc, and the Speaking Cross," *The Americas*, vol. 53, no. 4 (April 1997), 497-523.

to see northern Whigs claim that Catholicism was to blame for Mexico's apparent backwardness. Internal disarray in Mexico, he claimed, was the result of Catholicism and white rule weakening there thanks to British abolitionist influence. Mexico's Indians and mestizos had once been "industrious and inclined to depend upon the white race," he explained, but now "[t]he country is going to waste, villages are depopulated, fields once highly productive... now lie uncultivated, and marked only the remains of the irrigatory ditches by which they were formerly watered."[157]

Because Irish Catholic immigrants were usually inclined to support the Democracy, Davis sought to secure a place in the presidential inauguration ceremonies of 1849 for James Ryder, an Irish-born Jesuit priest who was the president of Georgetown University from 1840-45 and 1848-51.[158] With regard to Catholic priests, moreover, Davis was, in Felicity Allen's words, "prejudiced in their favor" due to the fact that he had been educated as a boy by Dominicans at the "Kentucky Catholic School, called St. Thomas' College."[159] Having praised the Dominican system of education in an 1852 address to a group of University of Mississippi students, Davis hailed the "good old priests" at St. Thomas for implementing equality among whites in a true spirit of "self-abnegation" as they owned their "large property; productive fields, slaves, flour-mills, [and] flocks" as a corporate collective.[160] The Dominicans also taught him that Catholicism was open to modern science and consonant with American (*i.e.* Democratic) values rather than a force of *ancien régime* oppression and obscurantism. He would therefore always

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[157] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the bill to establish the Department of the Interior. March 3, 1849," *JDC*, 1:231; and "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Mexican War. In Senate, March 21, 1848," *JDC*, 1:200.

[158] See "Speech on the Oregon Bill," July 12, 1848, *PJD*, 3:365; "To James Ryder," March 5, 1849, *PJD*, 4:18; Robert Emmett Curran, *The Bicentennial History of Georgetown University: Volume I, From Academy to University, 1789-1889* (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 2003), xviii; and Jack Morgan, "Among Cromwell's Children: The Irish and Yankee New England," *New Hibernia Review*, vol. 13, no. 3 (Autumn 2009), 89-107.

[159] Felicity Allen, *Jefferson Davis, Unconquerable Heart* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1999), 46; and "Extract: Jefferson Davis, Ex-President of the Confederate States of America: A Memoir," Beauvoir, Mississippi, November, 1889, *PJD*, 1:lxxi. See Rose, *Victorian America and the Civil War*, 46.

[160] "Extract: Jefferson Davis, Ex-President of the Confederate States of America: A Memoir," *op. cit.*, 1:xxi-xxii, lxxi. See "Speech at Oxford," July 15, 1852, 4:279.

salute "the heroic spirit" of the Catholic clergy and the "glory of their order" for safeguarding equality among whites during the Middle Ages: "the Catholic priests stood between the despots and their victims, sublimely defying the rage of one, and divinely bending to raise the other."[161]

Davis, in fact, was not technically a Protestant at all. Recalling that the Dominicans had been "particularly kind to me" because he was the only non-Catholic at St. Thomas, he had "thought it would be well that I should become a Catholic...."[162] The priests, however, advised him to make such an important decision only upon becoming an adult. Davis never converted to Catholicism, but he did not become a member of any Protestant church before the Civil War either, remaining unbaptized until 1862. He hence explained his lack of Protestant fervor to his old West Point chaplain Charles P. McIlvain in 1850 as follows: "I thank you for the interest you feel in my history… if the seed sown by you has not borne fruit in my case, I yet trust that the germ is not dead."[163] Davis was affiliated with the Episcopal Church, but he disliked Episcopalians who wanted to move further away from Catholicism and closer toward mainstream Anglicanism or even "low church" Protestantism. He instead identified with "high church" Episcopalians who sympathized with the Oxford Movement, which was seeking to bring Anglicanism closer to Rome theologically and politically. Indeed, the famous Oxford Movement leader John Henry Newman formally converted to Catholicism in 1845 and ministered to Britain's white working poor alongside his fellow Anglo-Catholics of the Christian Social Union and Catholic Crusade, reproving the entire British social order in the process.[164] Davis's brother Joseph accordingly reported in 1846 that his daughter Mary "was visited by the priest, who

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[161] "To Varina Davis," Fortress Monroe, December 8, 1865, in Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 2:739.
[162] "Extract: Jefferson Davis, Ex-President of the Confederate States of America: A Memoir," Beauvoir, Mississippi, November, 1889, *PJD*, 1:lxxii.
[163] "Jefferson Davis to Charles P. McIlvain," Washington, D.C., September 16, 1850, *JDC*, 1:578. See "Varina Banks Howell Davis to Margaret K. Howell," Washington, D.C., June 6, 1846," *PJD*, 2:642.
[164] See Clarence A. Walworth, *The Oxford Movement in America* (1895; reprint, New York: United States Catholic Historical Society, 1974); and Josef L. Altholz, "The Political Behavior of the English Catholics, 1850-1867," *Journal of British Studies*, vol. 4, no. 1 (November 1964), 89-103.

administered to the Sacrament & extreme unction."[165] Davis, moreover, donated funds to an Episcopal church in Washington, D.C. to "embellish and improve the building, both internally and externally," rendering its appearance more Catholic and less Protestant in appearance.[166] Varina Davis, for her part, believed in transubstantiation as the Eucharist was no mere symbol but rather "the blessed Sacrament of his [*i.e.* Christ's] body and blood," giving Catholic-style religious medals to her husband to wear for protection as well.[167] And because she regarded the Pope rather than the British monarch as God's "vice-gerent [*sic*]," she was incensed by the proclivity of such Whigs as the Illinois Congressman Abraham Lincoln to ridicule the Papacy.[168]

Northern Whigs, Davis thought, stood for stark economic inequality among whites as well. The Whigs, he claimed, were "a sectional party" based in the northeast that pushed "class legislation" to enrich a would-be ruling class of northeastern Anglo-Protestants at the expense of southerners and working-class northerners.[169] Unlike "just and equalizing" revenue tariffs, then, Whig protective tariffs favored "particular classes" within the North.[170] As for Whig-sponsored federal internal improvements, they were "partial, wasteful, and corrupting" because they were meant to enrich pro-Whig corporations and other "local or party interests."[171] Even worse, the Whigs not only urged Congress to build infrastructure in a spirit of "sectionality... too glaring to be denied," but also traduced the Constitution by averring that the government should undertake

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[165] "From Joseph E. Davis," Hurricane, Mississippi, October 7, 1846, *PJD*, 2:56.
[166] "William Maynadier to Jefferson Davis," Washington, D.C., June 29, 1857, *JDC*, 3:118.
[167] "Varina Davis to Jefferson Davis," Prospect Hill, Georgia December 25, 1865, in *Jefferson Davis: Private Letters, 1823-1889*, ed. Hudson Strode (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1966), 216. See Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 2:676.
[168] See Varina Davis, *op. cit.*, 2:449, 214. Davis's sister-in-law Amanda Bradford, moreover, converted to Catholicism, and his niece Ann Matilda Bradford was baptized a Catholic. See *PJD*, 2:129, 174.
[169] "Jefferson Davis to B. Pendleton and others," Brierfield, Mississippi, November 10, 1850, from the *Mississippi Free Trader*, November 30, 1850, *JDC*, 1:586; and "Speech of Jefferson Davis at the Democratic State Convention at Jackson, Mississippi, January 8, 1852," from the *Southern Press*, February 12, 1852, *JDC*, 2:122.
[170] "Jefferson Davis to the People of Mississippi," Steamer *Star Spangled Banner*, Mississippi River, July 13, 1846, from the Vicksburg *Sentinel*, July 21, 1846, *JDC*, 1:53.
[171] "Jefferson Davis to the People of Mississippi," Warren County, Mississippi, September 25, 1851, *JDC*, 2:88; and "On rivers and harbor bill. March 3, 1851," *JDC*, 2:66. See "Remarks of Jefferson Davis in regard to the fugitive slave law. Feb. 24, 1851," *JDC*, 2:57; and *PJD*, 3:453.

improvements of no military value whatsoever.[172] Davis hence opposed a proposed dock in Chicago because it was designed to serve "the interest of commerce." Yet while he railed against the "local and speculating interests by which these projects are in general gotten up," he stressed that he would be happy to fund "harbors for the use of our Navy upon the lakes," for "I do not wish to be understood as opposing the improvement of rivers and harbors, nor the making of canals and roads. I am opposed to such works by the Federal Government, save where required for the use of the Army and Navy, and authorized by the grant for military purposes."[173]

According to Davis, every true American would be eager to contest the "authority of the proudest Power upon the globe," but northern Whigs opposed U.S. expansion because they were, in his view, sympathetic to or even agents of Britain.[174] Accusing them of seeking to spatially confine the white masses for their own and the British Empire's benefit, he claimed that they were sapping "that energy which has heretofore been characteristic of our people."[175] Northern Whigs, Davis charged, opposed the annexation of Texas because they wanted it to become an abolitionist British client state, "warn[ing] southern men against acting with the abolitionists, and Great Britain on that question...."[176] The "croaking voice" of the northern Whigs also condemned the Mexican War, which they hindered by opposing military funding.[177] They had "obstructed the prosecution of the war with Mexico," Davis declaimed in 1852, "by

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[172] "Speech of Jefferson Davis in the Democratic State Convention," from the Columbus *Democrat*, August 1, 1849, *JDC*, 1:241. See "Speech on the Harbors and Rivers Bill," March 16, 1846, *PJD*, 2:502-12; "Remarks on the Cumberland Island Dam Bill," April 14, 1848, *PJD*, 3:295-301; and "Remarks of Jefferson Davis in the Senate. Jan. 21, 1849," *JDC*, 1:223-24.
[173] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis in regard to the fugitive slave law, Feb. 24, 1851," *JDC*, 2:50, 53, 55.
[174] "On rivers and harbor bill. March 3, 1851," *op. cit.*, 2:64.
[175] "Speech of Jefferson Davis delivered in the House Feb. 6, 1846, on the Oregon question," *JDC*, 1:34.
[176] "Notice of a Political Meeting – Speeches by Jefferson Davis, Peter B. Starke, and Henry S. Foote," Columbus, Mississippi, August 5, 1844, *PJD*, 2:197. See "Notice of Appointment to a Committee of Address," May 12, 1844, *PJD*, 2:142; "Notice of a Political Meeting – Speeches by Felix Huston, Henry S. Foote, and Jefferson Davis," Port Gibson, Mississippi, July 1, 1844, *PJD*, 2:176; "Speech of Jefferson Davis delivered in the House Feb. 6, 1846, on the Oregon question," *JDC*, 1:34; and "Speech on the Oregon Bill," July 12, 1848, *PJD*, 3:353.
[177] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the resolution of thanks to Gen. Taylor. Feb. 17, 1848," *JDC*, 1:190. See "Speech of Jefferson Davis delivered in the House Feb. 6, 1846, on the Oregon question," *op. cit.*, 1:35.

embarrassing the administration of our government, when its armies were fighting battles upon foreign soil," just like their Federalist ancestors had "burned blue lights along the coast of New England, in the war of 1812," to assist the Royal Navy.[178] And he was so alarmed by calls from northern Whigs to grant non-whites in annexed Mexican lands U.S. citizenship that he scaled back his demands for territorial acquisition to merely "all the valley of the Rio Grande."[179] Many northern Whigs, too, opposed building additional military infrastructure even as they championed non-military internal improvements for the North, leaving the U.S. and especially the South vulnerable to British attack. Davis hence called for the construction of more coastal fortifications near "where British troops debarked for the attack on New Orleans, an event which, though it brought glory to the American arms... does not the less enforce itself as a warning on our government, and should have proved sufficient reason to all who loved their country more than sectional interest, to have guarded against the recurrence of such contingency."[180] Indeed, northern Whigs were so eager in his view to curry Royal Navy favor that they had advanced an 1850 "proposition that the Government of the United States shall enter into a search for the lost seamen of Great Britain" after Sir John Franklin went missing even though the famous British explorer had fought the U.S. at New Orleans, a proposition which Davis predictably opposed.[181]

Davis's Secession Threats in Response to British Abolitionism at the North, 1850-52

Davis had viewed the northern Whigs as a grave internal threat to the Union throughout the Polk administration, but he had also assumed that their power was waning. "The President is

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[178] "Speech of Jefferson Davis at the Democratic State Convention at Jackson, Mississippi, January 8, 1852," from the *Southern Press*, February 12, 1852, *JDC*, 2:122.

[179] "Jefferson Davis to the People of Mississippi," Warren County, Mississippi. September 25, 1851, *JDC*, 2:89. See "Speech of Jefferson Davis in Senate Feb. 13 and 14, 1850 on Slavery in the Territories," *JDC*, 1:294; and "Speech at Jackson," June 9, 1852, *PJD*, 4:260.

[180] "Speech of Jefferson Davis before the State Democratic Convention held in Jackson, Mississippi January 3, 1844, for the purpose of sending delegates to the National Convention of the party and for the selection of presidential electors," from the *Mississippian*, January 12, 1844, *JDC*, 1:9.

[181] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis in the Senate May 1, 1850, on the joint resolution providing aid to search for Sir John Franklin," *JDC*, 1:333.

in good health & fine spirits," the Mississippian reported in an 1847 letter, and he "feels confident of being able to discomfort the enemy as signally at home as abroad."[182] Davis came to conclude, however, that Calhoun had been correct to doubt the North's character when the Whigs won the 1848 election, and he soon joined him in threatening northerners with not just Radical state's rights and nullification but secession. Because Polk was pledged to serve only one term, Davis had hoped that his Louisianan commanding officer in the Mexican War Zachary Taylor would take the Tennessean's place as the next Democratic president. Davis, to be sure, had previously angered Taylor by eloping with his daughter Sarah in 1835, shortly after which she died from malaria at Brierfield.[183] But their relations were partly repaired when he moved for Congress to award Taylor and all of his officers and soldiers medals for bravery after the initial skirmishes of the Mexican War, and they would become something like friends in camp and upon the battlefield.[184] Their rapprochement was also helped along by the fact that Davis was not-too-subtly touting the old War of 1812 hero as presidential material.[185] Taylor, however, did not declare for any party, and he began to lean toward the Whigs as the election approached. "I believed that genl. Taylor's true position was on the Democratic side," Davis lamented in April 1848, "but every thing seemed to drive him from us… and I have now no hope that the Democratic Party will avail itself of his strength in the coming contest."[186] It was therefore a bitter pill for him to swallow when Taylor thanked him a few months later for "the

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[182] "Jefferson Davis to Stephen Cocke," Washington, D.C., November 20, 1847, *JDC*, 1:180.
[183] See *PJD*, 1:244. Davis accordingly warned his wife Varina to avoid Brierfield due to the "unhealthiness" of its environment, especially in the summer. "To Varina Howell Davis," July 27, 1857, *PJD*, 6:546.
[184] See "Joint Resolution Providing for the Presentation of Medals to General Taylor and His Men," June 12, 1846, *PJD*, 2:660.
[185] See "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the resolution of thanks to Gen. Taylor, May 28, 1846," *JDC*, 1:47-48; "Speech at New Orleans," June 10, 1847, *PJD*, 2:181; "Reception in honor of the First Regiment Mississippi Volunteers, War with Mexico at Natchez, Mississippi, June 15, 1847," *JDC*, 1:80-81; and "Jefferson Davis to C. G. Forshey," Brierfield, Mississippi, September 24, 1847, from the Natchez *Courier*, October 6, 1847, *JDC*, 1:101.
[186] "To Beverley Tucker," Washington, April 12, 1848, *PJD*, 3:292. See "To Hugh R. Davis," Washington, D.C., June 4, 1848, *PJD*, 3:325.

continued interest you feel & have taken in my reaching the first office as the gift of the American people...."[187] And the Louisianan ironically won the election thanks to the pivotal role played by the 1st Mississippi in securing his renowned victory at Buena Vista, where Davis's heart had never "beat more proudly [than]… when he saw the old General ride upon the plateau, and with his glass survey the field already crimsoning with the blood of the wounded and the slain. The sense of danger was lost in the enthusiasm which sought death rather than retreat."[188]

A disappointed Davis asserted that Taylor's "deeds as a soldier were a thing apart from his political life...," but he still believed that his former commanding officer would have vetoed most of the impending Whig legislation had he not unexpectedly passed away in July 1850.[189] As the congressional Whigs pressed forward while invoking Taylor's name as a shibboleth, Davis began warning that the U.S. government had fallen into the hands of Anglo-abolitionist traitors.[190] Indeed, he was already lamenting the decline of the "fraternal feeling which induced the southern States to make common cause with the North in the war of the Revolution" in 1848, the same "American feeling" which had "pervaded and ruled in this country" during most of Polk's presidency.[191] The new Whig order of consolidation and abolitionism was heralded for Davis by the April 1850 Clayton-Bulwer Treaty with Britain. After all, its architect the Delaware Whig John M. Clayton had chastised him in 1848 for urging the U.S. to support the

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[187] "Zachary Taylor to Jefferson Davis," Baton Rouge, Louisiana, July 10, 1848, *JDC*, 1:210.

[188] "Speech at New Orleans," June 10, 1847, *PJD*, 2:181. See "Speech at Raymond," September 22, 1848, *PJD*, 3:375; and "Speech of Jefferson Davis, August 5, 1850, in defence of Gen. Taylor, on the resolution of Mr. Cass in relation to the exercise of civil power by the military officers of the United States," *JDC*, 2:472.

[189] "Speech of Jefferson Davis, August 5, 1850, in defense of Gen. Taylor, on the resolution of Mr. Cass in relation to the exercise of civil power by the military officers of the United States," *op. cit.*, 1:472. See "Jefferson Davis to Messrs. Barksdale and Jones," Brierfield, Mississippi, February 16, 1852, from the Yazoo *Democrat*, March 10 and 17, 1852, *JDC*, 2:140.

[190] It thus became a curse for Davis that Taylor always retained "the affections and confidence of the people." "Jefferson Davis to the People of Mississippi," Warren County, Mississippi, January 26, 1852, from the *Mississippi Free Trader*, February 1, 1852, *JDC*, 2:137.

[191] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the bill to establish a territorial government in Oregon. July 12, 1848," *JDC*, 1:213; and "Remarks of Jefferson Davis in the Senate concerning the opinions of Father Mathew, on the resolution to admit him to a privileged seat. Senate Dec. 20, 1849," *JDC*, 1:248.

Yucatan whites against the Mayan rebels. Accusing Davis of being irrationally hostile toward the British, Clayton had affirmed that he would not intervene in the Yucatan under any circumstance, nor yet in Cuba even if Britain seized the island outright.[192] Expecting that Secretary of State Clayton would abase the U.S. before "the haughty Power... claiming to be mistress of the seas," Davis denounced the treaty for requiring both Britain and the U.S. to refrain from overt colonization in Central America.[193] Freezing the *status quo*, he thought, favored Britain, which was in relative decline as against a surging Union. Predicting too that the treaty would encourage the British to extend their influence by means of non-white proxies all the more, he fumed that it was "beneficial" to Britain and "injurious to us" through the 1850s, during which decade he dreamed of "abrogating the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, as it is termed."[194]

Americans, however, usually did not pay much attention to the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty because their attention was fixed upon "irritating questions" of slavery extension.[195] Davis regarded Henry Clay's proposal to let California bypass the territorial stage altogether and enter the Union as a slavery-free state as an instance of unconstitutional consolidation.[196] It was in his view also a violation of Clay's own Missouri Compromise, which had banned slavery in U.S. territories above Missouri's southern border in 1820; and which Davis regarded as an

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[192] See "Remarks on the Occupation of the Yucatan," May 5, 1848, *PJD*, 3:320.

[193] "Speech of Jefferson Davis in Senate Feb. 13 and 14, 1850 on Slavery in the Territories," *JDC*, 1:304. See *PJD*, 5:479. Davis was one of ten Democratic U.S. senators to vote against ratifying the treaty. See "Speech at Vicksburg," May 18, 1857, from the Washington, D.C. *Union*, May 27, 1857, *PJD*, 6:119.

[194] "Speech of Jefferson Davis on French Spoliations. Jan. 7 and 10, 1859," *JDC*, 3:477. Thanks to the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, Davis declared in 1857, "Great Britain was admitted to equality with the United States in the affairs of the Central American States, and we were fettered in our political intercourse with those States by obligations thus incurred to the Government of Great Britain." Decrying the treaty as "a violation of the Monroe Doctrine," he predicted that it would "finally destroy the influence of the United States, and leave Great Britain in possession of all save nominal dominion." "Speech at Mississippi City," October 2, 1857, *PJD*, 6:145. See ibid., 6:146.

[195] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on a petition on the subject of colonizing free negroes. Jan. 12, 1849," *JDC*, 1:217.

[196] See "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on Compromise Bill of June 28, 1850," *JDC*, 1:401; "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on bill to admit California as a State into the Union. August 3, 1850," *JDC*, 1:435; "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the admission of California. Aug. 10, 1850," *JDC*, 1:480; "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the protest of certain Senators against the admission of California. Aug. 15, 1850," *JDC*, 1:507; and "Jefferson Davis and others to John A. Quitman," from the *Mississippi Free Trader*, November 27, 1850, *JDC*, 1:261.

unconstitutional concession to the New England Federalist progenitors of the Whigs because slaveholders had the right to take their property into any federal territory.[197] Yet while he did indeed hope that slavery would ultimately take root in New Mexico and southern California, he never denied that western states could eliminate the institution if they chose.[198] Rather, his principal fear as to Whig-led efforts to ban slavery from the Mexican War conquests was that by discouraging southern Democrats from emigrating at the very outset, northern Whigs would settle the new territories themselves and hence provide an immense "support to abolitionism."[199] *Sans* southerners, the western states which emerged would, he warned, be racially egalitarian abolitionist Whig states as in New England rather than anti-slavery yet white supremacist Democratic states as in the lower North. With the steady migration of Federalist-descended New Englanders having already rendered many a hitherto Democratic region of the upper North "British" in character, Davis worried that Whig power would become "self-sustaining" and even capable of "unlimited supremacy" in future elections if the northern Whigs were to claim the western territories.[200] "[A]bolitionism," he lamented, "has gone on step by step, steadily progressing...," and he mused on occasion that Virginia ought to have kept its Ohio Valley lands so that the progeny of New England Federalism would have remained pent up in the northeast.[201]

The surest proof for Davis that northern Whigs were devotees of British abolitionism was the fact that they were contravening their own consolidation ethos by invoking Radical state's

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[197] See "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the reception of a petition against the extension of slavery in the Territories," February 12, 1850, *JDC*, 1:262; "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Compromise Bill, July 18, 1850," *JDC*, 1:404, 406-07, 409, 413; and "Jefferson Davis to B. Pendleton and others," Brierfield, Mississippi, November 10, 1850, from the *Mississippi Free Trader*, November 30, 1850, *JDC*, 1:584.

[198] See "Speech of Jefferson Davis in Senate Feb. 13 and 14, 1850 on Slavery in the Territories," *JDC*, 1:289; "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on Compromise Bill of June 28, 1850," *JDC*, 1:401; and "Jefferson Davis to the People of Mississippi," Warren County, Mississippi, September 25, 1851, *JDC*, 2:95.

[199] "Speech of Jefferson Davis in Senate Feb. 13 and 14, 1850 on Slavery in the Territories," *JDC*, 1:265.

[200] Ibid., 1:265.

[201] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on a petition on the subject of colonizing free negroes. Jan. 12, 1849," *JDC*, 1:218. See "Speech on the Oregon Bill," July 12, 1848, *PJD*, 3:338; and Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 1:388-89.

rights to protect fugitive slaves. Calhoun's South Carolina had nullified an illegal protective tariff to protect the Constitution, but they were "nullify[ing] the law" to "obliterate the Constitution," annulling constitutional legislation in emulation of their treasonous Federalist ancestors.[202] Northern abolitionists were, he charged, defying "the duty of the United States to protect the property of a slave-owner during the transit from one State to another" by "kidnapping… servants from persons who are traveling on one of our national highways."[203] In response, Clay offered to pass a stronger federal fugitive slave law despite vocal opposition from many northern Whigs in exchange for immediate California statehood. Davis refused the deal because returning fugitive slaves was one of the "obligations of the Constitution" anyway, but he did endorse the law in stand-alone form.[204] New England abolitionists, however, immediately "nullified" the new law by sheltering fugitive slaves, whether on an informal basis or with the support of state-level "liberty laws."[205] Yet even worse in Davis's view were the New England states moving toward black citizenship, to which effect any and all state laws would be "in violation of the Constitution of the United States" and hence "void from their inception."[206] He therefore lauded "sound" northern states like Indiana and Iowa that were helping the U.S.

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[202] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the execution of the fugitive slave law in Boston. Feb. 18, 1851," *JDC*, 2:30. See "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Vermont resolutions on the subject to slavery. Jan. 10, 1850," *JDC*, 1:254; and Varina Davis, *op. cit.*, 1:402.

[203] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the bill to establish a territorial government in Oregon. July 12, 1848," *JDC*, 1:213; and "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the recapture of Fugitive Slaves. Aug. 19, 1850," *JDC*, 1:512. See "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the slave trade in the District of Columbia. Sept. 10, 1850," *JDC*, 1:534; and "Jefferson Davis to the People of Mississippi," Warren County, Mississippi, September, 25, 1851, *JDC*, 2:101.

[204] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis in regard to the fugitive slave law. Feb. 24, 1851," *JDC*, 2:35. See ibid., 2:97.

[205] "Speech of Jefferson Davis at the Democratic State Convention at Jackson, Mississippi, January 8, 1852," from the *Southern Press*, February 12, 1852, *JDC*, 2:122. See "Remarks of Jefferson Davis in Senate May 8, 1850, on presenting the report of the Legislature of Mississippi on the slavery question, and the Nashville Convention," *JDC*, 1:342; "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on bill to suppress the slave traffic in the District of Columbia. Sept. 16, 1850," *JDC*, 1:543; and "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the execution of the fugitive slave law in Boston. Feb. 18, 1851," *op. cit.*, 2:29.

[206] "Speech of Jefferson Davis in Senate Feb. 13 and 14, 1850 on Slavery in the Territories," *JDC*, 1:291.

government return fugitive slaves and upholding white supremacy even though they abjured slavery, contrasting them favorably to states "in which abolition ruled the civil government."[207]

After northern abolitionists unsuccessfully attempted to help over seventy slaves escape from bondage in Washington, D.C. during the 1848 *Pearl* incident, Davis warned that if northerners were to sympathize with or even tolerate abolitionists, "the people of this Union may shed blood," adding that "if it be pressed any further... let it come – the sooner the better."[208] He was already beginning to think that Calhoun had been correct to assert that the South would now have to use secession as an "ultimatum" to induce the North to root out British abolitionism and thereby save the Union.[209] When Calhoun died in 1850, Davis hence described him as "the champion who was taken away from us like a summer-dried fountain, when our need was the sorest…."[210] Pointing to his empty Senate chair in 1851, moreover, he observed that "[w]e lately had among us one whose wisdom was only equaled by the elevation and purity of his character, on whose mind experience, and intensity of feeling and of thought, had shed more of prophetic light than I have ever found in any other individual."[211] Davis endorsed the Nashville Convention alongside Radical secessionists, but he insisted in Calhoun's name that most of the delegates resented "the odious designation of disunionists," for they were only threatening secession as a "last resort."[212] Northern Whigs, Davis charged, were the true disunionists, for

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[207] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis in regard to the fugitive slave law. Feb. 24, 1851," *JDC*, 2:36.
[208] "Remarks on the Protection of Property," April 20, 1848, *PJD*, 3:314.
[209] "Speech at Jackson," September 23, 1848, *PJD*, 3:380.
[210] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on Compromise Bill of June 27, 1850," *JDC*, 1:375. See "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Vermont resolutions on the subject to slavery. Jan. 10, 1850," *JDC*, 1:253; "Remarks of Jefferson Davis in Senate May 8, 1850, on presenting the report of the Legislature of Mississippi on the slavery question, and the Nashville Convention," *JDC*, 1:346; and "Speech at Fayette," July 11, 1851, *PJD*, 4:201.
[211] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the bill granting land to the indigent insane. February 11, 1851," *JDC*, 2:19.
[212] "Jefferson Davis to B. Pendleton and others," Brierfield, Mississippi, November 10, 1850, from the *Mississippi Free Trader*, November 30, 1850, *JDC*, 1:579; and "Speech of Jefferson Davis at the Democratic State Convention at Jackson, Mississippi, January 8, 1852," from the *Southern Press*, February 12, 1852, *JDC*, 2:118. See "Jefferson Davis to F. H. Elmore," Washington, D.C., April 13, 1850, *JDC*, 1:323; and "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Compromise Bill. July 31, 1850," *JDC*, 1:428. The Eufala, Alabama *Democrat*, moreover, changed its name to the

they had embraced consolidation and abolitionism while attempting to force the South to occupy the same position "as the colonies of North America, on the 4th of July, 1776, determined not to hold towards the Kingdom of Great Britain."[213] Characterizing himself "as a patriot, as one devoted to the Union," he claimed that he was "a friend of the Nashville Convention" because he wanted to save "our Union as formed by the men of the Revolution...," that is to say, "the Confederacy of the Constitution, the inheritance which our revolutionary fathers left us."[214] A "consolidate[ed]" Union with a British rather than American "animating spirit" would be a "curse," "a worthless weed," a "corpse" – it would not be "the Union for which the blood of the Revolution was shed; this is not the Union I was taught from my cradle to revere; this is not the Union in the service of which a large portion of my life has been passed; this is not the Union for which our fathers pledged their property, their lives, and their sacred honor."[215] "To preserve the Union," he explained in an 1850 public letter, "the principles, the spirit of the Constitution must be preserved." If "the Government changes its character," he added, "there might remain *an* Union but not *the* Union," which stood for equality among whites, white supremacy, Calhoun-

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Spirit of the South upon siding with the Radical secessionists in 1850 and accused Davis of betraying the South by refusing to repudiate the northern Democracy. See *PJD*, 6:207.

[213] "Jefferson Davis to B. D. Nabors and Others," Jackson, Mississippi, November 19, 1850, from the *Mississippi Free Trader*, November 30, 1850, 1:600. See "Speech of Jefferson Davis in Senate Feb. 13 and 14, 1850 on Slavery in the Territories," *JDC*, 1:300; "Remarks of Jefferson Davis in Senate May 8, 1850, on presenting the report of the Legislature of Mississippi on the slavery question, and the Nashville Convention," *JDC*, 1:345; "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on Compromise Bill of June 28, 1850," *JDC*, 1:399; "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the admission of California. Aug. 13, 1850," *JDC*, 1:484; "Jefferson Davis to B. Pendleton and others," *op. cit.*, 1:585; and "Speech at Fayette," July 11, 1851, *PJD*, 4:208, 211.

[214] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the admission of California, Aug. 13, 1850," *op. cit.*, 1:486; "Jefferson Davis to S. Cobun and others," Brierfield, Mississippi, November 7, 1850," from the Port Gibson *Herald*, November 29, 1850, *JDC*, 1:595, 596; and "Jefferson Davis to B. Pendleton and others," *op. cit.*, 1:580. See "Jefferson Davis to the People of Mississippi," Warren County, Mississippi, September 25, 1851, *JDC*, 2:88.

[215] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the bill granting land to the indigent insane. February 11, 1851," *JDC*, 2:19-20; "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Vermont resolutions on the subject to slavery. Jan. 10, 1850," *JDC*, 1:252; "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the admission of California. Aug. 13, 1850," *op. cit.*, 1:489; "Jefferson Davis to S. Cobun and others," *op. cit.*, 1:596; and "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on Compromise Bill of June 27, 1850," *JDC*, 1:379.

style state's rights, and Manifest Destiny.[216] If "the Union should perish" as a result of the South and perhaps the lower North seceding from an upper North which had become British in character, then, the American nation would not be "destroyed by that event" but rather saved.[217]

To show that his secession threats were serious, Davis urged Mississippians to "prepare for the defence of the State, armed if need be," calling for "the preparation of arms, of munitions of war, of manufacturing establishments, and all varieties of agriculture to which our climate and soil are adapted."[218] And he vowed that if Mississippi were to secede, he would serve his state "in a different field" than Congress by "unfurl[ing] the flag of disunion" in battle.[219] Yet he endeavored to assure northerners at the same time that he had not joined the Fire-Eater Radicals, who muddied his message by urging the South to secede irrespective of the northern response.[220] Thus, even as Davis invoked "Mr. Randolph," who spoke "of the high powers which Virginia might exercise" in the face of consolidation, alongside the Radicals, he also deplored any southerner who would say that "the South was his country," for he was a "true American."[221] Echoing Calhoun, he accordingly insisted that a new American Union based in the South would most certainly not be founded upon Radical state's rights, which would "leave to the States the

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[216] "Jefferson Davis to B. D. Nabors and Others," Jackson, Mississippi, November 19, 1850, from the *Mississippi Free Trader*, November 30, 1850, *JDC*, 1:600.
[217] Ibid., 1:580. See "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Compromise Bill. July 31, 1850," *JDC*, 1:428, 430.
[218] "Jefferson Davis to B. D. Nabors and Others," *op. cit.*, 1:599.
[219] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on Compromise Bill of June 27, 1850," *JDC*, 1:379-80. See "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Vermont resolutions on the subject to slavery. Jan. 10, 1850," *JDC*, 1:252-53; "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Compromise Bill. July 18, 1850," *JDC*, 1:407-08; and "Speech of Jefferson Davis at Aberdeen, Mississippi, May 26, 1851," from the Monroe *Democrat*, June 4, 1851, *JDC*, 2:82.
[220] See "Jefferson Davis to S. Cobun and others," Brierfield, Mississippi, November 7, 1850, from the Port Gibson *Herald*, November 29, 1850, *JDC*, 1:594; "Jefferson Davis to E. C. Wilkinson," Brierfield, Mississippi, September 17, 1851, from the *Mississippi Free Trader*, September 27, 1851, *JDC*, 2:86; "Jefferson Davis to the People of Mississippi," Warren County, Mississippi, September 25, 1851, *JDC*, 2:94; and "Jefferson Davis to Messrs. Barksdale and Jones," Brierfield, Mississippi, February 16, 1852, from the Yazoo *Democrat*, March 10 and 17, 1852, *JDC*, 2:143. Unbeknownst to Davis, President Taylor had even described him as the "chief conspirator" among the "intolerant and revolutionary" southern secessionists. Quoted in James M. McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 69.
[221] "Speech of Jefferson Davis in Senate Feb. 13 and 14, 1850 on Slavery in the Territories," *JDC*, 1:284; "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the protest of certain Senators against the admission of California. Aug. 15, 1850," *JDC*, 1:509; and "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Compromise Bill. July 18, 1850," *op. cit.*, 1:406.

burden of a General Government, and strip from them every advantage for which that General Government was created."[222] Yet like Calhoun, Davis's own preference was for the North "to return to the sounder opinions of other times," in which case the Union would "survive beyond the limits of human speculation, expanding and hardening with the lapse of time, to extend its blessings to ages unnumbered, and to a people innumerable; to include within its empire all the useful products of the earth...."[223] "United," he declared, "we have grown to our present dignity and power – united we may go on to a destiny which the human mind cannot measure."[224]

Jefferson Davis, Franklin Pierce, and the Calhoun Democrats in Power, 1852-56

Davis did not expect to win over many northern Whigs during the 1850-51 crisis; rather, his secession threats were directed at those whom he had called in 1845 "the righteous among the wicked – our natural allies, the Democracy of the North."[225] By 1850, however, he was aghast to see "how far the Democracy of the North is infected with the spirit of abolitionism."[226] Northern Whigs, he believed, had accomplished their victories thanks to of the corruption, cowardice, and treason of such northern Democrats as Martin Van Buren, whom Davis accused in 1839 of pursuing policies that would "divide the Democrats" and "sowed indecision, a plant not suited to the deep furrows ploughed by his predecessor."[227] Davis soon concluded that Van Buren was a

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[222] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Compromise Bill. July 31, 1850," *JDC*, 1:424. See ibid., 1:425-26.

[223] "Speech of Jefferson Davis in Senate Feb. 13 and 14, 1850 on Slavery in the Territories," *JDC*, 1:287; and "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Compromise Bill. July 31, 1850," *op. cit.*, 1:434-35. See "Speech of Jefferson Davis in Senate Feb. 13 and 14, 1850 on Slavery in the Territories," *op. cit.*, 1:269; and "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Texas Boundary. Aug. 9, 1850," *JDC*, 1:479-80.

[224] "Speech of Jefferson Davis in Senate Feb. 13 and 14, 1850 on Slavery in the Territories," *op. cit.*, 1:305. See "Remarks of Jefferson Davis in Senate May 8, 1850, on presenting the report of the Legislature of Mississippi on the slavery question, and the Nashville Convention," *JDC*, 1:345; and "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the admission of California. Aug. 13, 1850," *JDC*, 1:484-85, 489.

[225] Quoted in Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 1:235. See "Speech of Jefferson Davis before the State Democratic Convention held in Jackson, Mississippi January 3, 1844 for the purpose of sending delegates to the National Convention of the party and for the selection of presidential elector," from the *Mississippian*, January 12, 1844, *JDC*, 1:7.

[226] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the bill limiting expense collecting revenue from customs. Jan. 14, 1850," *JDC*, 1:260.

[227] "Jefferson Davis to George W. Jones," West Warrenton, Mississippi, February 9, 1839, *JDC*, 1:2-3.

tool of the northern Whigs thanks to Calhoun's influence and the Little Magician's reluctance to endorse Texas annexation, which was a matter of "vital importance to the south" requiring "prompt action" due to the British menace.[228] And he proceeded to ruin Van Buren's 1844 presidential hopes *via* a public letter which put the New Yorker on the spot respecting Texas.[229]

Calhoun also convinced Davis that his hero Andrew Jackson had been led astray by Van Buren.[230] Some of Davis's fondest memories pertained to his boyhood visit to Old Hickory's Hermitage, where Jackson encouraged him "in all contests of activity, pony-riding included."[231] The young Davis, moreover, was entranced by Jackson's tales of battles against the British and their Indian allies, particularly a Revolutionary War story in which a British officer ordered the captured boy-soldier Jackson "to black his boots, which he indignantly refused and claimed treatment of a prisoner of war. Enraged at such defiance from a 'rebel' boy, the wretch, unworthy of the name of soldier, struck at him with his sword; he caught the blow upon his hand, and was severely wounded."[232] And while Davis came to regard the hero of "the ever glorious

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[228] "Notice of the Proceedings of the State Democratic Convention – Speech Recommending John C. Calhoun," January 8, 1844, *PJD*, 2:71-73. See "Speech of Jefferson Davis, August 5, 1850, in defense of Gen. Taylor, on the resolution of Mr. Cass in relation to the exercise of civil power by the military officers of the United States," *JDC*, 1:447; and Michael A. Morrison, "Martin Van Buren, the Democracy, and the Partisan Politics of Texas Annexation," *The Journal of Southern History*, vol. 61, no. 4 (November 1995), 695-724. The only Van Buren initiative which Calhoun and Davis supported was the Independent Treasury as they feared the power of a Whig-dominated Bank of the United States. Davis nevertheless gave Polk more credit than Van Buren for the idea. See "Speech of Jefferson Davis before the State Democratic Convention held in Jackson, Mississippi January 3, 1844 for the purpose of sending delegates to the National Convention of the party and for the selection of presidential electors," from the *Mississippian*, January 12, 1844, *JDC*, 1:6; "Jefferson Davis to the People of Mississippi," Steamer *Star Spangled Banner*, Mississippi River, July 13, 1846, from the Vicksburg *Sentinel*, July 21, 1846, *JDC*, 1:54; and O'Brien, *Conjectures of Order*, 933, 935.

[229] See "To Martin Van Buren," near Warrenton County, Mississippi, March 25, 1844, *PJD*, 2:139. Also see "Jefferson Davis to Barksdale and Jones," Brierfield, Mississippi, February 2, 1852, from the Yazoo *Democrat*, February 18, 1852, *JDC*, 2:131.

[230] See "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Compromise Bill. July 31, 1850," *JDC*, 1:432.

[231] "Extract: Jefferson Davis, Ex-President of the Confederate States of America: A Memoir," Beauvoir, Mississippi, November, 1889, *PJD*, 1:lxxi.

[232] "To Thomas M. Green, et al.," July 1, 1845, *PJD*, 2:268.

field of New Orleans" as an incarnation of American nationality sadly marred by Van Buren, he still boasted in 1849 that "[m]y first vote was cast in favor of General Jackson for President."[233]

Van Buren Democrats tried to ban slavery from the Mexican War conquests in conjunction with northern Whigs *via* the Wilmot Proviso, the near passage of which prompted Taylor to inform Davis in 1847 that "[w]e of the South must throw ourselves on the Constitution & defend our rights under it to the last & when arguments will no longer suffice, we will appeal to the sword, if necessary to do so, I will be the last to yield an inch."[234] Davis feared that the Wilmot Proviso was leading to a secession crisis which would call forth "the union and energy and power of the south," but he was still confident that northern Democrats would prove to be "the natural allies of the south" once more, and that "the cloud which now hangs on our northern horizon threaten[ing] a storm… may yet blow over with only the tear-drops of contrition and regret." And so he urged them to scorn Van Buren by endorsing "a disavowal of the principles of the Wilmot Proviso, an admission of the equal right of the south with the north to the territory

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[233] "Jefferson Davis to W. B. Tebo," Brierfield, Mississippi, August 22, 1849, from the *Mississippi Free Trader*, August 29, 1849, *JDC*, 1:246; and "Jefferson Davis to N. D. Coleman and others," Vicksburg, November 2, 1847, from the Vicksburg *Sentinel*, November 17, 1847, *JDC*, 1:179. Davis would therefore never number himself among "the creeping things who spit their venom on the feet of those whom they may not emulate... when time shall build on the wide level of history a monument to Jackson's fame, it will rise colossal among the mighty of the earth." "To Thomas M. Green et al.," Brierfield, July 1, 1845, *PJD*, 2:281. See "Speech of Jefferson Davis before the State Democratic Convention held in Jackson, Mississippi January 3, 1844 for the purpose of sending delegates to the National Convention of the party and for the selection of presidential electors," from the *Mississippian*, January 12, 1844, *JDC*, 1:9; "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on river and harbor bill. March 1, 1851," *JDC*, 2:56; "Speech of Jefferson Davis at the Democratic State Convention at Jackson, Mississippi, January 8, 1852," from the *Southern Press*, February 12, 1852, *JDC*, 2:124; "Jefferson Davis to Messrs. Barksdale and Jones," Brierfield, Mississippi, February 16, 1852, from the Yazoo *Democrat*, March 10 and 17, 1852, *JDC*, 2:160; "Speech of Jefferson Davis at Memphis, Tenn.," from the Yazoo *Democrat*, August 4, 1852, *JDC*, 2:174; "Jefferson Davis to William J. Brown," Washington, D.C., May 7, 1853, *JDC*, 2:218; "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the special message on affairs in South Carolina. Jan. 10, 1861," *JDC*, 5:22; and "Extract: Jefferson Davis, Ex-President of the Confederate States of America: A Memoir," Beauvoir, Mississippi, November, 1889, *PJD*, 1:lxx, lxxi.

[234] "From Zachary Taylor," Camp near Monterrey, Mexico, July 27, 1847, *PJD*, 3:201.

held as the common property of the United States, and a declaration in favor of extending the Missouri compromise to all States to be hereafter admitted into our confederacy."[235]

Northern Democrats did indeed turn against Van Buren, who "proved faithless to the southern men who confided in him" once again upon leaving the Democracy to sow "dissention between [us] and our western friends" by running for president alongside John Quincy Adams's son Charles Francis Adams at the head of the ticket for the new Free Soil Party, which was dedicated to the Wilmot Proviso's passage as a fusion of "Barnburner" Democrats and abolitionist-friendly Whigs.[236] Yet while the remaining northern Democrats repudiated the Wilmot Proviso, they still disappointed Davis by advocating "popular sovereignty," which would allow settlers in a territory to decide slavery's fate on their own in a territorial legislature.[237] Michigan's Lewis Cass was a War of 1812 hero, President Jackson's Secretary of War, and the Democratic presidential candidate for 1848, but Davis only supported him tepidly "for democracy's sake" because Cass had endorsed popular sovereignty, "confess[ing] that I have been disappointed in the course of events, and look despondent upon a progress which I have no power to control or conform to…."[238] And he warned that all "true Democrats" in the North would have to confront rather than conciliate northern Whigs in the future by helping to enforce

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[235] "Jefferson Davis to C. J. Searles," Brierfield, Mississippi, September 19, 1847, from the Washington, D.C. *Union*, October 12, 1847, *JDC*, 95-96. See "Speech of Jefferson Davis in Senate Feb. 13 and 14, 1850 on Slavery in the Territories," *JDC*, 1:306.

[236] "Speech of Jefferson Davis delivered in the House Feb. 6, 1846, on the Oregon question," *JDC*, 1:34; and "Speech at Jackson," September 23, 1848, *PJD*, 3:385.

[237] See "Jefferson Davis to the People of Mississippi," Warren County, Mississippi, January 26, 1852, from the *Mississippi Free Trader*, February 1, 1852, *JDC*, 2:137.

[238] "Jefferson Davis to Stephen Cocke," Brierfield, Mississippi, August 2, 1849, *JDC*, 1:245; and "To Beverley Tucker," Washington, D.C., April 12, 1848, *PJD*, 3:292-93. See "Jefferson Davis to H. R. Davis and Others," from the *Mississippi Free Trader*, October 26, 1848, *JDC*, 1:216; and *PJD*, 6:260. Davis would later explain that he had endorsed Cass in 1848 as only the lesser of two evils, for the Whigs were "a party the tenets of which I believed to be opposed to the interests of the country as they were to all my political convictions." "Reply to Stephen A. Douglas," May 17, 1860, *PJD*, 6:305.

the Fugitive Slave law, extending federal "protection of the law" as well to slave property in every territory below Missouri and preferably within all current and future U.S. territories.[239]

Davis, after all, was averse to compromise because, as one northern Democrat observed, the "manner of the Senator from Mississippi partakes more of the camp than the Senate."[240] Indeed, he even characterized the Democracy as a "political church" in which no "faction or error" could be tolerated, for the party was "founded on the immutable basis of truth, and will descend from generation to generation," and its "policy is identical with the permanent welfare of the country."[241] "I am one of those who have seen northern Democrats stand firm under the most trying of circumstances," he observed, "and I admired them the more for the danger which I believe they encountered in their advocacy of our rights."[242] It would thus be better to "let the ship go down with our principles nailed to the mast" as opposed to winning elections by making ideological compromises: "I prefer defeat to the triumph of expediency at the expense of principle."[243] Besides, prior concessions to northern Whigs had only brought forth "increased arrogance and aggression," and Davis predicted that if northern Democrats allowed their southern compatriots to be effectively excluded from the western territories for fear of losing

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[239] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the admission of California. August 13, 1850," *JDC*, 1:500; and "Remarks of Jefferson Davis in Senate May 8, 1850, on presenting the report of the Legislature of Mississippi on the slavery question, and the Nashville Convention," *JDC*, 1:344. See "Speech of Jefferson Davis in Senate Feb. 13 and 14, 1850 on Slavery in the Territories," *JDC*, 1:266, 282; "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Compromise Bill, July 31, 1850," *JDC*, 1:432-33; "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the recapture of Fugitive Slaves. Aug. 19, 1850," *JDC*, 1:513; "On the recapture of fugitive slaves. Aug. 22, 1850," *JDC*, 1:519; "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the slave trade in the District of Columbia. Sept. 10, 1850," *JDC*, 1:533; and "Jefferson Davis to the People of Mississippi," Warren County, Mississippi, September 25, 1851, *JDC*, 2:97.

[240] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Military Academy bill. Aug. 29, 1850," *JDC*, 1:526. See "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on Compromise Bill of June 27, 1850," *JDC*, 1:378; "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the slave trade in the District of Columbia. Sept. 11, 1850," *JDC*, 1:539; Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 1:121, 199; and Elisabeth Cutting, *Jefferson Davis: Political Soldier* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1930).

[241] "Speech of Jefferson Davis in the Democratic State Convention," from the Columbus *Democrat*, August 1, 1849, *JDC*, 1:236-38. See *PJD*, 6:443.

[242] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the bill limiting expense collecting revenue from customs," January 14, 1850, *JDC*, 1:260.

[243] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis in regard to the fugitive slave law. Feb. 24, 1851," *JDC*, 2:57. "Party consultation and party organization," Davis asserted, "are the means not the end." "Jefferson Davis to Barksdale and Jones," Brierfield, Mississippi, February 2, 1852, from the Yazoo *Democrat*, February 18, 1852, *JDC*, 2:131.

elections, the West would fall under Whig control, at which point "federalism w[ould] soon swallow up state rights and wholly change the nature of our government."[244] Yet even as he insisted that it would be intolerable for the South to have western states controlled by pro-abolitionist northern Whigs as neighbors, he told the northern Democracy that most southern Democrats were content to reside beside Democratic western states in which slavery would be phased out because Democrats upheld white supremacy in one form or another throughout the Union and thus had "no conflicting interests; are we not one as Democrats? bound through good and evil to maintain a common cause."[245] Emphasizing that he was not calling upon northern Democrats to endorse slavery in their "abstract opinion" but rather to "stand by the Constitution" and welcome slaveholders into the territories so as to guarantee that northern Whigs would not control the West, Davis assured them that he had no objection to western states dominated by northern Democrats expelling all of their free or freed blacks in the future, for such Democrats would never harbor fugitive slaves, let alone incite race wars or grant blacks U.S. citizenship.[246]

To Davis's disappointment, however, the northern Democrats did not heed his "*ultimatum*" to extend the Missouri Compromise line to the Pacific, failing as well to open the Oregon territory to slavery, assail abolitionists to a sufficient degree, or threaten secession in their own right.[247] He accordingly lamented in September 1851 that the Democracy was in "an

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[244] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Compromise Bill. July 31, 1850," *JDC*, 1:429-30; and "To David L. Yulee," P.O. Palmyra, Mississippi, July 18, 1851, *PJD*, 4:218-19. See "Speech on the Oregon Bill," July 12, 1848, *PJD*, 3:342, 353, 367; "Remarks of Jefferson Davis in Senate May 8, 1850, on presenting the report of the Legislature of Mississippi on the slavery question, and the Nashville Convention," *JDC*, 1:343; "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on Compromise Bill of June 28, 1850," *JDC*, 1:399; "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Compromise Bill. July 31, 1850," *op. cit.*, 1:427; and "Jefferson Davis to B. Pendleton and others," Brierfield, Mississippi, November 10, 1850, from the *Mississippi Free Trader*, November 30, 1850, *JDC*, 1:587.

[245] "Speech of Jefferson Davis in the Democratic State Convention," from the Columbus *Democrat*, August 1, 1849, *JDC*, 1:238. See ibid., 1:243.

[246] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the bill limiting expense collecting revenue from customs. Jan. 14, 1850," *JDC*, 1:260. See Eugene H. Berwanger, *The Frontier Against Slavery: Western Anti-Negro Prejudice and the Slavery Extension Controversy* (1967; reprint, Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2002).

[247] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on Compromise Bill of June 27, 1850," *JDC*, 1:370. See "Speech on the Oregon Bill," July 12, 1848, *PJD*, 3:369; "To Malcolm D. Haynes," Brierfield, Mississippi, August 18, 1849, *PJD*, 4:33;

hour when clouds have darkened our fortune."[248] Yet an unexpected ray of light pierced the clouds when an anti-Van Buren northern Democrat emerged from the contentious 1852 convention as a compromise candidate for the presidency. With the northern Democrats finally responding as he had hoped, Davis promptly ceased his disunion threats, declaring secession to be "a right which, under existing circumstances, Mississippi should not exercise...." He instead urged southern Democrats "to unite on their old platform of national politics, and, shoulder to shoulder, go into the approaching contest for the election of a President."[249] Davis's own name was mentioned as a possible vice presidential candidate, but the Mississippian was much happier to become the Secretary of War instead when New Hampshire's Franklin Pierce crushed Taylor's old Mexican War rival the Whig candidate General Winfield Scott to become president.[250] Davis, after all, preferred the executive to the legislative branch of government, having asserted in the face of Whig attacks against Polk for usurping congressional powers during the Mexican War that "all history has taught us, that where civil governments at home assume to direct military operations abroad, ruinous evil has been the result."[251] Unlike

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"Speech of Jefferson Davis in Senate Feb. 13 and 14, 1850 on Slavery in the Territories," *JDC*, 1:268, 282-83; "Jefferson Davis to the Washington, D.C. *Union*," Washington, D.C., May 1, 1850, from the *Mississippi Free Trader*, June 12, 1850, *JDC*, 1:349; "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on Compromise Bill of June 28, 1850," *JDC*, 1:402; "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the protest of certain Senators against the admission of California. Aug. 15, 1850," *JDC*, 1:507; and "Jefferson Davis to J. H. Robinson and others," Warren County, Mississippi, July 18, 1851, from the Monroe *Democrat*, August 6, 1851, *JDC*, 2:82-83.

[248] "Jefferson Davis to E. C. Wilkinson," Brierfield, Mississippi, September 17, 1851, from the *Mississippi Free Trader*, September 27, 1851, *JDC*, 2:86.

[249] "Speech of Jefferson Davis at the Democratic State Convention at Jackson, Mississippi, January 8, 1852," from the *Southern Press*, February 12, 1852, *JDC*, 2:118, 120. See ibid., 2:121; and "Jefferson Davis to Barksdale and Jones," Brierfield, Mississippi, February 2, 1852, from the Yazoo *Democrat*, February 18, 1852, *JDC*, 2:131.

[250] See "Jefferson Davis to Messrs. Barksdale and Jones," *op. cit.*, 2:141; "Speech at Jackson," June 9, 1852, *PJD*, 4:267-68; "Speech of Jefferson Davis at Memphis, Tenn.," from the Yazoo *Democrat*, August 4, 1852, *JDC*, 2:175-76; "Franklin Pierce to Jefferson Davis," Concord, N.H., December 7, 1852, *JDC*, 2:177-78; and "To Thomas J. Hudson," Washington, D.C., November 25, 1853 [1855], *PJD*, 5:139. Also see "Reception in honor of the First Regiment Mississippi Volunteers, War with Mexico at Natchez, Mississippi, June 15, 1847," *JDC*, 1:82; and "Speech of Jefferson Davis in relation to property in the territories. May 16 and 17, 1860," *JDC*, 4:305. A few New York and Illinois delegates even nominated Davis for president at the 1852 Baltimore convention. See *PJD*, 6:344.

[251] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on a bill to increase the army. In the Senate, Jan. 3, 1848," *JDC*, 1:182. See "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Mexican War. In the Senate, March 21, 1848," *JDC*, 1:197; "Brutus to Jefferson Davis," from the Washington, D.C. *Union*, February 17, 1848, *JDC*, 1:187-88; "Zachary Taylor to

congressional seats, moreover, the presidency was, he claimed while justifying Polk's tendency to brandish the "executive veto," the only office of a "popular nature" on a truly national scale.[252]

Davis was impressed by Pierce "as a statesman and a patriot" when he first met him during the late 1830s, recognizing him as one of the Calhoun's best "friends from the non-slaveholding States."[253] Senator Pierce, in fact, had given "a support more decided and consistent than that rendered by many Senators of the South to the efforts of Mr. Calhoun, by declaratory resolutions, to guard our section against the aggression which the prophetic eye of that statesman saw in the future..," thereby providing "a bright example of that unity which exists between the true Democrats of every section of our wide Republic."[254] Davis, moreover, respected him as a fellow Mexican War veteran, for Pierce had not only denounced "opposition to the [Mexican] war in New England," but had also served as a brigadier general of volunteers.[255] He therefore referred to the president as "General Pierce" in speeches and addressed him as "my dear General" in letters.[256] Pierce, in turn, fondly called Davis "my dear General."[257] Their friendship was strengthened as well by the death of the president's infant son in an 1853 railroad accident, after which Davis's children became surrogates of a sort for Pierce

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Jefferson Davis," Baton Rouge, Louisiana, July 10, 1848, *JDC*, 1:209; and *PJD*, 6:555. Davis hoped to empower the president to appoint naval midshipmen "at large" too, "without reference or congressional recommendation." "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Naval Appropriations bill. Sept. 28, 1850," *JDC*, 1:572, 570.

[252] "Jefferson Davis to H. R. Davis and Others," from the *Mississippi Free Trader*, October 26, 1848, *JDC*, 1:215.

[253] "Autobiography of Jefferson Davis," from *Belford's Magazine*, January, 1890, *JDC*, 1:xxvi; and "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the protest of certain Senators against the admission of California. Aug. 15, 1850," *JDC*, 1:507. See "Franklin Pierce to Jefferson Davis," Concord, N.H., December 7, 1852, *JDC*, 2:177.

[254] "Speech at Mississippi City," October 2, 1857, *PJD*, 6:142-43. Pierce's "mode of saving the union" was therefore "substantially the same as that proposed by Calhoun in his last speech in the Senate." "To Franklin Pierce," Brierfield, Mississippi, July 23, 1857, *PJD*, 6:132.

[255] "Speech at Jackson," June 9, 1852, *PJD*, 4:265.

[256] "Jefferson Davis and the Pacific Railway," from the Washington, D.C. *Union*, July 31, 1853, *JDC*, 2:261; and "Jefferson Davis to Franklin Pierce," Washington, D.C., June 13, 1860," *JDC*, 4:495. See "Speech at Jackson," June 9, 1852, *op. cit.*, 4:264; "W. B. Howell to Jefferson Davis," New Orleans, January 31, 1853, *JDC*, 2:186; and "Speech of Jefferson Davis at Philadelphia," from the Washington, D.C. *Union*, July 17, 1853, *JDC*, 2:243.

[257] "Franklin Pierce to Jefferson Davis," Concord, N.H., December 7, 1852, *JDC*, 2:177. See "Franklin Pierce to Jefferson Davis," Andover, Massachusetts, January 12, 1853, *JDC*, 2:179; and "Franklin Pierce to Jefferson Davis," Clarendon Hotel, New York City, January 8, 1860, *JDC*, 4:120. Davis accordingly ordered the Fort McHenry garrison to participate in Pierce's inauguration so as to impart a martial quality to the ceremony. See *PJD*, 6:532.

and his wife.[258] Davis even wanted to preserve copies or originals of all his correspondence with Pierce to give to his son Jefferson Davis, Jr., "in remembrance of your much valued confidence and friendship for his Father."[259] President Pierce, after all, had trudged through the deep snow of a particularly severe Washington, D.C. winter to inquire after Varina Davis's health when Jefferson Davis, Jr. was born in 1857.[260] No wonder, then, that Davis was commonly believed to command ignore "more influence with the President than any other member of the Cabinet."[261]

Davis's influence within the cabinet was also magnified by his friend and advisor James M. Campbell.[262] An influential Philadelphia attorney, philanthropist, and descendant of Irish immigrants, Campbell became the first Catholic to head a federal department when the president made him the postmaster general in 1853, prompting Philip A. Roach to boast that "Pierce was the champion of civil and religious freedom for the ancient faith...."[263] The Secretary of War, for his part, continued to favor Catholics when doling out appointments, reprimanding such zealously Protestant chaplains as Joseph B. Cottrell for deriding Catholicism as well.[264] John W. French, moreover, was a "high church" Episcopalian clergyman from New England whose Massachusetts-born wife taught at Georgetown University, and Davis attended his Washington, D.C. Church of the Epiphany. French also confirmed Varina Davis in 1856 and baptized three of her children. Secretary of War Davis, in turn, made French the chaplain and professor of history

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[258] See "Jefferson Davis to Stephen Cocke," Washington, D.C., December 19, 1853, *JDC*, 2:336. Varina Davis recalled that when Pierce left her husband in 1857, he said that "I can scarcely bear the parting from you, who have been strength and solace to me for four anxious years and never failed me." Quoted in *PJD*, 6:110. See ibid., 6:133.
[259] "To Franklin Pierce," War Department, Washington, D.C., March 2, 1857, *PJD*, 6:109.
[260] See Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 1:570.
[261] "James W. Williams to Jefferson Davis," Holly Springs, May 30, 1854, *JDC*, 2:359. See "Franklin Pierce to Jefferson Davis," Andover, Massachusetts, January 12, 1853, *JDC*, 2:179. For Pierce's biographical details, see Michael F. Holt, *Franklin Pierce* (New York: Times Books, 2010).
[262] See "From James Campbell," May 14, 1856, *PJD*, 6:470; and "To James Campbell," July 16, 1856, *PJD*, 6:470.
[263] "Philip A. Roach to Jefferson Davis," San Francisco, February 25, 1855, *JDC*, 2:443. See John M. Campbell, *Biographical Sketch of Hon. James Campbell, Postmaster General of the United States, 1853-1857* (Philadelphia: American Catholic Historical Society, 1894); and *PJD*, 5:92. Pierce, in turn, made Roach the General Appraiser at San Francisco. See *PJD*, 6:535.
[264] See *PJD*, 5:387, 465; and *PJD*, 6:424. Also see "Jefferson Davis to Rev. E. Welty," War Department, Washington, D.C., September 21, 1853, *JDC*, 2:268-69.

and ethics at West Point, working to secure a cadetship for his son as well.[265] And when the New York Democratic congressman John Kelly requested War Department data pertaining to past U.S. army service by Catholic immigrants to discredit nativists in 1856, Davis regretfully informed him that most of the relevant papers had been burned by the British during the War of 1812.[266] But when Kelly asked him to discharge John Doheny, an errant young ward of a New York Catholic bishop, from the army later that year as a "personal favor" for the prelate, Davis came through for them even though the legal grounds for discharging Doheny were tenuous.[267]

Lauding Pierce for sharing Calhoun's "basic belief" in "our novel and admirable form of government, in which the States are independent though united, and the general government supreme in its functions, though devoid of all power except that which has been delegated to it by the States," Davis aimed to discredit Radical state's rights and consolidation alike by running "the military branch of the government" in emulation of Secretary of War Calhoun, whose son Patrick was raised to captain under his tenure.[268] "It is equally a violation of good faith to the States," he declared, "to refuse to exercise powers delegated, and thus to defeat the purpose for which they were given, as it is to usurp those powers which were reserved."[269] As a result, Davis sought to re-take various federal powers which had been constitutionally delegated to the U.S. government but exercised of late by the states, recommending, for instance, that Indians who were under state government management be "removed to lands owned by the United States."[270]

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[265] See "To Franklin Pierce," August 14, 1856, *PJD*, 6:494; "To John W. French," Washington, D.C., November 9, 1856, *PJD*, 6:57; "From Rev. John W. French," February 4, 1857, *PJD*, 6:494; "To James Buchanan," February 4, 1860, *PJD*, 6:566; and *PJD*, 6:58, 60.
[266] See "To John Kelly," February 1, 1856, *PJD*, 6:403.
[267] See *PJD*, 6:454. Also see ibid., 6:496-97.
[268] Quoted in Beringer and Hattaway, *Jefferson Davis, Confederate President*, 7; and "Jefferson Davis to Major G. H. Crosman," War Department, Washington, D.C., October 17, 1853, *JDC*, 2:275. See "To William L. Marcy," October 6, 1856, *PJD*, 6:506. Patrick Calhoun, however, proved to be a poor officer. See *PJD*, 6:516, 582.
[269] "To Thomas J. Hudson," Washington, D.C., November 25, 1853 [1855], *PJD*, 5:138.
[270] "Jefferson Davis to Franklin Pierce: Report of the Secretary of War," War Department, Washington, D.C., December 1, 1856, *JDC*, 3:70. See "To John J. McRae," Washington, D.C., February 11, 1856, *PJD*, 6:10. Davis

Observing with reference to hostile Indians as well that "in several cases summary punishment has been inflicted by the troops upon the offending tribes," he charged "the Hudson's Bay and Puget's Sound companies" with attempting to bring about "the extermination of the whites" on the frontier and called once more for them to be expelled from the Union as "their presence cannot be otherwise than detrimental to the control of the United States over those tribes."[271]

While Secretary of War Davis was pleased to give a Kentucky military academy permission to use his name for advertising purposes, he demanded "a better system of accountability for arms furnished by the general government to the States" and increased federal oversight of state militia training insofar as "books of tactical instruction and of experiments in the firing of small arms at the long ranges obtained by modern improvements have been issued to the States for the use of the militias."[272] He was, after all, "empowered by the Constitution" to force such reforms upon state governments.[273] Yet Davis also pointed to "the necessity for an increase of the army," championing Secretary of War Calhoun's idea to maintain skeleton regiments with a full complement of officers that could be filled out rapidly in the event of war as "[t]he experience of the last forty years has demonstrated the wisdom of maintaining, in

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also sought to take powers from other federal departments which he thought had been constitutionally delegated to the War Department, complaining about a Treasury Department audit by "persons who may have no special knowledge of military expenditures...." "To R. M. T. Hunter," Washington, D.C., March 19, 1858, *PJD*, 6:18. See "To Morris S. Miller," April 18, 1856, *PJD*, 6:462; and *PJD*, 6:435, 533.

[271] "Jefferson Davis to Franklin Pierce: Report of the Secretary of War," War Department, Washington, D.C., December 3, 1855, *JDC*, 2:554; and "Jefferson Davis to Franklin Pierce: Report of the Secretary of War," War Department, Washington, D.C., December 1, 1856, *JDC*, 3:70-71. See "Jefferson Davis to Franklin Pierce: Report of the Secretary of War," War Department, Washington, D.C., December 1, 1853, *JDC*, 2:304; "To Robert McClelland," October 28, 1856, *PJD*, 6:508-09; and *PJD*, 6:92. Davis also believed that the remnants of Britain's old Seminole allies in Florida still posed a threat to U.S. installations and personnel there. See *PJD*, 6:410. In 1856, moreover, the revenue cutter *Jefferson Davis*, helped suppress restive Indians in Oregon. See *PJD*, 6:421.

[272] "Jefferson Davis to Franklin Pierce: Report of the Secretary of War," War Department, Washington, D.C., December 1, 1856, *op. cit.*, 3:83. See "To Edwin W. Morgan, March 2, 1855, *PJD*, 5:413.

[273] "Jefferson Davis to Franklin Pierce: Report of the Secretary of War," War Department, Washington, D.C., December 1, 1856, *op. cit.*, 3:97.

peace, a military establishment that is capable of the greatest expansion in war."[274] Southern Radicals, however, denounced his recommendations as tyrannical and policies as consolidation. In response, Davis insisted that U.S. soldiers outstripped state militiamen in terms of "professional pride and habitual love for their country's service and their country's flag."[275] And he also informed congressional Radicals that they could either agree to an augmentation of the army's size or consent to state militia regiments being called into federal service on a much more frequent basis. Davis, though, wanted to enact both policies at once because the Union needed to be able to concentrate "the power and energy of the United States" *via* field armies. He thus explained that instead of dispersing U.S. soldiers in small frontier posts which invited British-backed Indians to attack by exhibiting "weakness," "a few points accessible by steamboats or by railways should be selected, at which large garrisons should be maintained, and from which strong detachments should annually be sent out into the Indian country...." What was true with regard to "a savage foe," moreover, was even more applicable to the British, for "[n]o defenses can long avail a people who cannot meet their foes in the open field, and our fortifications are not intended to serve as the refuge of weakness, or as the strongholds of unpopular power."[276]

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[274] See "Jefferson Davis to Franklin Pierce: Report of the Secretary of War," War Department, Washington, D.C., December 1, 1853, *JDC*, 2:303, 305. The U.S. army increased in size by more than 5,000 personnel over the course of Secretary of War Davis's tenure. See *PJD*, 6:92.

[275] Quoted in Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 1:513. See "Jefferson Davis to Franklin Pierce: Report of the Secretary of War," War Department, Washington, D.C., December 4, 1854, *JDC*, 2:393-94; "To John Allison," May 29, 1856, *PJD*, 6:476-77; "To Franklin Pierce," War Department, Washington, D.C., December 1, 1856, *PJD*, 6:68; and Varina Davis, *op. cit.*, 1:497-98. The "Pierce Guards" militia company, however, was eager to fight Indians in the Pacific northwest if arms could be furnished by the War Department. See *PJD*, 6:424.

[276] "Jefferson Davis to Franklin Pierce: Report of the Secretary of War," War Department, Washington, D.C., December 1, 1856, *JDC*, 3:73; and "Jefferson Davis to Franklin Pierce: Report of the Secretary of War," War Department, Washington, D.C., December 4, 1854, *JDC*, 2:410. See "Jefferson Davis to Franklin Pierce: Report of the Secretary of War," War Department, Washington, D.C., December 1, 1853, *op. cit.*, 2:295-96; "Jefferson Davis to Franklin Pierce: Report of the Secretary of War," War Department, Washington, D.C., December 3, 1855, *JDC*, 2:553; "On Recommendations for Cavalry Arms and Equipment," War Department, Washington, D.C., November 7, 1856, *PJD*, 6:55; "Jefferson Davis to Franklin Pierce: Report of the Secretary of War," War Department, Washington, D.C., December 1, 1856, *op. cit.*, 3:70; and *PJD*, 6:418.

Whig "centralization," Davis insisted, was meant to drag the mass of American citizens "down to the condition of slaves."[277] His robust exercise of delegated federal powers, in contrast, was meant to advance equality among whites. The Secretary of War, for instance, continually urged Congress to raise soldier salaries, advocating bonuses if not full wartime pay as well for troops rendering "[s]ervice in Indian campaigns," which "though little calculated to excite the military ardor of the soldier, is attended by equal hazard, and even by greater privation than belongs to warfare with a civilized foe."[278] He also called for pay raises because he insisted that U.S. soldiers perform manual labor, which would be "alike injurious to military instruction and the contentment of the soldier" without additional compensation as "[a] laborer without pay or promise of improvement in his condition" would never be a contented one.[279] Davis, moreover, punished desertion and other infractions with the ball and chain rather than flogging, and he commuted the executions of several U.S. soldiers who had been involved in a drunken riot at Taos, New Mexico, ordering their officers to face courts martial in August 1855 as well.[280] And he cleared the way for meritorious privates to become non-commissioned officers, for "[t]he hope of advancements is the foundation of professional zeal and success, and this incentive should exist in the army as well as in civil life. Its honors and distinctions should be open to all, that they may incite the ambition and stimulate the zeal of all."[281] "It is Democratic and popular," he asserted, "to enlarge the field and make success the reward of diligence and merit...," and he was proud of the fact that West Point was "within the reach of youths in every

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[277] "Jefferson Davis's Speech at Trenton, N. J.," from the Washington, D.C. *Union*, July 16, 1853, *JDC*, 2:241. See "Speech at Oxford," July 15, 1852, *PJD*, 4:283.
[278] "Jefferson Davis to Franklin Pierce: Report of the Secretary of War," War Department, Washington, December 3, 1855, *JDC*, 2:555.
[279] "To Franklin Pierce," War Department, Washington, D.C., December 1, 1856, *PJD*, 6:68. See ibid., 6:69-70.
[280] See *PJD*, 5:448; and *PJD*, 6:442.
[281] "Jefferson Davis to Franklin Pierce: Report of the Secretary of War," War Department, Washington, D.C., December 1, 1853, *JDC*, 2:302.

condition of life....”[282] Looking back at his term as Secretary of War in 1858, Davis therefore boasted that “we have the most democratic basis which could be incorporated into the Army.”[283]

The Secretary of War also worried about corporate entities cheating the government and hence the people. Labor unions could be “injurious to the public good” by delaying federal infrastructure projects, and “procur[ing] competent mechanics from other places” in the event of strikes, he offered generous overtime pay even as he withheld wages from under-performing workers.[284] He made it clear, too, that he would use federal soldiers to suppress serious labor union disturbances if necessary.[285] Yet Davis was far more concerned about corporations, threatening them with revocations of contract whenever he suspected that they were exploiting the government.[286] Having refused a textile manufacturer’s gift in 1855 to discourage improper corporate influence upon the government, he expressed “shame and mortification” *vis-à-vis* the influence of corporate “lobbying.”[287] “I hold it to be a curse in legislation,” Davis proclaimed, “that such things as lobby men can ever be tolerated about either of the two Houses of Congress.”[288] Federal infrastructure expenditures, he also declared, should not result in exorbitant “individual profit.”[289] He therefore insisted “that the public interests will be best subserved by entrusting public works to specially instructed and experienced officers, who, in

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[282] “Jefferson Davis to James Buchanan,” Washington, D.C., July 6, 1853, *JDC*, 2:233; and “Jefferson Davis to Franklin Pierce: Report of the Secretary of War,” War Department, Washington, D.C., December 1, 1853, *JDC*, 2:308.
[283] “Speech of Jefferson Davis on the Increase of the Army. Feb. 10 and 11, 1858,” *JDC*, 3:199. See *PJD*, 6:536.
[284] “Jefferson Davis to Montgomery Meigs,” War Department, Washington, D.C., July 22, 1853, *JDC*, 2:252. See “Jefferson Davis to James Guthrie,” War Department, Washington, D.C., January 21, 1856, *JDC*, 2:587-88.
[285] See “From Gleason F. Lewis,” January 17, 1854, *PJD*, 5:300.
[286] See “Jefferson Davis to Franklin Pierce: Report of the Secretary of War,” War Department, Washington, D.C., December 3, 1855, *JDC*, 2:557; “To Samuel Cooper,” May 19, 1856, *PJD*, 6:463; “To George French & Co.,” June 30, 1856, *PJD*, 6:482; “To Luther M. Kennett,” War Department, Washington, D.C., August 12, 1856, *PJD*, 6:38; “From Montgomery Meigs,” December 20, 1856, *PJD*, 6:522; and *PJD*, 6:401, 471, 486.
[287] “Remarks on the Pennsylvania Avenue railway bill. Feb. 7, 1859,” *JDC*, 3:530.
[288] Ibid., 3:534. See “To George H. Crosman,” April 26, 1855, *PJD*, 5:430.
[289] “Jefferson Davis to Franklin Pierce: Report of the Secretary of War,” War Department, Washington, D.C., December 1, 1853, *op. cit.*, 2:323.

the execution of their duty, have no interest adverse to that of the Government...."[290] And he sought to prevent "speculation" by endeavoring to keep locations for projected federal works secret, seeking legislation under the Fifth Amendment as well to facilitate the War Department's compulsory "purchase [of] such land as may be required for the sites of military posts."[291]

While Davis hoped that the Belleville Iron Works at Algiers, Louisiana would prove capable of manufacturing cannons for the War Department at a comparable rate to the Pittsburgh foundries, he wanted to supersede them all in the end by building "a national armory for the fabrication of cannon and projectiles."[292] Like Calhoun, he preferred government arsenals under direct military management to private arms contractors.[293] "Viewing the armories as a part of the military preparations for the common defence," he explained, "it is deemed essential that they should be under the control of the War Department," and "such establishments should exist under the charge of competent and experienced officers of the army...." Echoing Calhoun, he also insisted that arms production would be more standardized, efficient, and of higher quality "by government manufacture than by contract." Even when he compared the products of contracted firms which had "charged the prices which should be paid" under the watchful eye of War Department "inspectors," he saw "conclusive proof of the higher standard of material and workmanship in the government arms."[294] He was therefore not surprised to learn that U.S. arsenals had surpassed Britain's quality of artillery manufacturing, and the news was an immense

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[290] "To Luther M. Kennett," War Department, Washington, D.C., August 12, 1856, *PJD*, 6:36. See ibid., 6:30-31; and *PJD*, 5:191.

[291] "Jefferson Davis to Franklin Pierce: Report of the Secretary of War," War Department, Washington, December 3, 1855, *JDC*, 2:559. See "Jefferson Davis to Asbury Dickins," War Department, Washington, D.C., March 10, 1853, *JDC*, 2:189; and "Jefferson Davis to P. H. Bell," War Department, Washington, D.C., September 19, 1853, *JDC*, 2:266.

[292] "Jefferson Davis to Franklin Pierce: Report of the Secretary of War," War Department, Washington, D.C., December 3, 1855, *op. cit.*, 2:562. See "Jefferson Davis to Franklin Pierce: Report of the Secretary of War," War Department, Washington, D.C., December 1, 1856, *JDC*, 3:79; and *PJD*, 6:21, 476.

[293] See *PJD*, 6:426.

[294] "Jefferson Davis to Franklin Pierce: Report of the Secretary of War," War Department, Washington, D.C., December 1, 1853, *op. cit.*, 2:335-26, 329. See "To Franklin Pierce," June 30, 1853, *PJD*, 5:255; and *PJD*, 5:465.

"source of pride" for the War Department.[295] Delighting in the fact that he had reduced the Union's dependence on British gunpowder imports, Davis also insisted upon building additional U.S. arsenals in such a way as to avoid "sectional jealousies," for while the Pierce administration established six new arsenals in the South to make up for presumed previous neglect, the Secretary of War began a massive refurbishment of the Springfield Armory in Massachusetts.[296]

Davis called for the construction of not just one but up to three transcontinental military railroads in a similar spirit.[297] Although the U.S. had thwarted British containment efforts by acquiring California, which was poised "to assume the command of the whole commerce of the Pacific, and of those vast countries which lie beyond it," the Union's control over that state was militarily precarious.[298] Due to a dearth of transportation infrastructure and hostile Indians in the West, the quickest way to reach California was to sail to Central America, traverse a Central American country, and then take ship for the new state. But the Royal Navy could easily interdict U.S. seaborne traffic to and from California in a war, for British warships in the Gulf "skim along... and wait like birds of prey to swoop upon our commerce...," and "[w]e have seen Great Britain year after year extending her naval stations, until... she almost surrounds the Gulf

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[295] "From Henry K. Craig," April 14, 1854, *PJD*, 5:333. See "Jefferson Davis to Franklin Pierce: Report of the Secretary of War," War Department, December 1, 1856, *JDC*, 3:80. Also see "Jefferson Davis's Speech at Newark, N.J.," from the Washington, D.C., *Daily Union*, July 23, 1853, *JDC*, 2:253.

[296] "To Charles J. McDonald," April 13, 1854, *PJD*, 5:270. See "From Augustus A. Hayes," December 1, 1855, *PJD*, 5:469; "To Franklin Pierce," February 25, 1856, *PJD*, 6:413; "From Henry K. Craig," October 15, 1856, *PJD*, 6:508; "To Franklin Pierce," War Department, Washington, D.C., December 1, 1856, *PJD*, 6:73, 76-77; *PJD*, 5:437, and *PJD*, 6:417. Also see "Speech of Jefferson Davis at Wilmington, Del.," from the Washington, D.C. *Union*, Friday, July 15, 1853, *JDC*, 2:238. Davis, moreover, disliked "to connect the Government work with the projects of individuals and companies," but an exception to that rule was the Colt factory in Hartford, Connecticut, for he admired the "complicated machinery" which produced Colt's "repeating pistols" and was delighted to receive from Colt "a pistol, on the silver breach of which they engraved the words, 'To a brother inventor.'" "To Franklin Pierce," June 18, 1853, *PJD*, 5:219; "Speech of Jefferson Davis at Hartford, Conn.," from the Washington, D.C. *Union*, September 10, 1853, *JDC*, 2:262; Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 1:526; and *PJD*, 3:17.

[297] See "Speech of Jefferson Davis at Philadelphia," from the Washington, D.C. *Union*, July 17, 1853, *JDC*, 2:243. Davis established the Office of Pacific Railroad Explorations and Surveys to that end. See *PJD*, 6:95, 439-40.

[298] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on Compromise Bill of June 28, 1850," *JDC*, 1:388; see "Speech of Jefferson Davis delivered in the House Feb. 6, 1846, on the Oregon question," *JDC*, 1:29.

of Mexico."[299] Many non-white Central Americans, moreover, were pro-British and hostile to the U.S. soldiers and civilians transiting their countries. Amos B. Corwine was an Ohio Democrat who served under Davis in the Mexican War. Davis helped him become the U.S. consul in Panama, and Corwine notified him as to "an Englishman who assumed to cast slurs upon our people crossing the Isthmus en route to California, and upon the institution of slavery as it exists in the United States."[300] Davis, for his part, had been urging Congress to fund a navy strong enough to "obtain command of the sea," advocating federal funding as well for infrastructure projects in Panama and Nicaragua together with U.S. land purchases in Tehuantepec, Mexico to build Union-controlled railroads across Central America.[301] He also advocated the creation of a federal mint in California and an additional "western national armory."[302] Declaring that coastal forts and harbor facilities were "essential adjuncts to other means of national defence, and intimately connected with the maintenance of a navy," Davis upgraded the ordnance at Alcatraz too.[303] Yet the Royal Navy could still attack California with ease while cutting off U.S. reinforcements, inducing the southern railroad promoter and Davis Democrat William Anderson to inform the Secretary of War in 1856 that the London *Times* was boasting on behalf of the "English monarchical and monied aristocracy" that, in the event of a

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[299] "Speech of Jefferson Davis before the State Democratic Convention held in Jackson, Mississippi January 3, 1844 for the purpose of sending delegates to the National Convention of the party and for the selection of presidential electors," from the *Mississippian*, January 12, 1844, *JDC*, 1:8; and "Remarks on the Occupation of Yucatan," May 5, 1848, *PJD*, 3:319.

[300] "Amos B. Corwine to Jefferson Davis," Panama, December 31, 1857, *JDC*, 3:128. See "Amos B. Corwine to Jefferson Davis," Panama, March 10, 1853, *JDC*, 2:187-89; and *PJD*, 5:470.

[301] "Jefferson Davis to Franklin Pierce: Report of the Secretary of War," War Department, Washington, D.C., December 3, 1855, *JDC*, 2:569. See "Remarks of Jefferson Davis in the Senate Jan. 21, 1849, on the bill to aid the construction of the proposed railroad across the Isthmus of Panama," *JDC*, 1:223-24; *PJD* 3:452; and *PJD*, 5:480.

[302] "Jefferson Davis to Franklin Pierce: Report of the Secretary of War," War Department, Washington, D.C., December 1, 1853, *JDC*, 2:330. See "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on bill to establish a branch mint at New York. May 27, 1850," *JDC*, 1:353; and "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on Compromise Bill of June 28, 1850," *JDC*, 1:395.

[303] "Jefferson Davis to Franklin Pierce: Report of the Secretary of War," War Department, Washington, D.C., December 1, 1853, *op. cit.*, 2:324. See "Jefferson Davis to Franklin Pierce: Report of the Secretary of War," War Department, Washington, D.C., December 3, 1855, *op. cit.*, 2:562; *PJD*, 5:296, and *PJD*, 6:429.

war, "'San Francisco would be… the immediate prize of our Pacific Squadron,'" while "[f]rom Portland to Charleston, it affirmed 'every great city would be in ruins by our bombardments.'"[304]

A transcontinental railroad, however, would, Davis claimed, allow "munitions of war and men" to "be thrown upon the Pacific for its defence" unhindered by Britain.[305] Such a railroad, moreover, would allow the U.S. to extend "settlements in a continuous chain from sea to sea," thus "completely break[ing] the power of the Indian tribes along the route and for great distances north and south of it...."[306] Transcontinental railroads were thus military necessities covered by "the war power of the government."[307] As a result, Davis hoped to build them "through the instrumentality of the Government exclusively," and if assistance from corporations proved necessary, he would insist that they work under the supervision of military officers.[308] Yet much to his frustration, Radicals once again accused him of "stretching the powers of the federal government beyond their legitimate sphere" even though a southern "railroad route to San Diego" would spur exports from the South to Asia.[309] Davis also wanted to build a southern transcontinental railroad to counteract northern Whig migration to the Pacific coast. He had been pleasantly surprised to see California become a strongly Democratic state which

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[304] "William Anderson to Jefferson Davis," Washington, D.C., February 27, 1856, *JDC*, 2:606.

[305] "Speech of Jefferson Davis at Philadelphia," from the Washington, *Union*, July 17, 1853, *JDC*, 2:244. See "To James W. Denver," War Department, Washington, D.C., March 2, 1857, *PJD*, 6:106; *PJD*, 4:369; and *PJD*, 6:426.

[306] "Jefferson Davis to Franklin Pierce: Report of the Secretary of War," War Department, Washington, D.C., December 1, 1853, *JDC*, 2:317; and "Jefferson Davis to J. M. Sandidge," War Department, Washington, D.C., January 29. 1856, *JDC*, 2:590. See "To William H. Bissell," War Department, Washington, D.C., February 14, 1854, *PJD*, 5:58.

[307] "Speech of Jefferson Davis at Philadelphia," *op. cit.*, 2:244.

[308] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis in the Senate Jan. 21, 1849, on the bill to aid the construction of the proposed railroad across the Isthmus of Panama," *JDC*, 1:222. See "Jefferson Davis to John H. Dickerson," War Department, Washington, D.C., May 27, 1856, *JDC*, 3:41-43; and "To James W. Denver," War Department, Washington, D.C., March 2, 1857, *PJD*, 6:107-108.

[309] "Speech at Philadelphia," July 12, 1853, *PJD*, 5:29; and "Jefferson Davis to the People of Mississippi," Warren County, Mississippi, September 25, 1851, *JDC*, 2:89. See "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on Compromise Bill of June 28, 1850," *JDC*, 1:389; "Old Virginia," "Jefferson Davis and the Pacific Railway," from the Washington, D.C. *Union*, July 31, 1853, *JDC*, 2:257, 259, 261; "William Anderson to Jefferson Davis," Washington D.C., February 27, 1856, *JDC*, 2:606; and Jere W. Roberson, "The South and the Pacific Railroad, 1845-1855," *The Western Historical Quarterly*, vol. 5, no. 2 (April 1974), 163-86.

implemented white supremacy in particularly harsh ways despite its ban on slavery, and one of his allies in San Francisco accordingly sent him "an Editorial of our Democratic Organ in this city defending you from a despicable attack of a pigmy whig paper published at Marysville."[310] In 1856, however, a Californian correspondent told him that ever-more "northern abolitionists" were sailing from New England and threatening to change the state's party affiliation, a trend which railroad-borne settlers from the South, West, and lower North would reverse.[311] Yet even as Davis insisted that a southern route should be undertaken first as the easiest potential passage, he always wanted a northern route built to challenge "the British possessions."[312] Given that "one of the most effective elements of military power must be rail roads leading from the Seat of population and supply to assailable points on our frontier," he endorsed a bill "to aid the territory of Minnesota in constructing a Rail Road for military postal or other purposes," called for a railroad to be built across "the country between Lake Superior and Mississippi River" as "an element of military Strength," drew up plans for railroad-based military operations on the "Northern frontier," and upgraded the military road linking the Dalles to Columbia Barracks.[313]

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[310] "From Samuel W. Inge," "(Private)," San Francisco, October 16, 1854, *PJD*, 5:87-88. See Philip P. Choy, "Golden Mountain of Lead: The Chinese Experience in California," *California Historical Quarterly*, vol. 50, no. 3 (September 1971), 267-76; Tomas Almaguer, *Racial Faultlines: The Historical Origins of White Supremacy in California* (1994; reprint, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2008); Benjamin Madley, "California's Yuki Indians: Defining Genocide in Native American History," *The Western Historical Quarterly*, vol. 39, no. 3 (Autumn 2008), 303-32; and Michael F. Magliari, "Free State Slavery: Bound Indian Labor and Slave Trafficking in California's Sacramento Valley, 1850-1864," *Pacific Historical Review*, vol. 81, no. 2 (May 2012), 155-192. The presence of "laborers of an inferior race elevated the white man," Davis insisted, and such laborers necessarily had have to be slaves. "Speech at Mississippi City," October 2, 1857, *PJD*, 6:147.

[311] "From Lewis Sanders, Jr.," Sacramento, November 1, 1855, *PJD*, 5:131. See ibid., 5:132.

[312] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Pacific Railroad bill. Jan. 11, 1859," *JDC*, 3:380. See "To James W. Denver," War Department, Washington, D.C., March 2, 1857, *PJD*, 6:107; "To Andrew A. Humphreys or Gouverneur K. Warren," Portland, July 14, 1858, *PJD*, 6:201-03; and *PJD*, 6:109, 520.

[313] "To William H. Bissell," War Department, Washington, D.C., February 14, 1854, *PJD*, 5:57-58; and "To Thomas J. Jesup," November 7, 1854, *PJD*, 5:384. See *PJD*, 5:473. Davis also called for the construction of a $20.8 million railroad that would require "two tunnels" and link San Diego, Los Angeles, and San Francisco. "Jefferson Davis to Franklin Pierce: Report of the Secretary of War," War Department, Washington, D.C., December 1, 1856, *JDC*, 3:89. He wanted to build a railroad "from Benicia to Vancouver" as well. "To Franklin Pierce," War Department, Washington, D.C., December 1, 1856, *PJD*, 6:85. See ibid., 6:80, 82; and *PJD*, 6:531.

Secretary of War Davis's proposed transcontinental railroads, then, were meant to be weapons against Britain, the final expulsion of which from the Americas would be "the culminating point of our national destiny."[314] To that end, he urged Pierce to probe any and all weak points in Britain's Union-surrounding empire. Davis worked in close coordination with the North Carolinian Secretary of the Navy James C. Dobbin to construct more than a dozen first-class steam frigates, several of which participated in Commodore Matthew C. Perry's 1852-54 naval expeditions to challenge British naval hegemony in the Pacific by badgering Japan into granting the U.S. coaling stations, favorable trade terms, and ports of refuge.[315] Davis, moreover, hoped to stir up British-dominated Hawaii by recommending his "personal and political friend" the "zealous" Democrat Alfred G. Haley for the Honolulu consulship.[316] Commodore Jones, after all, had departed for Hawaii in 1843 after seizing Monterey upon learning that the British captain Lord George Paulet had overthrown the Hawaiian government as a prelude to direct conquest. His U.S. Pacific Squadron brokered a truce and helped restore King Kamehameha III after the British government disowned Paulet's deeds in July 1843. The U.S. flag flew alongside Hawaii's at the ensuing celebrations while Britain's was nowhere to be found, but the Union's influence there had, in Davis's view, declined thereafter thanks to Charles

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[314] "Speech of Jefferson Davis at the Crystal Palace Banquet in New York," from the Washington, D.C. *Union*, July 20, 1853, *JDC*, 2:249. See "Speech of Jefferson Davis at Wilmington, Del.," from the Washington, D.C. *Union*, July 15, 1853, *JDC*, 2:237.

[315] See "From James Gadsden," "(Private)," Mexico, July 19, 1854, *PJD*, 5:80; "Jefferson Davis to Henry C. Wayne," War Department, Washington May 10, 1855, *JDC*, *JDC*, 2:461; Francis Hawks, *Narrative of the Expedition of an American Squadron to the China Seas and Japan Performed in the Years 1852, 1853 and 1854 under the Command of Commodore M. C. Perry, United States Navy* (Washington, D.C.: A.O.P. Nicholson, 1856); "Speech at Jackson," May 29, 1857, *PJD*, 6:121; and Brooke, Jr. *John M. Brooke*, 114, 116.

[316] "To Franklin Pierce," February 13, 1853, *PJD*, 5:152.

Reed Bishop and other New England merchants of Federalist descent who had intermarried with the local non-white aristocracy and seemed to want Hawaii to remain a British client state.[317]

Wresting Cuba from the ruling Spanish regime, moreover, was a personal matter for Davis, who had been unceremoniously expelled from the island in the late 1830s. Recuperating his physical and mental health there after Sarah Knox Taylor's death, he had been taken for a spy because "with clinging memory and affection for his old profession he liked to look at the troops drilling...."[318] He and Calhoun had both encouraged Narciso López in private consultations as there was no other way for the U.S. to acquire Cuba with the Whigs controlling the federal government.[319] In 1852, however, Davis helped send an actual spy to Cuba, namely, the Havana consul Alexander M. Clayton, a University of Mississippi trustee and future Confederate congressman whom Davis would appoint to a Confederate District Judgeship.[320] Clayton regrettably informed him in late 1853 that Cuba's "Creole Patriots" were intimidated by Spanish military power.[321] As a result, Davis convinced Pierce to issue the 1854 "Ostend Manifesto," which declared that the Union ought to invade Cuba if Spain would not sell the island to the U.S. for $100 million. The Spanish government, however, called the Pierce's bluff, and Davis believed that it did so with Britain's full support.[322] Yet the Pierce administration was able to

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[317] See "Capt. Lord George Paulet to His Majesty Kamehameha III," H.B.M. Ship *Carysfort*, Honolulu Harbor, February 16, 1843, in *British and Foreign State Papers, 1842-1843*, vol. 31 (London: James Ridgway and Sons, 1858); Harold Winfield Kent, *Charles Reed Bishop: Man of Hawaii* (Honolulu: Kamehameha Schools Press, 1958); Brooke, Jr., *John M. Brooke*, 6-7, 9, 13-15, 17; Julie Stewart Williams, *Princess Bernice Pauahi Bishop* (Honolulu: Kamehameha Schools Press, 1999); and Gene A. Smith, *Thomas ap Catesby Jones: Commodore of Manifest Destiny* (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 2000).
[318] Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 1:165.
[319] See Chaffin, *Fatal Glory*, 46-48.
[320] See David G. Sansing, *The University of Mississippi: A Sesquicentennial History* (Oxford: University of Mississippi Press, 1990), 30.
[321] "Alex. M. Clayton to Jefferson Davis," Steam Ship *Black Warrior*, December 17, 1853, *JDC*, 2:333. When Clayton resigned due to yellow fever, moreover, Davis sought to replace him with the 1st Mississippi Infantry veteran Christopher H. Mott, whom Davis called a "worthy Democrat and true man." Quoted in *PJD*, 5:153.
[322] See "Speech at Vicksburg," June 6, 1855, *PJD*, 5:108; "Speech at Warrenton," June 16, 1855, from the Baton Rouge *Daily Advocate*, June 28, 1855, *PJD*, 5:435; "To Thomas S. Jesup," Washington, D.C., March 19, 1856, *PJD*, 6:18-19; and "Speech at Mississippi City," October 2, 1857, *PJD*, 6:144.

purchase more land from Mexico for $10 million in 1854 thanks to South Carolina's James Gadsden, who received his appointment as the U.S. minister to Mexico largely thanks to Davis.[323] Gadsden, for his part, had served as an officer under Andrew Jackson during the War of 1812 and Florida invasion. He also organized the first Seminole deportation, became one of Calhoun's close allies, and promoted southern railroads. His purchase of a land strip in northern Mexico was meant to facilitate the construction of a southern transcontinental railroad, and declaring in an 1854 letter that the West Indies were "rapidly lapsing into barbarism" thanks to "ultra Abolitionists," he confided to Davis that his great ambition was to see the Union "protect the white race" there and become more "homogeneous[ly]" white in the process by expelling Britain from the West Indies, to which the bulk of the South's slaves would eventually be sent.[324]

As the acting Secretary of the Navy in 1853, Davis also ordered U.S. warships to pay frequent calls at Panama to protect transiting U.S. citizens there at Amos B. Corwine's request, and when over a dozen of them were killed there in the 1856 "Watermelon War" by a largely black mob, Davis hailed Pierce's decision to skirt the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty by stationing U.S. navy vessels off Panama to collect reparations and protect U.S. citizens.[325] Furthermore, when a black Nicaraguan boatman was shot to death in an 1854 dispute with a U.S. captain, a riot ensued in which the U.S. ambassador to Nicaragua was injured. Pierce, in turn, ordered the U.S.S. *Cyane* to bombard Greytown, which was the largest settlement inside Britain's Mosquito Coast protectorate within Nicaragua, a protectorate which was officially meant to shield blacks and

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[323] See "From James Gadsden," May 14, 1853, *PJD*, 5:198.
[324] "From James Gadsden," "(Private)," Mexico, July 19, 1854, *PJD*, 5:79-80. See John C. Parish, "James Gadsden: A Project for a California Slave Colony in 1851," *The Huntington Library Bulletin*, no. 8 (October 1935), 171-75; and Louis Bernard Schmidt, "Manifest Opportunity and the Gadsden Purchase," *Arizona and the West*, vol. 3, no. 3 (Autumn 1961), 245-64.
[325] See *PJD*, 5:216; and Robert C. Harding, *The History of Panama* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2006), 21.

Indians from rapacious white Nicaraguans.[326] Despite a flurry of retaliatory threats from the British, Pierce refused to apologize and even recognized a fledgling regime in Nicaragua forged by the Tennessee filibuster William Walker, who conquered the Mosquito Coast along with the rest of the country in 1856 after defeating the pro-hierarchy among whites Legitimists, inaugurating a new order based upon equality among whites and pro-slavery white supremacy.[327] Britain soon organized and funded a coalition of Central American states to overthrow him, prompting Davis to hail him as the embodiment of "American skill and courage" and declare that he "had not abandoned hope that victory would yet remain with Walker and his gallant band."[328]

The Pierce administration, in fact, went to the ends of the earth to antagonize Britain. Pierce not only considered purchasing a naval base from a cash-strapped Monaco to issue a symbolic challenge to British naval dominance in the Mediterranean, but also signed a treaty of peace and trade with Persia on the eve of the 1856-57 Anglo-Persian War, a treaty which Senator Davis would vote to ratify in 1857.[329] And when Davis's friend the prominent Pennsylvanian champion of U.S. expansion and revenue as opposed to protective tariffs George M. Dallas, who had been vice president under Polk, was appointed minister to Britain in 1856, he promptly conveyed Pierce's demand for the British ambassador to the Union Sir John Crampton to resign or be recalled for recruiting U.S. citizens to serve in the British army during the Crimean War.[330]

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[326] See Craig L. Dozier, *Nicaragua's Mosquito Shore: The Years of British and American Presence* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2002).
[327] See Randall O. Hudson, "The Filibuster Minister: The Career of John Hill Wheeler as United States Minister to Nicaragua, 1854-1856," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, vol. 49, no. 3 (July 1972), 280-97.
[328] "Speech at Vicksburg," May 18, 1857, *PJD*, 6:119.
[329] See *PJD*, 5:32; *PJD*, 6:542; and Lars Schoultz, *Beneath the United States: A History of US Policy toward Latin America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998), 69.
[330] For Davis's friendship with Dallas, with whom he shared a hatred for "the virulent and unscrupulous character of the enemy," see "Jefferson Davis to George M. Dallas," Washington, D.C., December 16, 1849, *JDC*, 1:247. Dallas also recommended one of Secretary of War Davis's young Pennsylvanian admirers for a West Point cadetship. "From George M. Dallas," December 28 1856, *PJD*, 6:519. Also see Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 1:542-43; Bruce Ambacher, "George M. Dallas, Cuba, and the Election of 1856," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. 97, no. 3 (July 1973), 318-32; and John M. Belohlavek, *George Mifflin Dallas: Jacksonian Patrician* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1977).

Anglophobic Democrats throughout the Union who were unfriendly to both Van Buren and the Radicals hailed the Pierce administration for its anti-British policies. Davis had once resided with his "friend and guardian" Joseph Ficklin the Democratic postmaster of Lexington as a student at Kentucky's prestigious Transylvania University, of which Ficklin was a trustee.[331] And Ficklin wrote to him in 1853 warning of various British conspiracies to harm the Union.[332] Taliaferro P. Shaffner of the St. Louis & New Orleans Telegraph Company, moreover, warned Davis that Britain was spying on the U.S. by tapping telegraphs, and Thomas J. McKaig of the Cumberland, Maryland Continentals militia requested muskets from the War Department for an impending "fight with Lord Palmerston."[333] Davis expected no less from proper Democrats, of course, but he was both delighted and surprised to learn that his "friends" were now strongly "in the ascendant" within the northern Democracy, for many pro-Van Buren defectors proved willing to "support the administration and uphold the avowed principles of our party" in order to re-join the party, and he was open to giving them amnesty, as it were, even as he warned "that the true democracy may crush any disintegrating faction which goes into coalition with the whigs."[334] Embarking on an 1853 speaking tour of the North with Pierce "to unite (& strengthen) the Democracy," he was greeted with applause time and again as he denounced Radicals for "unmanly inactivity" while asserting that every state possessed the right to initiate a

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[331] Quoted in William Cooper, Jr., *Jefferson Davis, American* (New York: Vintage, 2001), 29.
[332] See "From Joseph Ficklin," July 2, 1853, *PJD*, 5:226.
[333] "From Taliaferro P. Shaffner," December 28, 1854, *PJD*, 5:393; and "From Thomas J. McKaig," November 26, 1855, *PJD*, 5:441. See "From Hendley S. Bennett, March 19, 1853, *PJD*, 5:168; "From Leroy Patillo," Monroe, Georgia, February 1, 1856, *PJD*, 6:411; and "From Henry Beidleman," April 12, 1856, *PJD*, 6:460. Michael Dohenny of New York City, moreover, proudly informed Davis that he and his fellow Irish-Americans could immediately furnish at least three volunteer companies in the event of a "rupture with England." "From Michael Dohenny," New York City, February 27, 1856, *PJD*, 6:426.
[334] "Jefferson Davis to Stephen Cocke," Washington D.C., December 19, 1853, *JDC*, 2:337; and "Jefferson Davis to B. Tucker," Washington, D.C., October 8, 1853, *JDC*, 2:271, 273.

white supremacist emancipation within its borders.[335] He was even greeted with enthusiasm in Boston itself. Massachusetts had been one of the few states to vote for the Whigs in 1852, but Davis's hope that the spirit of "the earlier and more glorious portions of her history" would revive seemed to be coming true, for his fellow West Point alumnus the Bostonian William Raymond Lee promised to tender his Boston-to-Lake Champlain railroad to the War Department in case of a war with Britain and avowed that many a Massachusetts Whig would do likewise.[336]

With the Democracy having ceased to be so many "disintegrated particles" and become "one harmonious mass" capable of exercising "concentrated power," Davis was eager to crush the Whigs entirely and return to the one-party rule of the Era of Good Feelings.[337] Like Calhoun, he thought that "the conflict of parties" was disastrous for the nation, condemning politicians who sought office as an end in itself and for whom "politics sink to a trade and elections become an unworthy struggle for place...."[338] The Union, he believed, needed a consensus as to the meaning of the nation's character, Constitution, and destiny, a consensus in which "true americanism" would be one and same as "sterling Democracy."[339] Davis therefore hoped to see "increasing fraternity at home, until that miserable faction which has disturbed the peace of the Union shall be crushed beneath the heel of patriotism, which long since should have ground it

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[335] "To Eli Abbot," Washington, D.C., April 17, 1853, *PJD*, 5:9; and "Jefferson Davis's Speech at Newark, N.J.," from the Washington, D.C. *Union*, July 23, 1853, *JDC*, 2:255. See "Speech at Wilmington," from the Washington, D.C. *Union*, July 15, 1853, *PJD*, 5:229; "Jefferson Davis's Speech at Newark, N. J.," *op. cit.*, 2:252; and "To James A. Turner," from the Washington, D.C. *Union*, October 13, 1853, *PJD*, 5:261.

[336] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis in regard to the fugitive slave law. Feb. 24, 1851," *JDC*, 2:40. See "From William Raymond Lee," November 16, 1855, *PJD*, 5:467. Also see "Speech of Jefferson Davis at Hartford, Conn.," from the Washington, D.C. *Union*, September 10, 1853, *JDC*, 2:262.

[337] "Speech of Jefferson Davis at the Democratic State Convention at Jackson, Mississippi, January 8, 1852," from the *Southern Press*, February 12, 1852, *JDC*, 2:117.

[338] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Compromise Bill. July 31, 1850," *JDC*, 1:433; and "Speech of Jefferson Davis in the Democratic State Convention," from the Columbus *Democrat*, August 1, 1849, *JDC*, 1:238. See "Jefferson Davis to Stephen Cocke," Brierfield, Mississippi, August 2, 1849, JDC, 1:245; and "Jefferson Davis to William J. Brown" Washington D. C., May 7, 1853, *JDC*, 2:218.

[339] Quoted in *PJD*, 5:153.

unto dust."[340] Exulting that the threat posed by the northern Whigs was not "so serious as many of us – and I among the number – once supposed" thanks to the verdict rendered by "the great mass of the patriotic people" in 1852, he held that it was now time to finally smash the Whig and Radical Anglophiles of both the North and South, for "[w]e are not Anglo-Saxons, nor Anglo-Normans, and should acknowledge no more remote source than our nation's birth" in 1776.[341]

To that end, Davis sought to bring the "Cotton" Whigs who detested Radical state's rights and favored federal internal improvements but were becoming increasingly uncomfortable with the Anglophile and pro-abolitionist tendencies of "Conscience" Whigs into the Democracy, isolating and crippling the Conscience Whigs in the process.[342] He therefore welcomed President Tyler's old ally the Massachusetts Cotton Whig Caleb Cushing into the fold as Pierce's attorney general, in which capacity Cushing ruled that U.S. officers could confiscate private property to build military roads and commiserated with Davis when the government lost Battery Bienvenu and Tower Dupre near New Orleans to a wealthy civilian claimant.[343] At the same time, Davis purged the government of adamant Whig employees, terminations of whom on purely political grounds he would later conveniently overlook when boasting of his meritocratic

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[340] "Speech of Jefferson Davis at Wilmington, Del.," from the Washington, D.C. *Union*, July 15, 1853, *JDC*, 2:23.

[341] Ibid.,, 2:23; and "Jefferson Davis's Speech at Newark, N.J.," from the Washington, D.C. *Union*, July 23, 1853, *JDC*, 2:255. See "Jefferson Pierce to James Buchanan," Warren County, Mississippi, June 29, 1857, *JDC*, 3:117.

[342] See Kinley J. Brauer, *Cotton Versus Conscience: Massachusetts Whig Politics and Southwestern Expansion, 1843-1848* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1967). As one of Davis's correspondents explained, many a northerner was "a good silver Grey whig – almost a democrat." "From H. J. McCollum," Albion, New York, August 23, 1853, *PJD*, 5:208.

[343] See *PJD*, 6:405-06, 445. Also see "To Jacob Paoili," May 19, 1856, *PJD*, 6:458; "To Henry M. Rice," April 18, 1856, *PJD*, 6:462; and Soeur M. Michael Catherine Hodgson (O.P.), *Caleb Cushing: Attorney General of the United States, 1853-1857* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1955). Cushing also held that postmasters did not have to disseminate abolitionist publications, which advocated treason and civil insurrection. See "To Caleb Cushing," December 8, 1857, *PJD*, 6:164-65. Davis, moreover, was introduced to a Democratic Boston audience in 1858 by Cushing, who insisted that the inter-sectional Democracy was the only true expression of U.S. "nationality" in the Union and that Davis was destined for "the highest places in the executive government of the Union" as a "glorious" and "daring" leader who was "brave among the bravest in the battle-field" and a "master in the art of war." Davis, in turn, protested Cushing's flattery with false modesty, but he agreed with Cushing that the Union was originally not "thirteen countries" but rather "one country," and that Americans were bound "by ties of consanguinity" transcending section and other "local prejudices." "Address of Honorable Caleb Cushing," Boston, October 12, 1858, in Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 1:600-02, 605-06.

hiring practices in the War Department for the sake of equality among whites.[344] He thus sought to remove "an active, noisy, abolition Whig" as the Burlington, Vermont customs collector, and Democrats praised him for foiling "the Cooperators of abolitionism" who sought to make "the officers and agents of the Post Office Department, in effect, the agents and abettors of the mad Fanatics of the North in the circulation of their incendiary and insurrectionary publications...."[345] Davis, moreover, was already confident in 1850 that anti-abolitionism was "the feeling which I believe generally pervades the army," but to make sure a Harpers Ferry clerk was fired for "his being the recipient of abolition newspapers."[346] Democratic officers suggested ways by which the War Department might impede the pro-abolitionist press as well, and Davis also worked to retire such aging Whig officers as Winfield Scott, whom he subjected to many a petty indignity so as to induce a resignation.[347] Both Andrew Jackson and Secretary of War Calhoun, after all, had disliked "Old Fuss and Feathers," who had also been Taylor's rival during the Mexican War and the 1852 Whig presidential candidate.[348] Scott responded in kind to Davis's harassment, and their exchange of petty insults worsened when Scott based a claim for additional recompense on British army procedures and boasted that only his conduct "on the frontiers of Canada and New

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[344] See "Autobiography of Jefferson Davis," from *Belford's Magazine*, January, 1890, *JDC*, 1:xxvii; and "Jefferson Pierce to James Buchanan," *op. cit.*, 3:117. See Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 1:522-23.

[345] "From David A. Smalley," March 29, 1853, *PJD*, 5:174; and "Robert Bowman and Others to Jefferson Davis," Yazoo City, Mississippi, December 21, 1856, *JDC*, 3:104. See "From P. McMahon," April 25, 1853, *PJD*, 5:191; and "To James Guthrie," October 11, 1855, *PJD*, 5:459.

[346] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Compromise Bill. July 31, 1850," *JDC*, 1:432; and "From Henry K. Craig," January 9, 1856, *PJD*, 5:463. See Samuel J. Watson, "Manifest Destiny and Military Professionalism: Junior U.S. Army Officers' Attitudes toward War with Mexico, 1844-1846," *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, vol. 99, no. 4 (April, 1996), 467-98. Davis, though, did punish Democratic personnel who attempted to take advantage of his purges by targeting moderate or amenable Whig superior officers for petty personal reasons. See "From Norman B. Smith," July 9, 1856, *PJD*, 6:486; and ibid., 6:487.

[347] See "Jefferson Davis to Winfield Scott," War Department, Washington, D.C., May 11, 1853, *JDC*, 2:221; "Jefferson Davis to Winfield Scott," War Department, Washington, D.C., May 31, 1853, *JDC*, 2:230; "Jefferson Davis to Winfield Scott," War Department, Washington, D.C., May 22, 1854, *JDC*, 2:357-359; "From James G. Brown," December 13, 1854, *PJD*, 5:391; "Jefferson Davis to Winfield Scott," War Department, Washington, D.C., April 28, 1855, *JDC*, 2:460; "Jefferson Davis to Winfield Scott," Washington, D.C., July 25, 1855, *JDC*, 2:475; "Jefferson Davis to Winfield Scott," Washington, D.C., August 2, 1855, *JDC*, 2:487; "Jefferson Davis to Franklin Pierce: Report of the Secretary of War," War Department, Washington, D.C., December 3, 1855, *JDC*, 2:557; and "To Franklin Pierce," War Department, Washington, D.C., December 1, 1856, *PJD*, 6:70.

[348] See "From Richard M. Johnson," Great Crossing[s, Ky.,] 26th April 1819, *PJCC*, 4:38.

Brunswick" during the mid-to-late 1830s had spared the U.S. from being "plunged… into a formidable war."[349] Davis, in turn, blasted Scott for invoking Wellington's "ducal precedent" while "harping on your money claims," provoking Scott to call him an "enraged imbecile."[350] And because Pierce usually sided with Davis, Scott mocked the Secretary of War as "*The Favorite*" of the president.[351] Yet the Whig general did not resign and went on to devise U.S. grand strategy as the highest ranking Union officer in 1861 even though he was a Virginian.[352]

Davis, however, did bring a feud with another Whig icon to a more or less victorious conclusion. John Quincy Adams and Davis were both founding regents of the Smithsonian Institution, the federal incorporation of which in 1846 he supported against congressional Radicals and even Calhoun himself.[353] Davis's interest in science, though, always had a military dimension, and he insisted that the Smithsonian could only be constitutional if it augmented U.S. military power, condemning Adams's plans for the government to promote civilian-oriented science as consolidation.[354] Adams had also wanted the Smithsonian to promote Anglo-

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[349] "Winfield Scott to Jefferson Davis," Headquarters of the Army, New York, September 29, 1855, *JDC*, 2:592. See ibid., 2:602; "Winfield Scott to Jefferson Davis," Headquarters of the Army, New York, July 30, 1855, *JDC*, 2:476-77, 481; "Winfield Scott to Jefferson Davis," Headquarters of the Army, New York, August 6, 1855, *JDC*, 2:489; "Winfield Scott to Jefferson Davis" Headquarters of the Army, New York, September 29, 1855; and "Winfield Scott to Jefferson Davis," Headquarters of the Army, New York, January 31, 1856, *JDC*, 2:591. Also see Howard Jones, "Anglophobia and the Aroostook War," *New England Quarterly*, vol. 48, no. 4 (December 1975), 519–39.

[350] "Jefferson Davis to Winfield Scott," War Department, Washington, D.C., February 29, 1856, *JDC*, 3:3-4; and "Winfield Scott to Jefferson Davis," Headquarters of the Army, New York, May 21, 1856, *JDC*, 3:36.

[351] "Winfield Scott to Jefferson Davis," Headquarters of the Army, New York, March 20, 1856, *JDC*, 3:16.

[352] Scott also proudly provided federal regulars to guard Lincoln's inauguration. See Wayne Wei-siang Hsieh, "I Owe Virginia Little, My Country Much: Robert E. Lee, the United States Army, and Unconditional Unionism," in *Crucible of the Civil War*, 43.

[353] See "Notice of Appointment to a Select Committee on the Smithsonian Bequest and Institution," December 19, 1845, *PJD*, 2:397; and "Exchange with George W. Jones concerning the Select Committee's Bill to Establish the Smithsonian Institution," April 22, 1846, *PJD*, 2:563-64.

[354] See "John G. Poindexter to Jacob Thompson and Jefferson Davis," May 11, 1846, *PJD*, 2:584-88; "Remarks on Purchasing Astronomical Instruments," January 12, 1849, *PJD*, 4:3; "From Caleb Cushing," September 19, 1853, *PJD*, 5:253; "From Ezra Taylor," August 28, 1845 [1855], *PJD*, 2:322; "Address of Jefferson Davis at Faneuil Hall," Boston, October 12, 1858, in Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 1:632; and Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 1:549, 1:641-42. "From the foundation of the Government," Davis would later assert, "the party opposed to the Democracy, under its various names and issues had always evinced its tendency to centralization by the latitudinous

American friendship as the British scientist and philanthropist James Smithson intended, but after the former president and increasingly pro-abolitionist Whig congressman passed away in the late 1840s, Davis convinced Smithsonian scientists to cooperate with his Anglophobic War Department, lauding the efforts of the Smithsonian head Joseph Henry to facilitate "the manufacture of gunpowder" in the Union so as to reduce U.S. dependence on Britain.[355] It was thus rather ironic that John Quincy Adams once remarked of a rookie congressman Davis that "[t]hat young man, gentlemen, is no ordinary man. He will make his mark yet, mind me."[356]

One of Davis's correspondents informed him in 1853 that abolitionist-friendly Whigs had come to utterly hate and fear him, for Davis was determined to take the fight, as it were, into their New England strongholds as well as into the anti-slavery western territories which they were seeking to turn into abolitionist states.[357] When the Kansas territory within "our National domain" was opened to slavery as a result of the 1854 Kansas-Nebraska Act, Davis worked with his old Transylvania classmate the Missouri Democratic senator David R. Atchison to ensure that it would not become a pro-abolitionist Whig state by flooding the territory with so-called Border Ruffians from Missouri.[358] Notifying Davis that he had destroyed the influence of Missouri's Van Buren-style Democratic U.S. senator Thomas Hart Benton, Atchison boasted in 1854 that a united and ideologically pure Missouri Democracy would "not leave a grease spot of whiggery"

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construction of the powers delegated to the Federal Government." "Speech at Mississippi City," October 2, 1857, *PJD*, 6:153. See ibid., 6:151.

[355] "Jefferson Davis to Joseph Henry," War Department, Washington, D.C., June 10, 1856, *JDC*, 3:44. See "From H. A. Amelung," March 5, 1856, *PJD*, 6:435; and *PJD*, 5:379. Thanks to Henry, Davis was even able to amass a three-year-supply of gunpowder for a war with Britain. See "From Joseph Henry," December 4, 1856, *PJD*, 6:474; and *PJD*, 6:475, 518-19. Adams's allies within the Smithsonian, however, accused Davis's War Department of seeking to take the institution over by appropriating Smithsonian property without permission. See *PJD*, 6:411.

[356] Quoted in *PJD*, 2:397. See Paul E. Teed, *John Quincy Adams: Yankee Nationalist* (Hauppauge, NY: Nova Science Publishers, 2011), 160.

[357] "From Peter J. Sullivan," September 16, 1853, *PJD*, 5:252.

[358] "Jefferson Davis to Isaac I. Stevens," War Department, Washington, D.C., April 8, 1853, *JDC*, 2:200. "Among my college mates in Transylvania...," Davis recalled, was "a tall country boy, true-hearted and honest...." This "man of unswerving courage and stainless honor" was of David R. Atchison. "I loved him when we were boys," he added, "and he grew with growing years in all the graces of manhood." "Extract: Jefferson Davis, Ex-President of the Confederate States of America: A Memoir," Beauvoir, Mississippi, November, 1889, *PJD*, 1:lxxvii.

in the next elections, after which it would "hang" or drive out "the Boston Abolitionists" in Kansas who were, unlike the naïve or cowardly popular sovereignty Democrats there, seeking to "Abolitionise Kansas" by encouraging free or enslaved blacks to come there and become citizens.[359] Davis agreed that Atchison "should not allow the Abolitionists to Colonise Kansas by emigrant societies without making an effort to counteract it by throwing in a Southern population, and so of New Mexico."[360] Yet when the "Boston Abolitionists" refused to leave Kansas and the territory devolved into civil war, he ordered out the army to supersede Atchison's unruly ruffians, insisting in 1856 that U.S. soldiers had been "compelled to take the field."[361] Abolitionists from New England were in "open rebellion against the laws and constitutional authorities" of Kansas, manifesting "a purpose to spread devastation over the land as no longer justifies further hesitation or indulgence." "[P]atriotism and humanity alike," he thus intoned, "require that rebellion should be promptly crushed...."[362] After all, when Boston abolitionists refused to return the fugitive slave Anthony Burns in 1854 and state officials took no action, Davis had declared that "the employment of the United States troops on such duty" was now an unfortunate necessity, placed the city under martial law, and sent marines to apprehend Burns.[363]

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[359] "From David R. Atchinson," Platte City, September 24, 1854, *PJD*, 5:83-84. See "From David R. Atchison," Platte City, February 26, 1856, *PJD*, 6:12-13.
[360] "To William R. Cannon," December 7, 1855, *PJD*, 5:142.
[361] "Jefferson Davis to Franklin Pierce: Report of the Secretary of War," War Department, Washington, D.C., December 1, 1856, *JDC*, 3:98. See "Jefferson Davis to Cols. Sumner and Cooke," War Department, Washington, D.C., February 15, 1856, from the *Mississippi Free Trader*, March 12, 1856, *JDC*, 2:603-04; and "On Kansas Affairs," War Department, Washington, D.C., September 23, 1856, *PJD*, 6:47.
[362] "Jefferson Davis to Persifor F. Smith," War Department, Washington, D.C., September 3, 1856, *JDC*, 3:58-59. See "From William H. Russell," Leavenworth, Kansas, September 12, 1856, *PJD*, 6:480. The government was obligated, Davis held, to meet "dangers *domestic* as well as foreign," both of which ostensibly stemmed from abolitionist Britain. "To Franklin Pierce," Brierfield, Mississippi, July 23, 1857, *PJD*, 6:132. See ibid., 6:419-20.
[363] "To Benjamin F. Hallett," War Department, Washington, D.C., July 9, 1853, *PJD*, 5:27. See "Jefferson Davis to D. B. Clayton," Washington, D.C., August 3, 1855, from the *Mississippi Free Trader*, September 5, 1855, *JDC*, 2:488; "To Franklin Pierce," War Department, Washington, D.C., December 1, 1856, *PJD*, 6:90-91; "Speech at Jackson," May 29, 1857, *PJD*, 6:122; and "Speech at Mississippi City," October 2, 1857, *PJD*, 6:147. Also see Earl M. Maltz, *Fugitive Slave on Trial: The Anthony Burns Case and Abolitionist Outrage* (Lawrence: Kansas University Press, 2010).

Davis was pleased to learn from a correspondent in 1854 that the collapsing Whigs were undergoing schisms, for while he expected the new factions to rise from the party's ruins to be even more openly pro-abolitionist than the Conscience Whigs, he thought they would be trivial in size and influence rather than "a horde of black republicans and knownothings."[364] The latter group emerged in visceral reaction to the Anglophobia and anti-abolitionist excesses of the Catholic-friendly Pierce administration. Likening southern slavery to Catholicism as barbaric atavisms was an old tradition among the heirs of New England Federalism.[365] As John Quincy Adams's London-born wife observed in the wake of a rumored 1820 slave insurrection, "[s]ome recommend a general whipping of all the Blacks and even suggest the torture to force confession – We must not talk now of Inquisitions as a [black] boy who was suspected of robbery a short time since was actually thumb screwed and afterwards hung up by the neck until he gave up some names and acknowledged a crime which he probably never committed…."[366] Massachusetts Know-Nothings built on that tradition: "Roman Catholicism and slavery alike being founded and supported on the basis of ignorance and tyranny… be it Resolved, That there can exist no real hostility to Roman Catholicism which does not embrace slavery, its natural co-worker in opposition to freedom and republican institutions."[367] Because Pro-abolitionist Know-Nothing secret societies in the North advocated inequality among whites by insisting that the Union was meant to be an Anglo-Saxon Protestant society, Davis reiterated that "[f]reedom of

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[364] "Speech at Jackson," May 29, 1857, *PJD*, 6:121. See "From J. Walter Philips," June 1, 1854, *PJD*, 5:347.
[365] Democrats, Davis noted, "have continually new forms of opposition to encounter. That opposition seems to cast its name with the same facility that a snakes does its skin; but it is ever the same federalism...." "Speech at Jackson," May 29, 1857, *PJD*, 6:124. One of Davis's correspondents, moreover, described the Know-Nothings as "our old enemies, under a new garb." "From Richard Griffith," June 23, 1855, *PJD*, 5:437.
[366] "Louisa Catherine Johnson Adams to John Adams," [November 22, 1820-December 4, 1820], Adams Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.
[367] Quoted in Henesey, *American Catholics*, 145.

conscience and freedom of suffrage are the birthright of the American citizen."[368] Denouncing their "dangerous and odious heresies" such as a proposed "religious test" for office-holding designed to exclude Catholics, he observed that Know-Nothings embraced Anglo-Protestant immigrants from the British Empire, sometimes accepted non-Anglo Protestant whites, shunned non-Anglo Catholic whites, and even went so far at times as to declare their preference for black Protestants *vis-à-vis* Irish Catholics.[369] By assailing the reputation and rights of "naturalized citizens" like the Irish Catholic immigrant Democrats whom Know-Nothings especially loathed, "the clap-trap of Know-Nothingism" was, Davis insisted, at once the "lowest in tone" and most virulent threat to equality among whites and white supremacy heretofore seen in the Union.[370]

Vice President Millard Fillmore of New York assumed the presidency when Taylor died, and his unwillingness to pressure Spain to spare López and his "gallant band of brave youths" from the gibbet fueled Davis's suspicions that he was an Anglophile abolitionist.[371] When Fillmore emerged as a Know-Nothings at the head of the, in Secretary of War's view, grossly miscalled American Party, Davis condemned him as an heir "of federalism" and declared that Know-Nothings were "the instrument of despotism" as admirers of Britain.[372] The Know-Nothings helped wrest Congress away from the Democrats in the mid-term elections, dashed Pierce's hopes for re-election, and made electoral inroads in Mississippi itself, prompting

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[368] "Jefferson Davis to Barksdale and Jones," Brierfield, Mississippi, February 2, 1852, from the Yazoo *Democrat*, February 18, 1852, *JDC*, 2:131.

[369] "To William R. Cannon," December 7, 1855, *PJD*, 5:141. See Dean B. Mahin, *The Blessed Place of Freedom: Europeans in Civil War America* (Dulles, VA: Brassey's, 2002), 4; and *PJD*, 6:4-5. Also see Tyler Anbinder, *Nativism & Slavery: The Northern Know Nothings & the Politics of the 1850s* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992).

[370] "Speech at Mississippi City," October 2, 1857, *PJD*, 6:153; and "Speech at Pass Christian," from the New Orleans *Daily Delta*, October 13, 1857, *PJD*, 6:550. See *PJD*, 6:482.

[371] "Speech of Jefferson Davis at the Democratic State Convention at Jackson, Mississippi, January 8, 1852," from the *Southern Press*, February 12, 1852, *JDC*, 2:123. See "Speech at Mississippi City," October 2, 1857, *op. cit.*, 6:144.

[372] "Speech at Jackson," June 9, 1852, *PJD*, 4:261; and "Jefferson Davis to Barksdale and Jones," Brierfield, Mississippi, February 2, 1852, from the Yazoo *Democrat*, February 18, 1852, *JDC*, 2:131. Secretary of War Davis also made sure to exclude pro-Know-Nothing firms from federal contracts. See "From Washington citizens," [recd. September 2, 1856], *PJD*, 6:498; and *PJD*, 5:452.

Davis's friend William Stamps to observe in the wake of a large 1855 brawl in New Orleans between Democrats and Know-Northings that, "if the K. N. ticket succeeds, I cannot see any thing but confusion and Riot and it seems to me a dissolution of the United States with lines distinctly drawn and never again to be united."[373] Davis, for his part, regarded the rise of the Know-Nothings as "both saddening and disgusting," averring that if they were to triumph in the 1856 election, he might begin to "despair of the Republic or to lose confidence in the people…."[374] And his Democratic allies throughout the Union were still in fear of Know-Nothing infiltration well into the late 1850s, remaining ever-vigilant as to the intentions of "the Know Nothing Lodge and... the Abolitionists by whom they were supported and surrounded."[375]

Yet just as pernicious as the Know-Nothings in Davis's view were the Republicans, who formed the other major party to emerge in the North from the wreck of the Whigs and began to absorb the Know-Nothings after the 1856 election so that northern anti-Democrats would not split their votes.[376] Davis had predicted that the Know-Nothings would subsume the Republicans, but the reverse outcome made little difference to him as there was virtually no difference between the two from his perspective.[377] The Republicans, to be sure, were less prone to violence against European immigrants, but they seemed to be even more committed to British

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[373] "From William Stamps," Rosemont, Mississippi, November 9, 1855, *PJD*, 5:134. Stamps was living in Davis's boyhood home of Rosemount at the time. See ibid., 5:135. Also see "From Lawrence Johnson," May 31, 1854, *PJD*, 5:383; and "H. J. Harris to Jefferson Davis," Vicksburg, November 10, 1855, *JDC*, 2:549. For flaring violence between Democrats and Know-Nothings in cities throughout the U.S. during the mid-to-late 1850s, see Mary P. Ryan, *Civic Wars: Democracy and Public Life in the American City during the Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1997); and Towers, *The Urban South and the Coming of the Civil War*.

[374] "To James Buchanan," Washington, D.C., July 23, 1855, *PJD*, 5:115. See "Wm. M. Armstrong to Jefferson Davis," Norfolk, September 25, 1856, *JDC*, 3:61.

[375] "John H. George to Jefferson Davis," Concord, N.H., January 4, 1858, *JDC*, 3:129. See "From Thomas J. Sharp," August 20, 1856, *PJD*, 6:49.

[376] See "To William R. Cannon," December 7, 1855, *PJD*, 5:141; and Dale Baum, "Know-Nothingism and the Republican Majority in Massachusetts: The Political Realignment of the 1850s," *The Journal of American History*, vol. 64, no. 4 (March 1978), 959-86.

[377] One young Connecticut Democrat hence asked Davis if he could apply to West Point without having to be nominated by his congressman William W. Welch, who was a "Know Nothing Black Republican." "From Josiah G. Beckwith, Jr.," Litchfield, September 23, 1856, *PJD*, 6:502.

abolitionism than the Know-Nothings.[378] Indeed, Davis and his compatriots usually referred to them as "the infernal black republicans" in the belief that they were committed to racial equality and hence guilty of "Black traitorism" to the white American nation.[379] When the South Carolina Democratic congressman Preston Brooks thrashed the Massachusetts Conscience Whig *cum* Republican Charles Sumner with a cane on the Senate floor in 1856, Davis hence expressed his "high regard and esteem" for Brooks.[380] A longstanding advocate of racial equality himself, Senator Sumner was also a friend of the famous abolitionist Lydia Maria Child, who had once written a pamphlet titled *An Appeal in Favor of That Class of Americans Called Africans*.[381]

Senator Davis and the Buchanan Administration

Although Davis was often mentioned as a possible presidential candidate for 1856, he and his supporters wanted Pierce to be re-nominated.[382] Yet when the northern Democracy rejected him as electorally untenable, they settled for Pennsylvania's James Buchanan, an anti-Van Buren Democrat who had been Polk's Secretary of State.[383] Davis had accordingly assured him in 1853 that his "defense of the constitutional rights of the South receives my gratitude and

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[378] One of Davis's correspondents accordingly feared that the Republicans would, unlike the Know-Nothings, be able to win over and "abolitionize" large numbers of immigrant Democrats. "From 'Senex,'" Memphis, Tennessee, November 18, 1856, *PJD*, 6:61. See "From L. Humphrey," April 3, 1856, *PJD*, 6:398.

[379] "From W. R. Isaacs MacKay," San Francisco, January 13, 1857, *PJD*, 6:99. See "From 'Senex,'" Memphis, Tennessee, November 18, 1856, *PJD*, 6:60; "Speech at Jackson," May 29, 1857, *PJD*, 6:121; and "Speech at Memphis," September 22, 1860, *PJD*, 6:366. Republicans, Davis insisted, preferred the company of British abolitionists and blacks to Democrats, their fellow "American citizen[s]." "Speech at Portland," September 11, 1858, *PJD*, 6:214.

[380] "To South Carolina Citizens," Washington, D.C., September 22, 1856, *PJD*, 6:44.

[381] See Lydia Maria Child, *An Appeal in Favor of That Class of Americans Called Africans* (Boston: Allen and Ticknor, 1833).

[382] "I have singly and sincerely desired and advocated the re nomination of the present Executive," Davis asserted," and "I have believed the best interests of the country could be thus most effectually promoted." "To William L. Ellsworth," Washington, D.C., June 5, 1856, *PJD*, 6:25. See ibid., 6:26. Also see "C. S. Tarpley to Jefferson Davis," Jackson, Mississippi, May 6, 1853, *JDC*, 2:213; "From Peter J. Sullivan," September 16, 1853, *PJD*, 5:252; and "James W. Williams to Jefferson Davis," Holly Springs, Mississippi, May 30, 1854, *JDC*, 2:359.

[383] See "H. J. Harris to Jefferson Davis," Vicksburg, April 17, 1856, *JDC*, 3:33; and "Lewis G. Coryell to Jefferson Davis," New Hope, September 6, 1856, *JDC*, 3:59. Buchanan's nomination, Davis observed, was "the best *under* the *circumstances* that could have been made." "Notes on Politicians," [copy], November 11, 1856, *PJD*, 6:515.

admiration."[384] Buchanan won the election thanks in large part to the division of the anti-Democratic vote in the North, but Davis and his compatriots also believed that many of the Pennsylvanian's northern victories "were carried by considerable giving way on principle and the signification of our victory is greatly weakened."[385] Buchanan, after all, had originally been a Federalist who served in the militia during the War of 1812 even though he opposed that conflict, and he was also a rival within Pennsylvania of Davis's friend and ally George M. Dallas, whom Buchanan had preceded as a relatively conciliatory U.S. ambassador to Britain notwithstanding his role in the Ostend Manifesto.[386] Davis therefore intended to hold President Buchanan to the same principles and standards of Pierce's proper "State Rights Democracy."[387]

Davis wanted to see his Calhoun-like legacy as Secretary of War sustained and built upon as the chairman of the Senate Committee on Military Affairs.[388] He thus advocated further increases in the army's size *via* skeleton regiments which could be rapidly augmented to "thirty-

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[384] "Jefferson Davis to James Buchanan," Washington, D.C., April 7, 1853, *JDC*, 2:197. See "Speech of Jefferson Davis in Senate Feb. 13 and 14, 1850 on Slavery in the Territories," *JDC*, 1:287-88; and "James Buchanan to Jefferson Davis," Wheatland, March 16, 1850, *JDC*, 1:319-20. Also see "From Belvard J. Peters," September 16, 1856, *PJD*, 6:501; and "Speech at Vicksburg," November 27, 1858, *PJD*, 6:229.

[385] "H. J. Harris to Jefferson Davis," Vicksburg, December 3, 1856, *JDC*, 3:99. Harris was Davis's account, and he also claimed that "[h]ad Gen. Pierce been nominated, as he ought to have been, and elected, as he would have been, the triumph would have been decisive." Ibid., 3:97. See "From Charles P. Miller," Ripley, Mississippi, June 2, 1856, *PJD*, 6:477; and "From Obed M. Rice," August 10, 1856, *PJD*, 6:493. According to Davis, 1856 "could hardly be called a victory which left our enemies upon the field with flag flying defiant and an army ready for attack whenever an opportunity was presented." "Speech at Mississippi City," October 2, 1857, *PJD*, 6:148.

[386] See Theresa A. Donovan, "President Pierce's Ministers at the Court of St. James," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. 91, no. 4 (October 1967), 457-70. Many rumors had predicted a Davis-Dallas ticket for 1856, but Dallas's appointment as ambassador to Britain precluded that possibility. See "To William R. Cannon," December 7, 1855, *PJD*, 5:142-43. E. B. Buchanan, moreover, faulted Buchanan (no relation) for not doing more to foil "British intrigues" or protest against "British *interference*" in Cuba. "E. B. Buchanan to Jefferson Davis," La Rochelle, August 1, 1854, *JDC*, 2:373.

[387] "Speech at Jackson," May 29, 1857, *PJD*, 6:120. See "To Washington Democrats," June 16, 1856, from the Washington, D.C. *Union*, June 20, 1856, *PJD*, 6:480. The Pierce administration had been "eminently faithful to the great doctrines of the Democratic Party." "Speech at Jackson," November 4, 1857, *PJD*, 6:158. Hence "the bitter hostility of abolitionism which still, with unmitigated hate, pursued him [*i.e.* Pierce] in his retirement to private life...." "Speech at Mississippi City," October 2, 1857, *PJD*, 6:143. See "To Franklin Pierce," Washington D.C., April 4, 1858, *PJD*, 6:173; and *PJD*, 6:523.

[388] A rare honor was conferred upon Davis when he was immediately raised to that station in 1857. See *PJD*, 6:110.

five to forty thousand men."[389] Warning yet again about British influence among western Indians, he continued to call for supervision over the Indians to be transferred from states to the U.S. government and from other bureaus to the War Department within the government.[390] The Union, Davis declared, should even "raise armies to exterminate Indian tribes" which would "shed the blood of inhabitants of the United States."[391] Indians, after all, were "a race of men utterly below the white man, and never capable of rising to his level...."[392] Urging Congress as well to fund military-related scientific research to "maintain the science of the United States in military affairs to the standard of the European countries...," Davis insisted that "not one great work of public improvement in the United States has ever been conceived and executed" without West Point's "scientific military men."[393] Claiming still that weapons produced by contractors were "arms which I believe to be inferior," he also encouraged Congress to construct or upgrade military facilities throughout the Union and build transcontinental railroads under U.S. army auspices, for national security was "a constitutional obligation upon the United States, and from that I derive whatever of constitutional power we possess for the construction of this road."[394] Predicting that "the United States would have the power out of its own resources to build the road, and hold it for its own uses," he endorsed the creation of post offices and postal roads in

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[389] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the bill for the increase of the army. Jan. 26 and 27, 1858," *JDC*, 3:164. See ibid., 3:166.

[390] See "Remarks on Government Expenditures," January 4, 1859, *PJD*, 6:232-33, 236; and "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Indian appropriation bill. Feb. 2, 1859," *JDC*, 3:524.

[391] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the bill for the increase of the army. Jan. 26 and 27, 1858," *JDC*, 3:138.

[392] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Indian appropriation bill. Feb. 2, 1859," *JDC*, 3:525.

[393] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the bill for the increase of the army. Jan. 26 and 27, 1858," *op. cit.*, 3:163; "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Pacific Railroad bill. Jan. 11, 19, and 20, 1859," *JDC*, 3:427; and "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Army Appropriation bill. June 7, 1860," *JDC*, 4:477. See "Speech of Jefferson Davis on the Increase of the Army. Feb. 10 and 11, 1858," *JDC*, 3:210.

[394] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the bill for the sale of arms to the states. Feb. 23, 1860," *JDC*, 4:200; and "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Pacific Railroad Bill. Dec. 14, 1858," *JDC*, 3:365. See "Speech at Jackson," November 4, 1857, *PJD*, 6:162; "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Army appropriation bill. Feb. 26, 1859," *JDC*, 4:11-13, 15; and "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Army Appropriation bill. June 2, 1860," *JDC*, 4:421.

remote and unprofitable regions, invoking "the necessities of the Government" as justification.[395] And if corporations had to be contracted to build such infrastructure, he reiterated that they ought to serve under direct federal supervision.[396] Davis therefore insisted in 1858 that, with regard to steamers which had been contracted to carry trans-Atlantic mail, the Postmaster General "should have power to appoint an inspector for every vessel with which he may make a contract," or that "the Government itself shall choose to put a commander on the vessel." "It is for Government purposes the line is established," he observed, "not for the benefit of the contractor."[397]

Holding as before that lower-class whites should be generously rewarded for patriotic military service, Davis continued to champion pensions for the children and widows of deceased U.S. soldiers who fought "for a common cause, inspired by common sacrifices, for a common country," coupling his initiatives with vastly increased fines and prison terms for civilians encouraging soldiers to desert.[398] He similarly promoted the creation of a federal Soldiers' Home for impoverished and invalid veterans even as he sought to give the presiding officer therein power to check "the bad conduct of the inmates" through martial law, which he also wished to see imposed on U.S. arsenals and other vital military installations to prevent strikes.[399] Hailing "the altar where man has sacrificed himself to his country" and proclaiming that "the one great object" was "the common good of the whole," Davis even called for the U.S. government to exercise a delegated power which had gone into abeyance after the War of 1812, namely,

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[395] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Pacific Railroad Bill. Dec. 14, 1858," *JDC*, 3:365; and "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the post office appropriation bill. Feb. 28, 1859," *JDC*, 4:33.
[396] See "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Pacific Railroad Bill. Dec. 14, 1858," *op. cit.*, 3:364-65, 367, 370-71.
[397] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on steamer appropriations bill. June 9, 1858," *JDC*, 3:265. Davis similarly urged Congress to pay for more permanent U.S. army physicians as opposed to contracting private physicians. See "Speech of Jefferson Davis on the Increase of the Army. Feb. 10 and 11, 1858," *JDC*, 3:209.
[398] "Speech of Jefferson Davis on the Increase of the Army. Feb. 10 and 11, 1858," *op. cit.*, 3:187. See "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Army Appropriation bill. June 2, 1860," *JDC*, 4:438-39.
[399] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Army appropriation bill. Feb. 26, 1859," *JDC*, 4:18. See "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the bill for the sale of arms to the states. Feb. 23, 1860," *JDC*, 4:200; and *PJD*, 6:449. Davis, however, still held that federal asylums for civilians were unconstitutional. See "Speech at Hernando," from the Memphis *Appeal*, September 8, 1857, *PJD*, 6: 548.

"property and direct taxation."[400] Revenue tariffs were, in his view, not only erratic in terms of raising money for the government, but also inherently unfair by relieving the wealthy of their "fair proportion of burdens" while transferring them "to the consumers, the laborers."[401] Averring in 1858 that the U.S. should "go back to that simple process of collecting money from the people themselves," Davis stated that "I prefer it to all other modes of collecting money."[402]

Buchanan and his supporters within the northern Democracy were usually quite receptive to Davis's recommendations, prompting the senator to exult that "the differences between the people of the colonies has been steadily diminishing [since 1776], and the possible advantages of the Union in no small degree augmented."[403] There was, Davis insisted, "a common sentiment of nationality which beat in every American bosom...," a Democratic nationality defined by equality among whites and white supremacy.[404] While touring New England in 1858, he was "greeted with cheer upon cheer" by northern Democrats, for even as he berated them to do even more on behalf of slavery in the western territories and the Fugitive Slave law, he informed them that "the sentiment of nationality on which our Union was founded could never die."[405] "[T]he

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[400] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the death of Hon. Thomas L. Harris of Illinois. Jan. 17, 1859," *JDC*, 3:500; and "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on river and harbor bill. May 24, 1858," *JDC*, 3:249. See "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on bill concerning fishing bounties. May 11, 1858," *JDC*, 3:220; "Remarks of Jefferson on the agricultural colleges bill. Feb. 1, 1859," *JDC*, 3:520; and "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the civil appropriations bill. March 2, 1859," *JDC*, 4:43. Also see "Brutus to Jefferson Davis," from the Washington, D.C. *Union*, February 17, 1848, *JDC*, 1:188.

[401] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the tariff and loan bill. June 20, 1860," *JDC*, 4:532. See ibid., 4:530.

[402] "Speech of Jefferson Davis on the Increase of the Army. Feb. 10 and 11, 1858," *JDC*, 3:183; and "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the civil appropriations bill. March 2, 1859," *JDC*, 4:43.

[403] "Address of Jefferson Davis at Faneuil Hall," Boston, October 12, 1858, in Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 1:613. See "Speech of Jefferson Davis before the Mississippi Legislature. November 16, 1858," *JDC*, 3:341; and "Jefferson Davis to Franklin Pierce," Washington, D.C., January 17, 1859, *JDC*, 3:498.

[404] "Speech of Jefferson Davis on Fourth of July, 1858, at Sea," *JDC*, 3:273.

[405] "Speech of Jefferson Davis at the Portland Meeting," late August 1858, *JDC*, 3:295; and "Speech of Jefferson Davis at the Banquet after Encampment at Belfast," late August 1858, *JDC*, 3:294. See "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the bill for the increase of the army. Jan. 26 and 27, 1858," *JDC*, 3:147; "Speech of Jefferson Davis at the Grand Ratification Meeting, Faneuil Hall, Monday evening. Oct. 11, 1858," *JDC*, 3:316-17, 323-24; "Speech of Jefferson Davis before the Democratic State Convention at Jackson, Miss., July 6, 1859," from the New York *Daily Tribune*, August 31, 1859, *JDC*, 4:78; and "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on Mr. Brown's Resolutions. Jan. 27 and 28, 1860," *JDC*, 4:158, 176-77. Even as northeastern Republicans such as James G. Blaine excoriated Davis during his New England visit, Radicals accused him of betraying the South by courting the New England Democracy. The

few, the very few Southern men" who actually yearned for disunion would, Davis predicted, be utterly discredited in the end because northern Democrats seemed to be convincing northerners as a whole to embrace Calhoun-style state's rights while suppressing "the political abolitionists and the abolition papers" promoting racial amalgamation, "speculative theories, and false philanthropy of abstractions," restoring or firming up white supremacy as well to achieve the "absolute equality" found among their "Puritan fathers," who "kept pure the Caucasian blood which flowed in their veins, and therein is the cause of your present high civilization, your progress, your dignity and your strength. We are one, let us remain unmixed."[406] And he even promised that if they could "redeem and restore Massachusetts to her once glorious place in the Union," all of North America might be rid at last of both slavery and blacks.[407] Manifest Destiny's fulfillment would, Davis explained, free the southern states from the constraints imposed by British abolitionists both external and internal, allowing them to transfer their slaves gradually, securely, and profitably to new U.S. territories within Central or South America.[408]

Davis thought that the external abolitionist threat posed by an increasingly desperate Britain was intensifying as British fears *vis-à-vis* a strong and expansive Union controlled by

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Democratic New York *Herald*, after all, praised him for distancing himself from "the Southern fire-eating disunion faction." See *PJD*, 6:207-08. Also see "Speech at Portland," September 11, 1858, *PJD*, 6:214.

[406] "Speech of Jefferson Davis before the Mississippi Legislature. November 16, 1858," *JDC*, 3:350, 357; "Speech of Jefferson Davis at the Portland Meeting," late August 1858, *JDC*, 3:297; "Speech of Jefferson Davis at the Banquet after Encampment at Belfast," late August 1858, *JDC*, 3:294; and "Speech of Jefferson Davis at State Fair at Augusta, Me," from the *Eastern Argus*, September 29, 1858, *JDC*, 3:313. See "Speech of Jefferson Davis before the Mississippi Legislature. November 16, 1858," *JDC*, 3:340.

[407] "Speech of Jefferson Davis at the Grand Ratification Meeting, Faneuil Hall, Monday evening. Oct. 11, 1858," *JDC*, 3:316-17.

[408] See "Speech of Jefferson Davis on the Increase of the Army. Feb. 10 and 11, 1858," *JDC*, 3:213; "Speech of Jefferson Davis on Fourth of July, 1858, at Sea," *JDC*, 3:272; "Speech of Jefferson Davis at the Portland Serenade. July 9, 1858," *JDC*, 3:274-75; "Speech of Jefferson Davis at the Portland Meeting," late August 1858, *JDC*, 3:305; "Speech of Jefferson Davis at State Fair at Augusta, Me.," from the *Eastern Argus*, September 29, 1858, *JDC*, 3:310; "Speech of Jefferson Davis before the Mississippi Legislature. November 16, 1858," *JDC*, 3:351; and "Speech of Jefferson Davis in relation to property in the territories. May 16 and 17, 1860," *JDC*, 4:293.

"true Democrats" multiplied.[409] The Union, to be sure, still had an unfavorable balance of trade with "our commercial rivals, the British," for "why do we purchase English goods in New York, to be paid for by cotton sent to England?"[410] But U.S. industrialization was starting to reduce demand for imported British manufactures, and so "Great Britain, with all her manufacturing and commercial power," was "struggling for the possession of our market...."[411] At the same time, the British economy was becoming ever-more dependent on cotton, "which now, to a great extent, controls the commerce of the world, and of which we are the great exporter."[412] Non-Anglo whites residing beyond the Union's borders in the Americas were, Davis also believed, increasingly receptive to U.S. annexation as the only alternative to British abolitionist rule. "A prominent citizen was heard to remark a day or two since," Amos B. Corwine told him, "that one of two things was inevitable: that the people of the Isthmus would soon be ruled by the negroes or the United States, and that every man of sense would of course prefer the rule of the latter! The fruit is ripe – we need only come and take it."[413] Davis, in turn, asserted with reference to British-instigated harassment of U.S. citizens in Panama that "it would be entirely proper for the Congress of the United States to give the President the power to send naval forces to be landed when necessary, to protect that post route across the continent, to make safe those citizens of the United States...."[414] Observing as well that Britain had established coal depots in Cuba whereas "we have nowhere on the face of the globe a coal depot," he urged President Buchanan to issue a new Ostend Manifesto because "British reformers" were swarming over the island, "threatening

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[409] See "Speech of Jefferson Davis before the Democratic State Convention at Jackson, Miss., July 6, 1859," from the New York *Daily Tribune*, August 31, 1859, *JDC*, 4:84.
[410] Ibid., 4:68; and "To the Commissioners of the Gulf and Ship Island Railroad," Portland, Maine, August 28, 1858, *PJD*, 6:209. See "Speech of Jefferson Davis at State Fair at Augusta, Me.," from the *Eastern Argus*, September 29, 1858, *JDC*, 3:312; and "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the civil appropriations bill. March 2, 1859," *JDC*, 4:44-45.
[411] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the tariff and loan bill. June 20, 1860," *JDC*, 4:531.
[412] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the civil appropriations bill. March 2, 1859," *JDC*, 4:46.
[413] "Amos B. Corwine to Jefferson Davis," Panama, December 31, 1857, *JDC*, 3:128.
[414] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the special message touching the protection of American citizens abroad. Feb. 18, 1859," *JDC*, 3:564. See "Amos B. Corwine to Jefferson Davis," Panama, December 31, 1857, *JDC*, 3:128.

not merely to make it like their own Jamaica, unproductive, but to render it a dangerous neighbor to us." At Britain's behest, he claimed, the Spanish government had even made a "standing threat to turn loose the slaves upon the people" if they were ever to rebel with U.S. support.[415] That British "movements in relation to Cuba and other portions of tropical America have been prompted by hostility to the United States," Davis hence insisted, "does not admit of a doubt."[416]

Yet while Davis viewed such actual or perceived British movements as grave threats to the U.S. and especially the South, he also held that "it is in the power of the American people to construct a navy to sweep the ocean down to the cape, and up the ocean beyond the possessions of the United States…."[417] Admiring "the massive works of the Tortugas and Key West," he urged Congress to fund "a great steam navy" and government-supervised steamer lines extending to "the southern Pacific, where we should open up a commerce beneficial to the United States, and acquire a political power which we have allowed to be transferred to Great Britain…."[418] The Union, Davis boasted, was "capable of the greatest imperial power," increasingly "powerful for all military purposes," and now poised to add to "the glories which from time to time ha[ve] been shed by the success of our arms upon the name and character of the American people."[419]

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[415] "Remarks on an Appropriation for Warships," June 7, 1858, *PJD*, 6:187; and "Speech of Jefferson Davis before the Democratic State Convention at Jackson, Miss., July 6, 1859," from the New York *Daily Tribune*, August 31, 1859, *JDC*, 4:84-85. See "Speech at Jackson," May 29, 1857, *PJD*, 6:121; "Speech of Jefferson Davis at the Grand Ratification Meeting, Faneuil Hall, Monday evening. Oct. 11, 1858," *JDC*, 3:321; "Speech of Jefferson Davis before the Democratic State Convention at Jackson, Miss., July 6, 1859," *op. cit.*, 4:81; and Edward Rugemer, *The Problem of Emancipation: The Caribbean Roots of the American Civil War* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2008).

[416] "Speech of Jefferson Davis before the Democratic State Convention at Jackson, Miss., July 6, 1859, July 6, 1859," from the New York *Daily Tribune*, August 31, 1859, 4:84.

[417] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Pacific Railroad bill. Jan. 11, 19, and 20, 1859," *JDC*, 3:417. See "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Pacific Railroad Bill. Dec. 14, 1858," *JDC*, 3:364; and "Remarks on the Guano Trade," March 29, 1860, *PJD*, 6:285, 288.

[418] "Speech of Jefferson Davis before the Democratic State Convention at Jackson, Miss., July 6, 1859," *op. cit.*, 4:83; and "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on steamer appropriations bill. June 9, 1858," *JDC*, 3:265.

[419] "Speech of Jefferson Davis in the City of New York, Palace Garden Meeting, Oct. 19, 1858," *JDC*, 3:338; and "Speech of Jefferson Davis at the Portland Convention. August 24, 1858," *JDC*, 3:286.

To Davis's disappointment, however, the internal abolitionist threat seemed to be increasing rather than receding as Republican representation multiplied in Congress, and that threat was, in his view, a component of the external menace.[420] Northern abolitionists were hence "traitors" who "strike hands with the British abolitionists to make war on their southern brethren."[421] Insisting that the Republicans were seeking to put the U.S. and especially the South at Britain's mercy by "disband[ing] armies and navies lest they should serve the protection of one section of the country better than another," Davis accused them of "wag[ing] war on the Constitution" by practising a particularly perverse form of consolidation in which they were not just usurping state jurisdictions but also refusing to exercise delegated federal powers: "I think it may be stated that our Government is too weak abroad and too strong at home."[422] As a result, he was involved in many a heated exchange with such Republican senators as New Hampshire's John P. Hale, an unabashed abolitionist who asserted "that the expenses of the Army are inordinate, and greatly beyond what we ought to pay."[423] Davis, in turn, excoriated congressional Republicans for their lack of military knowledge.[424] Few of them, after all, had

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[420] Davis had asserted in 1857 that he was possessed of "stronger hopes than ever" that the Republicans were becoming a shrinking "minority" in the North. "Speech at Jackson," May 29, 1857, *PJD*, 6:122.

[421] "Speech of Jefferson Davis in the City of New York, Palace Garden Meeting, Oct. 19, 1858," *JDC*, 3:337-38. See "To Arthur C. Halbert," Portland, Maine, August 22, 1858, *PJD*, 6:206.

[422] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on Senator Powell's resolution. Dec. 10, 1860," *JDC*, 4:547; "Remarks of Jefferson Davis in reference to the Kansas Message. Feb. 8, 1858," *JDC*, 3:173; and "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the special message touching the protection of American citizens abroad. Feb. 18, 1859," *JDC*, 3:563. See "From W[illiam] C. Templeton," August 18, 1856, *PJD*, 6:495; "To Franklin Pierce," August 21, *PJD*, 6:496; "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on Mr. Brown's Resolutions. Jan. 27 and 28, 1860," *JDC*, 4:173; and "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the naval appropriation bill. June 18, 1860," *JDC*, 4:522. The Republicans, Davis insisted, wanted the Union to become "a weak, distracted country, on whose flag the designing merchant and pseudo philanthropist might trample with impunity…." "To Arthur C. Halbert," Portland, Maine, August 22, 1858, *PJD*, 6:206.

[423] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Army appropriation bill. Feb. 26, 1859," *JDC*, 4:27. See "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the resolution relative to government expenditures. Feb. 12, 1859," *JDC*, 3:536-37; "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Oregon war debt bill. May 30, 1860," *JDC*, 4:375-76; "Remarks on the legislative appropriation bill. June 14, 1860," *JDC*, 4:517; "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the special message on affairs in South Carolina. Jan. 10, 1861," *JDC*, 5:34-35; and Richard H. Sewell, "John P. Hale and the Liberty Party, 1847-1848," *The New England Quarterly*, vol. 37, no. 2 (June 1964), 200-23.

[424] See "Remarks on the Adoption of Breech-loading Arms," Washington, June 8, 1858, *PJD*, 6:189, 193-94; and "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Army Appropriation bill. June 5, 1860," *JDC*, 4:445. Also see "Anonymous to

served in a state militia, let alone the army.[425] The Democracy, in contrast, could boast of such leaders as Madison, who was the only sitting president to have visited troops in the field during an impending or ongoing battle, "the immortal Jackson," Polk, who became such "a scientific soldier" as the "commander-in-chief of our army" that "his military fame… almost swallowed up the remembrance of his earlier profession" as a lawyer, "General Cass," and of course Davis's "superior officer" General Pierce.[426] Republicans also sought to enhance legislative branch powers at the expense of the executive, which Davis sought to protect from congressional infringement, especially regarding the military.[427] For instance, Maine's Republican senator William Pitt Fessenden, who bore the same name as Britain's famous prime minister William Pitt, took "exception to the general doctrine of the Senator from Mississippi" by asserting that the Secretary of War ought to be a "civil officer" who was "created by statute" and answerable to Congress, "not a military man" beholden to the executive.[428] Davis, in turn, warned civilian legislators not "to interfere with the constitutional prerogative of the President of the United States, the Commander-in-Chief of the Army," for matters of "an administrative character" belonged "to the executive branch of the Government."[429] Unsurprisingly, congressional Republicans came to despise Davis as well as the solidly Democratic War Department, and one

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Jefferson Davis," Camp Simiahmoo, Washington Territory, November 25, 1858, *JDC*, 3:394-95; and Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 1:657.

[425] Davis accordingly observed in 1850 that he felt out of place in Congress as one of the few congressmen to have never been a lawyer. See "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the bill to encourage the useful arts. Dec. 19, 1850," *JDC*, 2:5, 8, 9.

[426] "Speech at Mississippi City," October 2, 1857, *PJD*, 6:138; "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the bill making alterations in the pay department of the army, May 30, 1846," *JDC*, 1:52; "To R. M. T. Hunter," Washington, D.C., March 19, 1858, *PJD*, 6:17; and Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 1:529. Davis also hailed Polk's "iron will." "Remarks of Jefferson Davis in regard to the fugitive slave law. Feb. 24, 1851," *JDC*, 2:56. See *PJD*, 4:327; and Irving Brant, "Madison and the War of 1812," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. 74, no. 1 (January 1966), 51-67. Davis even told his children not to complain about their food since "gourmets" did not become good soldiers. Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 1:155. See ibid., 1:643.

[427] See "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the loan bill. May 25, 1858," *JDC*, 3:250-52.

[428] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Fort Snelling resolution of inquiry. May 23, 1860," *JDC*, 4:346-47.

[429] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Army Appropriation bill. June 7, 1860," *JDC*, 4:472, 475. See "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the loan bill. May 25, 1858," *JDC*, 3:254.

of them would even aver in 1861 that if the Republican-controlled U.S. government fell before Confederate president Davis, its epitaph should read "Died of West Point pro-slaveryism."[430]

"England having filibustered around the world," Davis jeered in 1858, "has reproached us for aggrandizement...," and the Republicans were, he claimed, also opposing U.S. expansion on Britain's behalf.[431] "Growth," after all, "is the attendant of vigorous existence. In nations as in organic bodies, the suspension of that law is the unfailing evidence of decline."[432] Congressional Republicans thwarted Davis's efforts to secure funding for an updated Ostend Manifesto, and he predicted that they would not only object to U.S. interposition if Britain moved to take the island outright, but exult if the British were to carry out their "fiendish threat to renew in Cuba the scenes of Santo Domingo."[433] They also foiled Buchanan's attempt to buy Lower Chihuahua and Sonora in northern Mexico, rejecting his authorization requests for the deployment of U.S. forces to protect American citizens in Panama's transit zone as well.[434] Britain, moreover, "maintained her naval power" in the Atlantic because they did not object to "the insulting claim which Great Britain made to a peace-right to visit our ships" and search them "under the pretence of stopping the slave trade."[435] Davis hence informed the Senate that he was "in favor of giving notice and annulling that clause of the treaty which requires us to keep a squadron on the coast of Africa" to suppress the slave trade alongside the Royal Navy. "[W]e ought to recall our

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[430] Quoted in Michael C. C. Adams, *Our Masters the Rebels: A Speculation on Union Military Failure in the East, 1861-1865* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1978), 374. See *PJD*, 6:536.

[431] "Speech of Jefferson Davis at State Fair at Augusta, Me.," from the *Eastern Argus*, September 29, 1858, *JDC*, 3:313.

[432] "Speech of Jefferson Davis before the Democratic State Convention at Jackson, Miss., July 6, 1859," from the New York *Daily Tribune*, August 31, 1859, *JDC*, 4:85. See "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on questions connected with slavery in the territories. Feb. 23, 1859," *JDC*, 3:576.

[433] "Speech of Jefferson Davis before the Democratic State Convention at Jackson, Miss., July 6, 1859," *op. cit.*, 4:85.

[434] See *PJD*, 6:135, 289.

[435] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on bill concerning fishing bounties. May 11, 1858," *JDC*, 3:219; and "Speech of Jefferson Davis on Fourth of July, 1858, at Sea," *JDC*, 3:272. The Royal Navy only dared to offer "insults… to our flag in the Gulf of Mexico," Davis explained, because "of the probability that Great Britain had counted on sectional divisions to render our people unable or unwilling to resent the insult...." "To Arthur C. Halbert," Portland, Maine, August 22, 1858, *PJD*, 6:205.

squadron," he declared, "and keep armed vessels on that coast to protect American commerce from the fraudulent interference which it has received at the hands of British cruisers under the plea of suppressing the slave trade under our law declaring it to be piracy."[436] The Massachusetts Republican senator Henry Wilson, however, defeated Davis's proposal, thereby reinforcing Philip A. Roach's advice to associate the Republicans with their New England Federalist ancestors in the upcoming 1860 election campaign by emphasizing their unchanging unwillingness to tackle "our difficulties with Great Britain, in regard to the right of search…."[437]

Davis had also learned from another of his supporters in California in 1857 that the Republican shipping magnate Cornelius Vanderbilt was transporting large numbers of northeastern Know-Nothings and Republicans to the Pacific coast *via* Nicaragua.[438] Vanderbilt, moreover, helped fund the British-organized Central American league directed against William Walker, who had threatened his corporate interests there.[439] One of the last acts of the Pierce administration was to help Walker "Americanize" Nicaragua by sending U.S. navy vessels there to ward the British off because "Great Britain was co-operating with Costa Rica to prevent men and supplies from passing over the transit of Nicaragua…."[440] The British, however, increased their own naval presence and Walker's "patriots" were soon defeated, prompting Davis to vent his anger at both the "palpable British interference under the flimsy guise of protection to British subjects" and the "black republicanism at the north pouring in gold, munitions and armaments to the Costa Ricans...." And while Republicans would denounce Walker and his followers as "murderers and brigands," Davis saluted them for trying to save "the oppressed Nicaraguans"

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[436] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the naval appropriation bill. June 18, 1860," *JDC*, 4:523, 528. See ibid., 4:529.
[437] "Philip A. Roach to Jefferson Davis," San Francisco, June 27, 1859, *JDC*, 4:60.
[438] See "From W. R. Isaacs MacKay," San Francisco, January 13, 1857, *PJD*, 6:100.
[439] See Stephen Dando-Collins, *Tycoon's War: How Cornelius Vanderbilt Invaded a Country to Overthrow America's Most Famous Military Adventurer* (Boston: De Capo Press, 2008), 43-44.
[440] "Speech at Mississippi City," October 2, 1857, *PJD*, 6:140, 146. See ibid., 6:156.

from British abolitionist rule.[441] Walker escaped Nicaragua thanks to the U.S. navy, but when he returned again he was captured *en route* by the Royal Navy and executed in 1860 by the British client state of Honduras, in which Davis had sought to preserve slavery and white supremacy by thwarting Senate ratification of an 1857 British attempt to amend the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty such that Britain would return the Bay Islands to "that American State" in exchange for the Hondurans embracing abolitionism.[442] As a result, Senate Republicans refused to pass an 1860 treaty which would have let U.S. soldiers be stationed in Nicaragua to protect the transit zones.[443]

Yet even if the Buchanan administration managed to "incorporate into our Union, countries densely populated with a different race," congressional Republicans would, Davis predicted, strive to turn the conquered non-whites into U.S. citizens.[444] Some few Republicans, after all, were openly advocating black citizenship, which would, he held, transform the U.S. Constitution from a stark repudiation of the "British constitution" into an emulation thereof.[445] Davis was appalled as a result when Republicans like Senator Wilson invoked the anti-slavery words of the original Jeffersonian Democratic-Republicans, for while he acknowledged that most of the Founding Fathers had deplored slavery as an institution, he insisted that it was absurd to claim that "the framers of the Constitution of the United States were Abolitionists!" Very few of them had believed blacks to be an equal race, he observed, and of those few none had called for black citizenship. No Founder, then, was "an Abolitionist in the offensive sense which belongs

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[441] "Speech at Jackson," May 29, 1857, *PJD*, 6:122, 126. See Brooke, Jr., *John M Brooke*, 134.
[442] "Speech at Jackson," May 29, 1857, *op. cit.*, 6:126-27. See ibid., 6:121.
[443] See *PJD*, 6:289.
[444] "Speech of Jefferson Davis at State Fair at Augusta, Me.," from the *Eastern Argus*, September 29, 1858, *JDC*, 3:313.
[445] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Pacific railroad bill. Jan. 25, 1859," *JDC*, 3:503. See "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the civil appropriations bill. March 2, 1859," *JDC*, 4:49; "Speech of Jefferson Davis before the Democratic State Convention at Jackson, Miss., July 6, 1859," from the New York *Daily Tribune*, August 31, 1859, *JDC*, 4:73; and "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Fort Snelling resolution of inquiry. May 23, 1860," *JDC*, 4:343.

to the term at this day...."[446] Davis therefore proclaimed with reference to Wilson that William Lloyd "Garrison... is the teacher of the Senator, and he exults in the character of his pupil."[447]

According to Davis, northern abolitionists like Garrison and his "pupil" were committed to inequality among whites alongside racial equality. A Republican victory in 1860, then, would lead to the irrevocable demise of both white supremacy and equality among whites in the North. He therefore accused Wilson of lavishing charity upon "the negro children of the District of Columbia" while deliberately ignoring Massachusetts's poor whites, who were, as in Britain, standing in "long processions of men, of women, and of children suffering from want of bread, and deprived of labor by which to obtain it...." "This Government," he added, "was not founded by negros nor for negros, but by white men for white men."[448] Insisting that the wealthiest and most cultivated of free blacks had no claim to U.S. citizenship unlike even white "paupers and convicts," he excoriated the Republicans for their "miserable prostitution" of "the sacred Declaration of Independence," which they "invoked to maintain the position of equality of the races."[449] Davis, moreover, charged them with advocating ethnic and religious inequalities among whites in addition to class hierarchies, for they opposed U.S. expansion on grounds that white Catholic Hispanics and French-Canadians "because speaking a different language… were of a different race."[450] Philip A. Roach, for his part, even declared that Republican nativists preferred blacks to Irish Catholic immigrant Democrats, "degrad[ing] the foreign white man below the level of the negro and mulatto...."[451] The wealthy New York Republican George

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[446] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on Mr. Brown's Resolutions. Jan. 27 and 28, 1860," *JDC*, 4:170.
[447] Ibid., 4:159.
[448] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the bill for the benefit of schools in the District of Columbia. April 12, 1860," *JDC*, 4:239, 229.
[449] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Harpers Ferry Invasion Resolutions. Dec. 8, 1859," *JDC*, 4:108; and "Speech of Jefferson Davis on retiring from the Senate. Jan. 21, 1861," *JDC*, 5:43-44.
[450] "Speech of Jefferson Davis before the Democratic State Convention at Jackson, Miss., July 6, 1859," from the New York *Daily Tribune*, August 31, 1859, *JDC*, 4:81.
[451] "Philip A. Roach to Jefferson Davis," San Francisco, June 27, 1859, *JDC*, 4:60.

Templeton Strong, after all, averred in 1860 that, with reference to southerners and northerners, or more specifically to Democrats and Republicans, "[w]e differ like Celt and Anglo-Saxon."[452]

The Republicans, Davis observed, "proclaim themselves the peculiar friends of laboring men at the North" as a function of their "sectional hostility," but they also "insist that negroes are their equals; and… they would, by emancipation of the blacks, bring them together and degrade the white man to the negro level."[453] Northern workers, he warned, had little to gain and much to lose from northern economic exploitation of the South under Republican auspices, for the Republican protective tariff was a form of "class legislation" which "discriminate[s] against the laborer... in favor of the capitalist...."[454] Davis, moreover, regarded pro-Republican corporations like Remington & Co. as particularly prone to corruption, and the Republicans would, he predicted, turn the government into a creature of such corporations even though a corporation was merely an "artificial person" created by the government.[455] He was especially annoyed to see them corrupt his transcontinental railroad from "a great national construction" into a giant engine of graft by lavishing land grants upon Republican companies "before which the United States Bank stands but as a pigmy." "Any public work in which individuals engage may enrich them," he insisted, "but if the object is to enrich them, I scorn the connection."[456] He therefore sought to guarantee that "the Government shall have priority of right for all purposes of

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[452] Quoted in Susan-Mary Grant, *North over South: Northern Nationalism and American Identity in the Antebellum Era* (Lawrence: Kansas University Press, 2000), ix.

[453] "Speech at Portland," September 11, 1858, *PJD*, 6:217; and "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the tariff and loan bill. June 20, 1860," *JDC*, 4:530.

[454] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on bill concerning fishing bounties. May 11, 1858," *JDC*, 3:219; and "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the civil appropriations bill. March 2, 1859," *JDC*, 4:43. See "Speech at Portland," September 11, 1858, *PJD*, 6:217; "Reply to William H. Seward," February 29, 1860, *PJD*, 6:279-80; and "Reply to Stephen A. Douglas," May 17, 1860, *PJD*, 6:331.

[455] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Pacific Railroad bill. Jan. 11, 19, and 20, 1859," *JDC*, 3:398. See "From Henry K. Craig," March 22, 1856, *PJD*, 6:446; "From Nathaniel Banks," April 10, 1856, *PJD*, 6:460; "From Charles Gray," November 21, 1856, *PJD*, 6:517; "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the special message on affairs in South Carolina. Jan. 10, 1861," *JDC*, 5:28; and *PJD*, 6:431, 6:440, 453. Davis was also angry to learn in 1857 that the Quartermaster's Department had placed advertisements for contract bids in abolitionist-friendly Cincinnati newspapers. See *PJD*, 6:537.

[456] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Pacific railroad bill. Jan. 5, 1861," *JDC*, 4:566-69.

transportation," arguing as well that "I do not think the Government should allow the corporation to take possession of such an immense district, erecting, as it were, principalities in the public domain, and excluding the citizens of the United States from their possessions."[457] And he warned that Republican railroad companies were scheming to enhance their profit margins even further by importing vast numbers of laborers from China to replace all of their white workers.[458]

Davis also believed that a Republican victory in 1860 would sooner or later transform the generally Democratic states of the lower North and Pacific in the British-like image of New England, the upper North, and such emerging western abolitionist territories as Kansas and Utah, in all of which even "the good old spelling book of Noah Webster" would likely be rejected in favor of British English.[459] Webster had actually been a staunch New England Federalist and the Republicans actually regarded Mormon polygamy as an atavism akin to slavery, but Davis suspected that Utah's Mormons were abolitionists because they hailed from an area of upstate New York settled by New Englanders of Federalist descent.[460] David Atchison, after all, had informed him in 1854 that "[w]e will before six months rolls around, have the Devil to play in Kansas… we are organizing, to meet their Organization we will be compelled, to shoot, burn, & hang, but the thing will be soon over, we intend to '*Mormonise*' the Abolitionists."[461] As a result, Davis believed that Missouri had repelled an abolitionist invasion by driving out the Mormons, who then went out west to mix with Indians and incite them against the Union. He was eager to send federal troops to Utah in 1855 to bring the Mormons under full U.S. control,

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[457] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Pacific Railroad bill. Jan. 11, 19, and 20, 1859," *JDC*, 3:391, 412. Davis also championed an amendment such that, with reference to all land grants not sold to settlers within 10 years, "all said lands not so alienated shall revert to and become the property of the Unites States." Ibid., 3:410.
[458] See "Speech of Jefferson Davis before the Democratic State Convention at Jackson, Miss., July 6, 1859," from the New York *Daily Tribune*, August 31, 1859, *JDC*, 4:70.
[459] "Speech of Jefferson Davis at State Fair at Augusta, Me.," from the *Eastern Argus*, September 29, 1858, *JDC*, 3:310. See "From Thomas S. Jesup," August 26, 1856, *PJD*, 6:39-40.
[460] See Wilentz, *The Rise of American Democracy*, 3-4.
[461] "From David R. Atchinson," Platte City, September 24, 1854, *PJD*, 5:84.

and he was outraged but not surprised when Mormon militia disguised as Indians killed over one hundred California-bound settlers from Arkansas in the 1857 Mountain Meadows massacre.[462] As the Utah War dragged on, moreover, Davis called for yet more U.S. soldiers while accusing Brigham Young's "[d]eluded fanatics" of having created a "hierarchical government" dominated by prosperous polygamists who reprobated white supremacy and equality among whites alike.[463]

In Davis's view, however, the Mormons paled in comparison to Kansas's New England abolitionists, one of whom beheaded five "border ruffians" and fully revealed what Davis took to be the traitorous British face of the Republican Party. When John Brown and his "murderous gang of Abolitionists" proceeded to raid the Harpers Ferry arsenal in October 1859 so as to foment a slave revolt, Davis was not surprised to see some Republicans praise him.[464] Accusing Brown of seeking to instigate a race war in the South at Britain's behest, Davis surmised that he had simply been emulating previous examples in North America, St. Domingue, and the Yucatan whereby non-white British puppets would massacre Anglophobic whites to secure more land for abolitionist Britain. He hence claimed that "a military leader was sent from England here to participate, first in the Kansas trouble, and then in this raid upon Virginia," namely, Colonel Hugh Forbes, who trained Brown and "engaged in this Kansas war as a military leader and instructor to carry on civil war in the United States. His first funds were drawn from London."[465]

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[462] See "To Brigham Young," War Department, Washington, D.C., September 17, 1855, *PJD*, 5:120; and Sally Denton, *American Massacre: The Tragedy at Mountain Meadows* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2003). Davis also complained that the abolitionists in Kansas were distracting the U.S. army from Indian campaigns. See "To Franklin Pierce," War Department, Washington, D.C., December 1, 1856, *PJD*, 6:91. Davis was eager to punish the Cheyenne after they murdered a white woman near Fort Kearny, an incident which Philadelphia's Democratic congressman John Cadwalader turned into a *cause célèbre*. See "From John Cadwalader," September 29, 1856, *PJD*, 6:503; "To Timothy Davis," January 12, 1857, *PJD*, 6:503; and *PJD*, 6:509.

[463] "Speech of Jefferson Davis on the Increase of the Army. Feb. 10 and 11, 1858," *JDC*, 3:206-207. See "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the bill for the increase of the army. Jan. 26 and 27, 1858," *JDC*, 3:137, 149. Also see "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on Compromise Bill of June 28, 1850," *JDC*, 1:395, 397; *PJD*, 5:290, 311, 433-34; and *PJD*, 6:543.

[464] See "From Richard Brodhead," Easton, Pennsylvania, December 24, 1859, *PJD*, 6:270; and *PJD*, 6:224.

[465] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Harpers Ferry Invasion Resolutions. Dec. 8, 1859," *JDC*, 4:99, 107-08.

"This English teaching, this philanthropy," Davis thus held, "is to us what the wooden horse was at the siege of Troy."[466] Lamenting that "[t]he seed sent out from Exeter Hall found congenial soil in the Northern States, and has produced embarrassments and controversies more fatal to the peace and progress of the United States than would have been a quadrennial war with a foreign power," he warned that if the Republicans were to win the 1860 election, "Great Britain could insert the wedge which should separate the States...."[467] In his view, the Republican Party would destroy the Union alongside vast numbers of blacks by forcing southern Democrats to secede and ruthlessly suppress slave rebellions. "Not one particle of good," Davis declared, "has been done to any man, of any color, by this agitation. It has been insidiously working the purpose of sedition, for the destruction of that Union on which our hopes of future greatness depend."[468] Southern Democrats, he explained, would never consent to British abolitionist rule, which he thought would mark the end of not just "their sentiment of nationality" but of civilization itself in the South.[469] Indeed, they would see the black race "exterminated" rather than suffer whites to be subjugated or, even worse, amalgamated under Republican auspices, and so "British interference finds no footing, receives no welcome among us of the South; we turn with loathing and disgust from their mock philanthropy."[470] Civilization, after all, had, Davis claimed, regressed in the West Indies due to British abolitionism, and blacks in the North were

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[466] "Speech of Jefferson Davis on the resolutions concerning the relations of the states. May 8, 1860," *JDC*, 4:478. See "Speech of Jefferson Davis on Fourth of July, 1858, at Sea," *JDC*, 3:272; "Speech of Jefferson Davis at the Portland Meeting," late August 1858, *JDC*, 3:295; "Speech of Jefferson Davis in relation to property in the territories. May 16 and 17, 1860," *JDC*, 4:293; and "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on Mr. Brown's Resolutions. Jan. 27 and 28, 1860," *JDC*, 4:160.

[467] "Speech of Jefferson Davis before the Democratic State Convention at Jackson, Miss., July 6, 1859," from the New York *Daily Tribune*, August 31, 1859, *JDC*, 4:73; and "Speech of Jefferson Davis in the City of New York, Palace Garden Meeting, Oct. 19, 1858," *JDC*, 3:337. Exeter Hall was the British abolitionist headquarters.

[468] "Speech of Jefferson Davis at the Grand Ratification Meeting, Faneuil Hall, Monday evening, Oct. 11, 1858," *JDC*, 3:321.

[469] "Speech of Jefferson Davis before the Democratic State Convention at Jackson, Miss., July 6, 1859," *op. cit.*, *JDC*, 4:88.

[470] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on Mr. Brown's Resolutions. Jan. 27 and 28, 1860," *JDC*, 4:174; and "Speech of Jefferson Davis on the resolutions concerning the relations of the states. May 8, 1860," *JDC*, 4:278.

most likely to lapse "into barbarism or into the commission of crime" where the Republicans were strongest – "the result of relieving the negro from that control which keeps him in his own healthy and useful condition."[471] As Mexico descended into civil war, moreover, he surmised that anarchic racial strife would erupt throughout "Hispano America" as white rule deteriorated there thanks to Republican anti-expansionism facilitating the spread of British abolitionism.[472] Indians, after all, were, in his view, "as deceptive, as blood-thirsty, as treacherous, as cowardly a race of men as are to be found on the globe."[473] And if "a people who have shown themselves incompetent to govern themselves" refused to allow themselves to be forced into a state of "some partial civilization – partial it must be," they would become subject to "extermination."[474]

Senator Davis's Hopes for the Election of 1860

Davis held that disunion and civil strife would be averted if at least one of several acceptable outcomes occurred by 1861, one of which was a new War of 1812. In 1858, the Royal Navy began forcibly searching U.S. ships in not just the Atlantic but also the Gulf, and Britain dismissed Secretary of State Cass's protests.[475] "Steamships," Davis declared as a result, "guns, shot, shells, powder – these are what we want." The Union's defenses, he also noted, had become formidable, averring that if Britain were to attack Charleston, "Fort Sumter, with her threatening brow now mounted with many guns, will form a very different defense from the little

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[471] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the bill for the benefit of schools in the District of Columbia. April 12, 1860," *JDC*, 4:231. See "Speech of Jefferson Davis at the Grand Ratification Meeting, Faneuil Hall, Monday evening, Oct. 11, 1858," *JDC*, 3:321; "Speech of Jefferson Davis before the Democratic State Convention at Jackson, Miss., July 6, 1859," from the New York *Daily Tribune*, August 31, 1859, *JDC*, 4:71-72, 78, 85; and "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on Mr. Brown's Resolutions. Jan. 27 and 28, 1860," *op. cit.*, 4:181.

[472] "Speech of Jefferson Davis before the Democratic State Convention at Jackson, Miss., July 6, 1859," from the New York *Daily Tribune*, August 31, 1859, *JDC*, 4:72.

[473] "Speech of Jefferson Davis on the Increase of the Army. Feb. 10 and 11, 1858," *JDC*, 3:186.

[474] "Speech of Jefferson Davis at the Portland Convention. August 24, 1858," *JDC*, 3:287; and "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the bill for the increase of the army. Jan. 26 and 27, 1858," *JDC*, 3:167. See "Jefferson Davis to Robert McClelland," War Department, Washington, D.C., May 13, 1853, *JDC*, 2:222; "Jefferson Davis to John C. Casey," War Department, Washington, D.C., September 21, 1853, *JDC*, 2:267; "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Indian deficiency bill. June 12, 1858," *JDC*, 3:267-68; and "Remarks on the legislative appropriation bill. June 14, 1860," *JDC*, 4:514.

[475] See *PJD*, 6:187.

old fort of Moultrie that tried the courage of the British fleet on a former occasion." "[W]e may well say," he even declared, that "the country was never before in so good a state to go to war as now, whether we look at it in relation to our military preparation, in relation to our population and the vast resources of the country; or whether we look at it in the mere aspect of the fortifications that have been erected to guard our important cities and harbors."[476] Yet even as Davis invoked the "glorious battles of the war of 1812" and hailed the fledgling Union which "threw the wager of battle to the mistress of the seas," he counseled that a Democrat-controlled Union ought to bide its time until it was entirely ready to realize its Manifest Destiny because the U.S. still lacked the offensive military capabilities to defeat the Royal Navy and take Britain's colonies in the Americas, and so "if we are wise and energetic in the struggles which lie before us, our path is onward to more of national greatness than ever people before possessed."[477]

With the Republicans continuing to gain ground in the North, however, Davis calculated that the U.S. should risk fighting Britain sooner rather than later, for in an all-out battle against British abolitionism the Republicans would either have to support the administration's war effort or oppose it and discredit themselves by fully revealing their loyalty to Britain, on behalf of which their New England Federalist ancestors had lit "blue lights" to help the Royal Navy during the War of 1812.[478] Noting that the Union in 1812 was "much less prepared for war than we are now...," he predicted that "this great country will continue united" in the event of a conflict with Britain.[479] Denouncing "the despotism of the British crown" and excoriating "immoral, infamous... Great Britain, who armed the savage Indians against our ancestors," Davis sought to

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[476] "Remarks on an Appropriation for Warships," June 7, 1858, *PJD*, 6:183-85.
[477] Ibid., 6:184; "Speech of Jefferson Davis before the Democratic State Convention at Jackson, Miss., July 6, 1859," from the New York Daily *Tribune*, August 31, 1859, *JDC*, 4:76; and "Speech of Jefferson Davis in the City of New York, Palace Garden Meeting, Oct. 19, 1858," *JDC*, 3:338.
[478] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on Mr. Brown's Resolutions. Jan. 27 and 28, 1860," *JDC*, 4:182. See "Speech at Portland," September 11, 1858, *PJD*, 6:215.
[479] "Speech of Jefferson Davis on Fourth of July, 1858, at Sea," *JDC*, 3:273.

provoke the British by insisting yet again that the Indians attacking U.S. forces and settlers in the Pacific northwest were "warlike" and "very well armed" because they were "in constant intercourse with the Hudson's Bay Company."[480] He would thus support every "proposition to acquire Canada" that would impose white supremacy there, calling "[f]or the construction of a military road from Fort Benton to Walla-Walla" as a result.[481] Davis also advanced a measure he had advocated as the Secretary of War, namely, to build "a military post in or near the valley of the Red River of the North" to "control the half-breed Indians who rove on the northern side of our territory from the British possessions, and who are said to be well armed, well mounted, men of more than ordinary efficiency."[482] Senator Fessenden failed to defeat that initiative, which Davis coupled with a proposal to extend a joint border survey that was to go from the Pacific to the Rockies "eastward… as far as the Lake of the Woods" so as to push the U.S. border northward "in the valley of the Red River of the North."[483] The same survey, moreover, had revealed that a small strip of territory near the British port of Vancouver, called Point Roberts, was actually below the 49th parallel, and Davis urged Congress to build massive new coastal fortifications there. Point Roberts, he observed, was in "a commanding military position in relation to Great Britain," which would lose control over the entire Gulf of Georgia were "an appropriation to be made accordingly for these fortifications." When Fessenden rose to oppose his recommendation, moreover, Davis accused him of sycophancy *vis-à-vis* Britain and argued that while the forts would indeed be "a work of heavy expenditure," they were a military

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[480] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Oregon war debt bill. May 30, 1860," *JDC*, 4:375; "Speech of Jefferson Davis at the Grand Ratification Meeting, Faneuil Hall, Monday evening, Oct. 11, 1858," *JDC*, 3:317; and "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Harpers Ferry Invasion Resolutions. Dec. 8, 1859," *JDC*, 4:109. See "Speech at Washington," July 9, 1860, *PJD*, 6:358.

[481] "Speech of Jefferson Davis before the Democratic State Convention at Jackson, Miss., July 6, 1859," from the New York *Daily Tribune*, August 31, 1859, *JDC*, 4:83; and "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Army appropriation bill. Feb. 26, 1859," *JDC*, 4:15-16.

[482] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Army Appropriation bill. June 2, 1860," *JDC*, 4:397.

[483] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the consular and diplomatic bill. March 26, 1860," *JDC*, 4:214.

"necessity." Fessenden, in turn, accused Davis of seeking to instigate a conflict, berating him as a warmonger who "in time of peace [thinks] we are to do nothing else but prepare for war...."[484]

Great armies and railways propelling the U.S. to victory against Britain were, Davis proudly declared in 1858, "visions which have hung before me from my boyhood up...," visions which the "cold wing of time has been unable to wither."[485] He was confident that a war would erupt before the 1860 election upon learning that his old friend and fellow Buena Vista veteran Brigadier General William S. Harney had taken U.S. troops to the brink of battle during the July 1859 "Pig War." A protégé of Andrew Jackson, Tennessee's Harney compiled such a distinguished record fighting Seminoles, Black Hawk's "British Band," Kansas abolitionists, Sioux, and Mormons that Davis lauded him as follows in 1856: "Harney is worthy of all praise, and he will be informed of the high satisfaction the Dept feels."[486] When Harney sent U.S. soldiers to a disputed island near Vancouver called San Juan, a standoff with the Royal marines ensued in which weapons were drawn.[487] Davis was disappointed, however, when Buchanan chose to de-escalate the situation, and his frustration was compounded when the president vetoed an 1860 bill to build more Great Lakes fortifications, although he sought put a positive spin on the result by asserting that "the growing power of the United States" had rendered such forts unnecessary as "the battles will be fought on British and not on American or doubtful soil...." [488]

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[484] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Army Appropriation bill. June 2, 1860," *JDC*, 4:403, 408, 410, 413-14.

[485] "Speech of Jefferson Davis before the Mississippi Legislature. November 16, 1858," *JDC*, 3:359-60. Such visions, Davis asserted, were intrinsic to "the american mind." "To Lewis Cass," Hurricane, August 3, 1857, *PJD*, 6:134. See "To Arthur C. Halbert," Portland, Maine, August 22, 1858, *PJD*, 6:206.

[486] Quoted in *PJD*, 6:414. See "Jefferson Davis to W. S. Harney," War Department, Washington, D.C., December 26, 1855, *JDC*, 2:583; "Jefferson Davis to William S. Harney," War Department, Washington, D.C., November 4, 1856, *JDC*, 3:66; "To Franklin Pierce," War Department, Washington, D.C., December 1, 1856, *PJD*, 6:65, 91; and George R. Adams, *General William S. Harney: Prince of Dragoons* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005).

[487] See Scott Kaufman, *The Pig War: The United States, Britain, and the Balance of Power in the Pacific Northwest, 1846-72* (Lanham, MD: Lexington, 2004).

[488] "Speech of Jefferson Davis before the Democratic State Convention at Jackson, Miss., July 6, 1859," from the New York *Daily Tribune*, August 31, 1859, *JDC*, 4:83; and "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the veto of the St. Clair Flats bill. Feb. 6, 1860," *JDC*, 4:186.

Surmising that there was little prospect of a war against Britain flaring up before the election to put the Republicans in a bind, Davis focused upon securing an electoral victory for "that glorious old party, which had so long wielded the destinies of the country for its honor, for its glory, and its progress...."[489] Britain, he lamented in an 1859 speech, had succeeded in bringing about "the perversion of the Northern mind, and, to no small extent, the alienation of the Northern people, from the fraternity due to the South." But there was still a "gallant minority" of northern Democrats who might yet save the Union if they could become a majority once more.[490] Asserting that the Democracy was "that party which alone is national, in which alone lies the hope of preserving the Constitution and the perpetuation of the Government and of the blessings which it was ordained and established to secure," Davis strove to enhance the appeal of the North's "men of genuine Democracy..., who indorsed the opinions I entertained, and who indorse them still…."[491] To that end, he vowed to support not just an ample revenue tariff but even protective tariffs for the "encouragement of certain articles... necessary as a means of national defense."[492] Promising as well that a plethora of federal military infrastructure would be built in all corners of the Union, he described the Democracy as a party of "stability and progress" to attract yet more Cotton Whigs, declaring, "let every American head, let every

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[489] "Reply to Stephen A. Douglas," May 17, 1860, *PJD*, 6:295.

[490] "Speech of Jefferson Davis before the Democratic State Convention at Jackson, Miss., July 6, 1859," from the New York *Daily Tribune*, Wednesday, August 31, 1859, *JDC*, 4:86-87. See "Speech of Jefferson Davis at the Grand Ratification Meeting, Faneuil Hall, Monday evening, Oct. 11, 1858," *JDC*, 3:326; "Speech at Vicksburg," November 27, 1858, *PJD*, 6:228; "To J. L. M. Curry," Washington D.C., June 4, 1859, *PJD*, 6:254; and "Philip A. Roach to Jefferson Davis," San Francisco, June 27, 1859, *JDC*, 4:60. "Mr. Jefferson," after all, "denominated the Democracy of the North, the natural allies of the South." "Speech at Portland," September 11, 1858, *PJD*, 6:217.

[491] "Address of Jefferson Davis at Faneuil Hall, Boston, October 12, 1858," in Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 1:639; "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Pugh resolutions. Jan. 12, 1860," *JDC*, 4:127. See "Speech of Jefferson Davis at the Portland Meeting," late August 1858, *JDC*, 3:298; "Speech of Jefferson Davis at the Portland Convention. August 24, 1858," *JDC*, 3:284-85; and "To Mississippi Citizens," Washington, D.C., December 18, 1858, *PJD*, 6:230.

[492] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on bill concerning fishing bounties. May 11, 1858," *JDC*, 3:220.

American hand unite in the great object of National development."[493] At the same time, he assured lower-class northerners that a Democratic triumph would see whites in the North become true "brethren" as within the more purely Democratic South, for "the mechanic in our southern States is admitted to the table of his employer, converses with him on terms of equality – not merely political equality, but an actual equality – wherever the two men come in contact."[494]

The Democracy, however, would, Davis insisted, have to win in the North without compromising the principles it had espoused "since 1800," for he would scorn to "unite merely together for success" with ideologically unsound Democrats, and "if the Democratic party be not a union of men upon principle, the sooner it is dissolved the better...."[495] He and his supporters had regarded the Illinois U.S. senator Stephen Douglas as Van Buren's successor within the northern Democracy ever since 1850, during which year the Little Giant ostensibly united with Henry Clay and the Conscience Whigs to conciliate rather than squelch the forces of British abolitionism in the North.[496] Van Buren and Douglas, after all, were both professional

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[493] "Speech of Jefferson Davis before the Democratic State Convention at Jackson, Miss., July 6, 1859 from the New York *Daily Tribune*, August 31, 1859, 4:62; and "Speech of Jefferson Davis at the Portland Convention. August 24, 1858," *JDC*, 3:285. See "Speech of Jefferson Davis at State Fair at Augusta, Me.," from the *Eastern Argus*, September 29, 1858, *JDC*, 3:309; "Speech of Jefferson Davis in the City of New York, Palace Garden Meeting, Oct. 19, 1858," *JDC*, 3:339; "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the civil appropriations bill. March 2, 1859," *JDC*, 4:51; "From Amos A. Lawrence," Boston, December 22, 1859, *PJD*, 6:268-69; and "To Edwin De Leon," Washington, D.C., January 21, 1860, *PJD* 6:271.

[494] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the civil appropriations bill. March 2, 1859," *JDC*, 4:49. See "Reply to William H. Seward," February 29, 1860, *PJD*, 6:281, 284. Davis claimed to be horrified by "the humiliation and suffering of his own race" in the British Isles and, increasingly, the North. "Speech at Mississippi City," October 2, 1857, *PJD*, 6:147. See ibid., 6:148.

[495] "Reply to Stephen A. Douglas," May 17, 1860, *PJD* 6:295-96. Davis insisted that compared to the maintenance of ideological purity, "the success of a single electoral struggle is unworthy of one moment's consideration." "Address to the National Democracy," May [7], 1860, *PJD*, 6:293. See "To Stephen Cocke," Washington, D.C., January 6, 1856, *PJD*, 6:3-4; "Speech at Mississippi City," October 2, 1857, *PJD*, 6:141; "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the bill regulating pay of Army officers. Feb. 15. 1859," *JDC*, 3:560; and Cass Canfield, *The Iron Will of Jefferson Davis* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1978), 35.

[496] See "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the reception of a petition against the extension of slavery in the Territories," February 12, 1850, *JDC*, 1:262-63; "Speech of Jefferson Davis in Senate Feb. 13 and 14, 1850 on Slavery in the Territories," *JDC*, 1:278-79; "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on March 8, 1850, on Compromise resolutions concerning slavery," *JDC*, 1:317; "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on Compromise Bill of June 28, 1850," *JDC*, 1:401; "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the slave trade in the District of Columbia. Sept. 10, 1850," *JDC*, 1:534; "Jefferson Davis to B. Pendleton and others," Brierfield, Mississippi, November 10, 1850, from the *Mississippi Free Trader*,

politicians who never served in the U.S. army. As a result, Davis derided Douglas's "spurious" faction as a "decayed off-shoot of democracy" and accused him of harboring "hostility to the Administration," but the Little Giant's influence rose so much within the northern Democracy that President Buchanan would occasionally seek to please him at Davis's expense.[497] Varina Davis hence sought to mollify Buchanan after a dispute between him and her husband on one occasion by knitting him a pair of slippers on behalf "of these who love you."[498] Insisting that Douglas was presenting northerners with "a choice of evils" rather than a choice between good and evil, Davis noted that he and not Douglas had helped settle Illinois as a U.S. army lieutenant, saluting the Illinoisans with whom he had "had kind relations in the face of hostile Indians."[499]

Davis claimed that Douglas was "full of heresy" because he was leading Buchanan away from Calhoun-style state's rights into consolidation and Radical state's rights much like Van Buren *vis-à-vis* Jackson, endorsing Winfield Scott's brevet promotion to lieutenant-general as well.[500] Douglas and his allies, to be sure, had been "sterling Democrats" insofar as they were "uncompromising anti-Know Nothings; men who war[red] upon the American party, who give it no quarter."[501] The Illinoisan, moreover, agreed to open the Kansas territory to slavery in

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November 30, 1850, *JDC*, 1:581. The mark of a true Democrat, Davis averred, was to have "resisted Abolitionism" both "decidedly and consistently." "Speech at Mississippi City," October 2, 1857, *PJD*, 6:149. See "To Philadelphia Democrats," July 3, 1856, from the Jackson *Semi-Weekly Mississippian*, July 25, 1856, *PJD*, 6:485. Also see "From W. R. Isaacs MacKay," San Francisco, January 13, 1857, *PJD*, 6:101; and "From Philip A. Roach," San Francisco, February 4, 1857, *PJD*, 6:535.

[497] "Speech at Washington," July 9, 1860, *PJD*, 6:358; and "Reply to Stephen A. Douglas," May 17, 1860, *PJD*, 6:327. See "To Arthur C. Halbert," Portland, Maine, August 22, 1858, *PJD*, 6:206. Douglas and his supporters, however, still accused Buchanan of being "'more Southern than the South,'" "Speech at Mississippi City," October 2, 1857, *PJD*, 6:152.

[498] Quoted in Freehling, *The Road to Disunion: Secessionists Triumphant, 1854-1861*, 107. See *PJD*, 6:373, 538.

[499] "Reply to Stephen A. Douglas," May 17, 1860, *PJD*, 6:306. See "Speech at Mississippi City," October 2, 1857, *op. cit.*, 6:141.

[500] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on questions connected with slavery in the territories. Feb. 23, 1859," *JDC*, 3:583. See "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the joint resolution to confer the title of lieutenant-general by brevet on Major General Scott. Feb. 12, 1851," *JDC*, 2:24; "Speech at Vicksburg," May 18, 1857, *PJD*, 6:118; "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on river and harbor bill. May 24, 1858," *JDC*, 3:237; "Speech of Jefferson Davis before the Mississippi Legislature. November 16, 1858," *JDC*, 3:356; and "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on bill to abolish the franking privilege. Feb. 15, 1860," *JDC*, 4:197.

[501] "Reply to Stephen A. Douglas," May 17, 1860, *PJD*, 6:307.

exchange for a transcontinental railroad terminating at Chicago "about the period of the enactment of the Kansas-Nebraska law…," when he was "more sound than he either is now or was in 1850…."[502] But the Little Giant incensed Davis because his Illinois Central Railroad would not transport troops, military supplies, or mail at reasonable rates, and he often made no pretense of his proposed federal internal improvements having any military value whatsoever.[503]

At the same time, Douglas seemed to embrace Radical state's rights in various ways. Davis praised him for supporting the Fugitive Slave law, but one of Douglas's closest Illinois lieutenants was the English immigrant and long-serving U.S. marshal Harry Wilton, who enforced Davis's 1854 order to eject white settlers from federal lands reserved for military use but resigned in protest when directed to enforce the Fugitive Slave law in 1856.[504] Soon after the Royal Navy began boarding U.S. ships in the Gulf, moreover, Douglas revived an old Radical idea which had embarrassed the Jefferson administration by calling for the U.S. to build gun-boats. Davis, in turn, concurred that the Union was inexorably "drifting into a war with England," but he pointed out that "[w]hen it comes, it will be the war of the giants; and if the mountains are not upheaved from the seas, the face of the ocean will be furrowed all over." He therefore dismissed Douglas's proposal as a political stunt, wondering how were "twenty little gun-boats, to go and take the police of the high seas, and compel England to abandon her

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[502] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Pugh resolutions. Jan. 12, 1860," *JDC*, 4:130. The new Republican Party viewed the Kansas-Nebraska Act as a violation of the Missouri Compromise, but Davis always held that California's admission was the first abrogation thereof. See "Speech at Portland," September 11, 1858, *PJD*, 6:219-20.

[503] See "To Stephen A. Douglas," May 31, 1856, *PJD*, 6:476; and *PJD*, 6:433. Such internal improvements were, Davis insisted, a departure "from the path of Democracy." "Speech at Mississippi City," October 2, 1857, *PJD*, 6:142. See ibid., 6:143; and "Speech at Hernando," from the Memphis *Appeal*, September 8, 1857, *PJD*, 6:548.

[504] See "To Franklin Pierce," War Department, Washington, D.C., October 20, 1854, *PJD*, 5:89-90; and "Reply to Stephen A. Douglas," May 17, 1860, *PJD*, 6:296-97. Davis also recommended Douglas's father-in-law for a Treasury Department office, but a lieutenant commissioned as a favor to Douglas failed to report for duty in 1857 and was stripped of command upon failing to answer Davis's letters. See "To Stephen Davis," War Department, Washington, D.C., February 16, 1857, *PJD*, 6:537; and *PJD*, 6:543.

pretensions on blue water – little things, that hardly dare to go out of sight of land....”[505] And because Davis held that the government was obliged to protect slaveholder property rights in the territories, he accused Douglas of advancing Radical state’s rights *via* popular sovereignty, to endorse which was to advocate “a paralysis of the Federal Government” by “divesting [it] of a duty which the Constitution requires it to perform.”[506] When Robert J. Walker became Polk’s Treasury Secretary, moreover, Davis defended him from Whig accusations of corruption and endorsed his initiative to create the Department of the Interior, which would bring “efficiency… to the executive department” and “open new sources of national prosperity and strength.”[507] But their friendship soured when Walker gravitated toward Douglas and, in Davis’s view, “struck hands with the Abolitionists” as Kansas’s territorial governor, to which office he was appointed in 1857 by Buchanan, who disappointed Davis by failing to use “the strong arm of the Federal Government” to quell the abolitionist “reign of terror.”[508] At Davis’s behest, however, the president sought to bring Kansas into the Union as a slave state in 1858 under the Lecompton

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[505] “Remarks on an Appropriation for Warships,” June 7, 1858, *PJD* 6:183.

[506] “Reply to Stephen A. Douglas,” May 17, 1860, *PJD*, 6:309, 318. See ibid., 6:298, 303; “Jefferson Davis to B. Pendleton and others,” Brierfield, Mississippi, November 10, 1850, from the *Mississippi Free Trader*, November 30, 1850, *JDC*, 1:582, 585; “Speech at Jackson,” May 29, 1857, *PJD*, 6:122-23; “Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Pacific Railroad bill. Jan. 11, 19, and 20, 1859,” *JDC*, 3:398; “Remarks of Jefferson Davis on questions connected with slavery in the territories. Feb. 23, 1859,” *JDC*, 3:569-88; “Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Pugh resolutions. Jan. 12, 1860,” *JDC*, 4:124; “Resolutions by Jefferson Davis, submitted March 1, 1860,” *JDC*, 4:204; and “Speech of Jefferson Davis on the resolutions concerning the relations of the states. May 8, 1860,” *JDC*, 4:282.

[507] “Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the bill to establish the Department of the Interior. March 3, 1849,” *JDC*, 1:228, 231. See ibid., 1:227; “Jefferson Davis to John Jenkins” from the *Vicksburg Sentinel*, February 17, 1846, Washington, January 30, 1846, *JDC*, 1:26-28; and “Jefferson Davis to Robert J. Walker,” Mouth of the Rio Grande, August 24, 1846, *JDC*, 1:60.

[508] “Speech at Jackson,” November 4, 1857, *PJD*, 6:159; and “Speech of Jefferson Davis on the Increase of the Army. Feb. 10 and 11, 1858,” *JDC*, 3:181-82. See “Speech at Hernando,” from the Memphis *Appeal*, September 8, 1857, *PJD*, 6:548; “Speech at Mississippi City,” October 2, 1857, *PJD*, 6:149-51; “Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the bill for the increase of the army. Jan. 26 and 27, 1858,” *JDC*, 3: 141-42, 154; and “Remarks of Jefferson Davis in reference to the Kansas Message. Feb. 8, 1858,” *JDC*, 3:171-72. Pierce’s Kansas territorial governor Andrew H. Reeder, in contrast, disliked slavery but deplored the abolitionists there. Radicals in their “carping criticism” condemned him and Pierce for failing to endorse slavery-in-the-abstract all the same, but Davis held that such northern Democrats ought to receive “unstinted commendation and unqualified approval.” “To Franklin Pierce,” Brierfield, July 23, 1857, *PJD*, 6:132.

Constitution, which both Walker and Douglas denounced.[509] In contrast to Cass, Douglas also refused to repudiate popular sovereignty even when the Supreme Court ruled that slaveholders had the right to bring their chattel property into U.S. territories, holding instead that territorial legislatures should refuse to enact the local police laws needed to sustain the institution.[510] And Davis had him removed him as the chair of the Committee on Territories in 1859 as a result.[511]

Thanks to Van Buren, Davis complained in 1858, Calhoun "died without attaining that elevation which his character, his genius, his services to the country justly entitled him…."[512] Alarmed by the "fearful strides" of British abolitionism, against which "even the great power of Mr. Calhoun had striven in vain to check by the declaration of his resolutions in the years 1837 and 1838," Davis introduced Senate resolutions in February 1860 based upon Calhoun's examples to test northern Democratic ideological purity and foil a potential Douglas nomination at the upcoming Charleston convention.[513] Emphasizing that northern Democrats need not "concur in their abstract opinion in relation to African slavery," he urged them to acknowledge the constitutionality of the Fugitive Slave law and illegality of all state nullifications thereof; admit that the government had a delegated duty to protect slaveholder property in territories; accept that a territory could phase slavery out only upon becoming a state; and affirm the flagrant unconstitutionality of black citizenship.[514] He was disappointed but not surprised when Douglas

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[509] See "Speech at Jackson," November 4, 1857, *PJD*, 6:159; "To William H. Sparke," Washington, D.C., February 19, 1858, *PJD*, 6:171; *PJD*, 6:162; and George D. Harmon, "President James Buchanan's Betrayal of Governor Robert J. Walker of Kansas," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. 53, no. 1 (January 1929), 51-91.

[510] See "From Horatio J. Harris," June 20, 1856, *PJD*, 6:484; "Reply to Stephen A. Douglas," May 17, 1860, *PJD*, 6:305; and D. E. Fehrenbacher, "Lincoln, Douglas, and the 'Freeport Question,'" *The American Historical Review*, vol. 66, no. 3 (April 1961), 599-617.

[511] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Pugh resolutions. Jan. 12, 1860," *JDC*, 4:132-33. See *PJD*, 6:341, 348.

[512] "Further Remarks on the Army Increase Bill. January 27, 1858," *JDC*, 3:163. Calhoun, for his part, lamented in an 1837 letter that he seemed to be "aiming constantly at the Presidency and destined constantly to be defeated." "To Duff Green," Fort Hill, July 27th 1837, *PJCC*, 13:527.

[513] "Reply to Stephen A. Douglas," May 17, 1860, *PJD*, 6:307.

[514] "Resolutions on the Relations of the States," February 2, 1860, *PJD*, 6:273-75. See "To the Commissioners of the Gulf and Ship Island Railroad," Portland, Maine, August 28, 1858, *PJD*, 6:211; "Speech at Portland," September

refused to endorse his Calhoun-inspired resolutions, for when he asserted in a May 1860 Senate exchange with Douglas that "when non-intervention is pressed to the point of paralyzing the arm of the Federal Government for its one great function of protection, then I submit it is a doctrine which we denounce, which we call squatter sovereignty...," the Little Giant became so irate that the Mississippian predicted he would "sooner or later... land in the ranks of the Republicans."[515]

As the Charleston convention approached, quite a few Democrats in all parts of the U.S. urged Davis to run for president.[516] The Mississippian, however, made his preference known for such likeminded northern Democrats as George M. Dallas, New York's Daniel S. Dickinson, and, above all, Franklin Pierce, asserting with reference to Douglas and the northern Democracy that "the majority of his own party did not concur with his sentiments in relation to territorial government...."[517] The Democratic Party, he thus proudly predicted, would never be "wrecked by petty controversies in relation to African labor...."[518] Douglas, in turn, rejoined with considerable hyperbole that "I believe that I hold opinions which are entertained by three fourths

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11, 1858, *PJD*, 6:215-18, 220; "Reply to Stephen A. Douglas," May 17, 1860, *PJD*, 6:303-04, 329; and *PJD*, 6:551. Davis thus described the Missouri Compromise as "the paralysis of the Federal Government north of a certain point, or the exercise of usurped power by an act of inhibition." "Reply to Stephen A. Douglas," *op. cit.*, 6:319.

[515] "Reply to Stephen A. Douglas," May 17, 1860, *PJD*, 6:317; and "Speech of Jefferson Davis in relation to property in the territories. May 16 and 17, 1860," *JDC*, 4:324. See "Reply to Stephen A. Douglas," May 17, 1860, *op. cit.*, 6:302; and Judah B. Ginsberg, "Barnburners, Free Soilers, and the New York Republican Party," *New York History*, vol. 57, no. 4 (October 1976), 475-500.

[516] See "To Edwin De Leon," Washington, D.C., January 21, 1860, *PJD* 6:271. One of Davis's California allies even encouraged him to seek the presidency as early as 1857, informing him that "[y]ou have many personal friends as well as admirers in this state," and that "Californians look to you to help us." "From W. R. Isaacs MacKay," San Francisco, January 13, 1857, *PJD*, 6:102-02.

[517] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Pugh resolutions. Jan. 12, 1860," *JDC*, 4:137. See "Anonymous to Jefferson Davis," Camp Simiahmoo, Washington Territory, November 25, 1858, *JDC*, 3:361; "Jefferson Davis to Franklin Pierce," Washington, D.C., January 17, 1859, *JDC*, 3:498; "Franklin Pierce to Jefferson Davis," Clarendon Hotel, New York City, January 6, 1860, *JDC*, 4:118; "Jefferson Davis to Franklin Pierce," Senate Chamber, January 30, 1860, *JDC*, 4:185; "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on Senator Douglas's resolutions concerning invasion of states. Jan. 26, 1860," *JDC*, 4:157; "To John R. Pease," Washington, D.C., February 10, 1860, *PJD*, 6:276; "E. D. Beach to Jefferson Davis," Springfield, March 19, 1860, *JDC*, 4:213; "Speech of Jefferson Davis in relation to property in the territories. May 16 and 17, 1860," *op. cit.*, 4:326, 330; "Jefferson Davis to Franklin Pierce," Washington, D.C., June 13, 1860," *JDC*, 4:496; and *PJD*, 6:277. Also see Richard E. Beringer, "Jefferson Davis's Pursuit of Ambition: The Attractive Features of Alternative Decisions," *Civil War History*, vol. 38, no. 1 (March 1992), 5-38.

[518] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on questions connected with slavery in the territories. Feb. 23, 1859," *JDC*, 3:576.

of the Democracy of the nation."[519] Yet he did manage to garner support from a majority of the northern delegates at Charleston, prompting Davis Democrats to nominate Vice President John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky as an alternative candidate.[520] Surmising that a split Democracy would be in a similar situation as were the Know-Nothings and Republicans in 1856, Davis also sought to convince both Breckinridge and Douglas to stand down in favor of Pierce. But while the Kentuckian and former president were warily open to the idea, Douglas refused outright.[521] "If our little grog-drinking, electioneering Demagogue can destroy our hopes," Davis therefore lamented in a letter to Pierce, "it must be that we have been doomed to destruction."[522] He had boasted in May that "[m]y devotion to the party is life-long. If a man may be said to have inherited political principles, I may say I inherited mine. I derived them from a revolutionary father – one of the earliest friends of Mr. Jefferson, who, after the Revolution which achieved our independence, bore his full part in the second revolution, which emancipated us from usurpation and consolidation."[523] With the Democratic Party now riven along largely sectional lines thanks to Douglas, however, Davis lost hope that the 1860 election would prove to be as pivotal a Democratic victory as that of 1800, a victory in which, as a nephew put it, all "the true men of the Country" would "put down & *for ever* the Republicans and their Confederates."[524]

Davis held that "the triumph of Democracy" would be "the triumph of the Union" while "the downfall of the Democracy would be its destruction," but he hoped that secession and civil war might still be avoided if the influential New York Republican William H. Seward became

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[519] Quoted in "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Pugh resolutions. Jan. 12, 1860," *JDC*, 4:131.
[520] See "Speech of Jefferson Davis in relation to property in the territories. May 16 and 17, 1860," *JDC*, 4:300.
[521] See "To William B. Sloan," Washington, D.C., July 8, 1860, *PJD*, 6:357.
[522] "Jefferson Davis to Franklin Pierce," Washington, D.C., June 13, 1860," *JDC*, 4:496.
[523] "Reply to Stephen A. Douglas," May 17, 1860, *PJD*, 6:302.
[524] "From Richard Brodhead," Easton, Pennsylvania, December 24, 1859, *PJD*, 6:270. See "To John R. Pease," Washington, D.C., February 10, 1860, *PJD*, 6:277; and David A. Williams, "California Democrats of 1860: Division, Disruption, Defeat," *Southern California Quarterly*, vol. 55, no. 3 (Fall 1973), 239-52.

president.[525] The election of any other Republican would be a "declaration of war" upon true Americans throughout the Union and particularly the South, but Seward as an acceptable chief executive in his view.[526] Davis usually had terrible personal relations with Republicans, who accused him of being nepotistic, a sectionalist, an aspiring military tyrant, and Calhoun's heir, for they evinced "a particular objection to Calhoun, and the doctrines of Calhoun."[527] Indicting the Republicans as "odious" traitors, he declared before the Mississippi legislature in 1858 that if "an Abolitionist be chosen President of the United States, you will have presented to you the question of whether you will permit the government to pass into the hands of your avowed and implacable enemies."[528] Seward, however, was not a typical abolitionist, and he was one of the very few Republicans with whom Davis had amiable personal relations, for he had once sent horses through deep snows in the capital to assist Varina Davis when she was sick in the mid-1850s, and he later conversed with an ill Davis at his bedside in 1859.[529] Indeed, he would even ask patronage favors of Davis and averted a duel between him and the Michigan Republican Zachariah Chandler, who had angered Davis over military appropriations dispute.[530] Davis viewed Seward as a potential convert to the Democracy and believed that he might even

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[525] "Speech of Jefferson Davis on the resolutions concerning the relations of the states. May 8, 1860," *JDC*, 4:262. See "Jefferson Davis to L. P. Connor and others," Brierfield, Mississippi, October 7, 1860," from the *Mississippi Free Trader*, October 16, 1860, *JDC*, 4:540.

[526] "Speech of Jefferson Davis on the resolutions concerning the relations of the states. May 8, 1860," *op. cit.*, 4:277.

[527] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on Mr. Brown's Resolutions. January 28, 1860," *JDC*, 4:173. See "Jefferson Davis to Hamilton Fish," War Department, Washington, D.C., March 11, 1856, *JDC*, 2:10; "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the bill for the increase of the army. Jan. 26 and 27, 1858," *JDC*, 3:160; "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Army appropriation bill. Feb. 26, 1859," *JDC*, 4:19, 25-26; "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Harper's Ferry Invasion Resolutions," December 6, 1859, *JDC*, 4:97; "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the bill for the sale of arms to the states. Feb. 23, 1860," *JDC*, 4:200; and "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Army Appropriation bill. June 7, 1860," *JDC*, 4:483.

[528] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on Mr. Brown's Resolutions. Jan. 27 and 28, 1860," *JDC*, 4:169; and "Speech of Jefferson Davis before the Mississippi Legislature. November 16, 1858," *JDC*, 3:356-57.

[529] See Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 1:571, 579-80. Since Republicans were traitorous Anglophiles, Davis regarded their personal "hostility" toward him as "the highest commendation in their power to bestow." "Speech at Portland," September 11, *PJD*, 6:215.

[530] See *PJD*, 6:196. Also see "Jefferson Davis to J. W. Webb," Washington, D.C., October 29, 1856, *JDC*, 3:64.

disconcert the Republicans from within as president much like John Tyler *vis-à-vis* the Whigs because he condemned nativism despite having quietly cooperated with New York Know-Nothings against the Democracy, aspired to challenge Britain *via* U.S. expansion, and seemed to oppose racial equality even though he deplored slavery.[531] Seward also worked to enhance U.S. military power in conjunction with Davis, who contrasted him favorably to other congressional Republicans despite his low opinion of his martial knowledge.[532] Seward, Davis surmised, knew that the British abolitionists would ultimately seek "the ruin of the navigating and manufacturing States who are their rivals...," and he accordingly declared that he would prefer him to become president as opposed to Douglas because his heart at least was in the right place.[533] The British ambassador Lord Lyons, after all, suspected that Seward was aiming "to set himself at the head of a new party... which should rally to itself the important Irish vote by hostility to England."[534]

Unfortunately for Davis, "[t]he master mind of the so-called Republican party" was not nominated, and while he still optimistically predicted victory for "the true democracy" as represented by Breckenridge, whose "banner proclaims the futility of Abe Lincoln's efforts to rend the Union," he reached new depths of despair and heights of anger when a member of the British royal family visited the Union for the first time.[535] Albert Edward, Prince of Wales entered the U.S. from British North America in the fall of 1860, and he was enthusiastically greeted by immense and largely Republican crowds throughout the North even though Davis had

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[531] See "Speech of Jefferson Davis before the Mississippi Legislature. November 16, 1858," *JDC*, 3:357; "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the special message on affairs in South Carolina. Jan. 10, 1861," *JDC*, 5:5; *PJD*, 5:176; *PJD*, 6:14; and David E. Shi, "Seward's Attempt to Annex British Columbia, 1865-1869," *Pacific Historical Review*, vol. 47, no. 2 (May 1978), 217-38.

[532] See "From William H. Seward," September 30, 1856, *PJD*, 6:504; and "Remarks on the Adoption of Breech-loading Arms," Washington, June 8, 1858, *PJD* 6:197.

[533] "Speech of Jefferson Davis on the resolutions concerning the relations of the states. May 8, 1860," *JDC*, 4:278. See "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Harpers Ferry Invasion Resolutions. Dec. 8, 1859," *JDC*, 4:105.

[534] Quoted in *Private and Confidential: Letters from British Ministers in Washington to the Foreign Secretaries of London, 1844-67*, ed. James J. Barnes and P. Patience (Selinsgrove, PA: Susquehanna University Press, 1993), 251.

[535] "Speech of Jefferson Davis before the Mississippi Legislature. November 16, 1858," *JDC*, 3:356; and "Speech at Washington," July 9, 1860, *PJD*, 6:359.

declared a few months earlier that the British government was "hostile to the rights of the people, not resting upon their consent, trampling upon their privileges, and calling for their resistance."[536] The prince, moreover, was hostile not just to the institution of slavery but also to white supremacy, and he refused to proceed any farther south than Virginia as a result.[537] That was a prudent decision, too, for he had angered Democrats throughout the Union but especially the South by, as Varina Davis put it when she "described the Prince of Wales's visit" a year later, derisively asserting that "as a statesman they did not think highly of Mr. Calhoun in England."[538]

Davis's Last Resort: Secession and a New American Revolution

As in every presidential election since 1848, Davis had threatened to endorse southern secession in 1860 if the North were to be "perverted" by "Federal usurpation" and the "disease" of British abolitionism.[539] His goal by doing so was not to bring about disunion but rather to "strengthen the hands of our friends at the North," yet when he realized that he would actually have to enact his threat when Lincoln carried every northern state and California to boot, he was lumped in with the Radical secessionist "Norman Cavaliers" by a pro-abolitionist northern Presbyterian minister and many other Republicans proudly descended from "Puritans of Saxon origin" even though he had insisted that he never "advocated a dissolution of the Union, or the

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[536] "Speech at Washington," July 9, 1860, *PJD*, 6:359.

[537] See Kenneth Rose, *King George V* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1983), 65. Also see William J. Baker, "Anglo-American Relations in Miniature: The Prince of Wales in Portland, Maine, 1860," *The New England Quarterly*, vol. 45, no. 4 (December 1972), 559-68; and Ian Radforth, *Royal Spectacle: The 1860 Visit of the Prince of Wales to Canada and the United States*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004).

[538] Entry for March 1, 1861, in *Mary Chesnut's Civil War*, 13. See "From Joseph E. Davis," Hurricane, November 2, 1860, *PJD*, 6:367.

[539] "Speech of Jefferson Davis in relation to property in the territories. May 16 and 17, 1860," *JDC*, 4:301; and "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on Senator Powell's resolution. Dec. 10, 1860," *JDC*, 4:544. Davis would "rather appeal to the God of Battles at once than to attempt to live longer in… a Union" controlled by "an Abolition government." "Speech at Vicksburg," November 27, 1858, *PJD* 6:228. Asserting that "the southern democracy saved the Union" in previous elections, he believed that the outcome of the contest "between democracy and the black republicans" in the "monster crisis" of 1860 would hinge upon the success and "American patriotism" of the northern Democracy. "Speech at Jackson," May 29, 1857, *PJD*, 6:120, 123, 125. See "To Herschel V. Johnson," [October 1856], *PJD*, 6:54; and "To William H. Sparke," Washington D.C., February 19, 1858, *PJD*, 6:170.

separation of the State of Mississippi from the Union, except as the last alternative...."[540] Davis, in fact, was irate with the Radicals who wanted Lincoln to be elected in order to trigger secession, and he blamed them for the division of "the National Democracy" as much as Douglas, for he was "[e]qually opposed to the brainless intemperance of those who desired a dissolution of the Union" and the Little Giant's "slavish submission" to the Republicans.[541] The Radicals, to be sure, echoed Davis by excoriating Douglas and popular sovereignty during the 1860 campaign, but they did so without offering any concessions to the northern Democrats, whom they hoped to drive into the hands of the Little Giant in order to speed the sectional division of the Democracy and hence the Union. They had, after all, previously supported Douglas's popular sovereignty positions for fear of empowering the federal government in any capacity *vis-à-vis* slavery. Davis's fellow Mississippi senator and bitter rival the Radical secessionist Albert G. Brown, for instance, had commonly united with Douglas against Davis in the Senate, but now "Brown's friends are I believe seriously working to make him the nominee at Charleston, and his big trump is his antagonism to Douglass!!!!!"[542] And while Davis praised the Radical delegates who bolted from the Charleston convention alongside his southern allies,

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[540] "Speech of Jefferson Davis before the Mississippi Legislature. November 16, 1858," *JDC*, 3:343, 359; and quoted in *PJD*, 6:549. See "To William H. Sparke," Washington D.C., February 19, 1858, *PJD*, 6:170; and "Speech of Jefferson Davis before the Democratic State Convention at Jackson, Miss., July 6, 1859," from the New York *Daily Tribune*, August 31, 1859, *JDC*, 4:75; and "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the special message on affairs in South Carolina. Jan. 10, 1861," *JDC*, 5:28. See "To Arthur C. Halbert," Portland, Maine, August 22, 1858, *PJD*, 6:206; "To the Commissioners of the Gulf and Ship Island Railroad," Portland, Maine, August 28, 1858, *PJD*, 6:211; and "To Mississippi Citizens," Washington, D.C., December 18, 1858, *PJD*, 6:230.

[541] "Speech at Mississippi City," October 2, 1857, *PJD*, 6:153-54.

[542] "To Clement C. Clay," Washington, D.C., May 17, 1859, *PJD*, 6:251. See ibid., 6:252. Davis defined himself as "equally distant from disunion on the one hand, and submission on the other." "Speech at Jackson," November 4, 1857, *PJD*, 6:161. See "Reply to Stephen A. Douglas," May 17, *PJD*, 6:337, 339. For the intensity of the Brown-Davis rivalry on both personal and ideological levels within Mississippi, see "From John J. Pettus," Wahalak, June 5, 1857, *PJD*, 6:127-29; and *PJD*, 6:155, 267.

they, unlike his supporters, refused to return to the new convention at Baltimore even if the northern Democrats were "to purge the party creed of all heresies" by casting Douglas aside.[543]

The ideological differences between Davis and the Radicals had persisted and even worsened over the course of the 1850s, for while the former insisted that a true southern Democrat would only endorse secession "under the promptings of the highest motive that sustained our fathers in the Revolution…," the latter yearned to restore an idealized colonial South by founding a nation of "Anglo-Norman" Protestant Southrons dedicated to Radical state's rights, slavery-in-the-abstract, and inequality among whites, a nation which would hopefully become an agricultural British client state.[544] Davis would only secede to save the Constitution from a consolidation-minded North, declaring on behalf of his supporters that "when we declare our tenacious adherence to the Union, it is the Union of the Constitution."[545] He informed the Radicals as a result that he still had "no wish to cripple the power of the Federal Government; I have no wish to put it in fetters that will prevent it from discharging its legitimate duty, for the fear that if properly endowed its powers may at some time be used for our destruction."[546] And he would still champion Calhoun-style state's rights in a new Union based in the South, declaring that while he abhorred the idea of "consolidated Republic," he was also opposed to living in a polity that was "strictly a Confederacy."[547] States, after all, could only nullify

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[543] "Address to the National Democracy," May [7], 1860, *PJD*, 6:292. See ibid., 6:289-94; and "Reply to Stephen A. Douglas," May 17, 1860, *PJD*, 6:298-99, 318.

[544] "Speech of Jefferson Davis in relation to property in the territories. May 16 and 17, 1860," *JDC*, 4:338. See "Speech at Jackson," November 4, 1857, *PJD*, 6:160; Vicksburg *Whig*, July 30, 1858; "To the Commissioners of the Gulf and Ship Island Railroad," Portland, Maine, August 28, 1858, *PJD*, 6:210-11; "To Mississippi Citizens," Washington, D.C., December 18, 1858, *PJD*, 6:231; and "Reply to Stephen A. Douglas," May 17, 1860, *PJD*, 6:329.

[545] "Speech of Jefferson Davis in relation to property in the territories. May 16 and 17, 1860," *op. cit.*, 4:329. See "Address of Jefferson Davis at Faneuil Hall," Boston, October 12, 1858, in Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 1:632; and "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on Mr. Brown's Resolutions. Jan. 27 and 28, 1860," *JDC*, 4:163.

[546] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Harpers Ferry Invasion Resolutions. Dec. 6, 1859," *JDC*, 4:98.

[547] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on Senator Powell's resolution. Dec. 10, 1860," *JDC*, 4:544. See "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the bill for the increase of the army. January 26, 1858," *JDC*, 3:135; "Speech of Jefferson Davis on French Spoliations. Jan. 7 and 10, 1859," *JDC*, 3:469; "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Pacific Railroad bill.

unconstitutional laws because "[t]he resolutions of 1798 and 1799, though directed against usurpation, were equally directed against the dangers of anarchy."[548] The Radicals, in turn, were horrified when Davis not only continued to maintain that the federal government had "control of the instruction of the militia, so far as prescribing the mode of discipline," but went so far as to endorse conscription.[549] Hailing "the military sentiment which lives in the American heart," he claimed that state militias could be called "out when required for federal purposes" and that the "[m]ilitia may be coerced by draft" to meet U.S. troop quotas.[550] Davis, moreover, held that citizens ought to be drafted, for while "[t]he successful soldier… is met by a welcome proportionate to the leaves which he has added to the wreath of his country's glory," it was even more "sweet and honorable to die for one's country...."[551] And pining to fight Britain, he decried the Radicals who had hindered the War of 1812 alongside the cynical Massachusetts Federalists

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Jan. 11, 19, and 20, 1859," *JDC*, 3:459; "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Pacific railroad bill. Jan. 25, 1859," *JDC*, 3:502; and "Speech of Jefferson Davis before the Democratic State Convention at Jackson, Miss., July 6, 1859," from the New York *Daily Tribune*, August 31, 1859, *JDC*, 4:62.

[548] "Reply to Stephen A. Douglas," May 17, 1860, *PJD*, 6:302. See "Speech at Jackson," May 29, 1857, *PJD*, 6:124.

[549] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Army Appropriation bill. June 2, 1860," *JDC*, 4:423. Davis also continued to maintain that Congress should give state militias "books of tactical instruction" for which the government rather than individuals ought to own the copyrights. Ibid., 4:427. See "Speech of Jefferson Davis at Belfast Encampment," late August 1858, *JDC*, 3:288; "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Army appropriation bill. Feb. 26, 1859," *JDC*, 4:28; and "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Army Appropriation bill. June 7, 1860," *JDC*, 4:477.

[550] "Speech of Jefferson Davis at the Banquet after Encampment at Belfast," *op. cit*., 3:292-93; and "Speech of Jefferson Davis on the Increase of the Army. Feb. 10 and 11, 1858," *JDC*, 3:180, 191-92. See "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Indian deficiency bill. June 12, 1858," *JDC*, 3:269; "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on bill for the sale of arms to the states. March 26, 1860," *JDC*, 4:221-22; "Speech of Jefferson Davis on the resolutions concerning the relations of the states. May 8, 1860," *JDC*, 4:258; and "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Oregon war debt bill. May 30, 1860," *JDC*, 4:374. Secretary of War Davis had also asserted that "the Government can, as heretofore, resort to the plan of drafting the militia into the service." "To John B. Weller," War Department, Washington, D.C., July 24, 1856, *PJD*, 6:29. Radicals accused him of "cherishing a restless military ambition" as a result. "Speech at Jackson," November 4, 1857, *PJD*, 6:161.

[551] "Speech of Jefferson Davis at the Banquet after Encampment at Belfast," *op. cit.*, 3:291. See ibid., 3:288; and "Speech of Jefferson Davis on the Increase of the Army. Feb. 10 and 11, 1858," *op. cit.*, 3:186. Davis could speak of "the mangled forms of... friends," "the wail of the widow," the "destitution of the orphan, [and] the sorrow of the bereaved parent" from personal experience in the Mexican War, but he still held that the "happy repose of peace" paled before "the glorious exultation of victory" on a battlefield. "Speech of Jefferson Davis at the Crystal Palace Banquet in New York," from the Washington, D.C. *Union*, July 20, 1853, *JDC*, 2:247. See "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the bill regulating pay of Army officers. Feb. 15. 1859," *JDC*, 3:551.

whose "constitutional scruples would not allow the militia of that State to go beyond its own limits, though the honor of the flag and the safety of the country called on all her people."[552]

The Radicals were also irked to see Davis urge the Buchanan administration to continue building internal improvements of military value, but they were alarmed by his frenetic efforts to industrialize Mississippi and the other slave states.[553] Celebrating the fact that "the manufacturing village" was rising out of what had been "unbroken wilderness" in Mississippi as "the first step in the line of progress which lies before us," he encouraged the state government to build colleges, establish regulated banks, and undertake "the contemplated improvement in the levee system," calling as well for "the construction of railroads," found a military academy, and creation of "*public* factories for arms and ammunition," all of which would be subject to the control of an American federal government.[554] The Radicals, moreover, had no place for non-Anglo whites who rejected pro-slavery Protestantism in their projected southern nation. Davis, in contrast, continued to confer political favors upon Catholics, hailed "the Catholic colony of Maryland" as the most religiously tolerant of the original thirteen, and deplored "the Church of

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[552] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on Mr. Brown's Resolutions. Jan. 27 and 28, 1860," *JDC*, 4:182.

[553] See "Address of Jefferson Davis at Faneuil Hall, Boston," October 12, 1858, in Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 1:632; "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Pacific Railroad Bill. Dec. 14, 1858," *JDC*, 3:365, 367, 370-71; and "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Pacific Railroad bill. Jan. 11, 19, and 20, 1859," *JDC*, 3:386, 390, 400, 402, 416. Also see "From Alexander M. Clayton," September 5, 1857, *PJD*, 6:548.

[554] "Speech at Mississippi City," October 2, 1857, *PJD*, 6:138-39; "Speech at Jackson," May 29, 1857, *PJD*, 6:124; "Address of Jefferson Davis at Faneuil Hall," October 12, 1858, in Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 1:617; "Speech of Jefferson Davis before the Mississippi Legislature. November 16, 1858," *JDC*, 3:359; "Remarks of Jefferson on the agricultural colleges bill. Feb. 1, 1859," *JDC*, 3:518-19; "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the veto of the St. Clair Flats bill. Feb. 6, 1860," *JDC*, 4:189; "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the enlargement of the Louisville and Portland Canal. March 15, 1860," *JDC*, 4:208; and "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the death of Senator J. Pinckney Henderson of Texas. June 5, 1858," *JDC*, 3:263. See "Speech at Hernando," from the Memphis *Appeal*, September 8, 1857, *PJD*, 6:548; "Speech at Jackson," November 4, 1857, *op. cit.*, 6:161; "To the Commissioners of the Gulf and Ship Island Railroad," Portland, Maine, August 28, 1858, *PJD*, 6:209-12; "To Arthur C. Halbert," Portland, Maine, August 22, 1858, *PJD*, 6:206; "Speech at Vicksburg," November 27, 1858, *PJD*, 6:228; "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on bill for the sale of arms to the states. March 26, 1860," *JDC*, 4:218-24; and *PJD*, 6:157-58, 552-53. Davis also hoped that the "growth of manufacturing villages" in Mississippi would "diversify the occupations of her people" beyond cotton planting. "To the Commissioners of the Gulf and Ship Island Railroad," *op. cit.*, 6:211-12.

England men [who] drove out the Catholics" in colonial Virginia.[555] The Papacy, after all, sanctioned white supremacy but deplored slavery-in-the-abstract together with Radical pro-slavery Protestantism, and Davis hailed the "good Bishop Las Casas" for arguing with "philosophical humanity" that conquered Indians should be subjected to white rule but not slavery while advocating the importation of black African slaves as an extra source of labor.[556]

Davis, however, was opposed to bringing over any more slaves from Africa, condemning Radical efforts to re-open the Atlantic slave trade for fear that the South would be "overrun with the African race." "We chose that the white men should own this country," he declared; "that the negroes be permitted as laborers among them to such numbers as the interests and wishes of the whites might dictate...."[557] The purpose of southern slavery, he asserted, was not to help blacks become as "civilized and elevated" as possible, but rather to improve the lives of the whites who constituted the nation.[558] He concurred with the Radicals, to be sure, insofar as he maintained that, in terms of humane treatment, "our system for the control of an incompetent caste is in every respect better than would be a system of work-houses, public-labor farms or reform-schools, as the permanent connections and interest of the master must induce to a discipline more parental than would be that of the constable or superintendant having but a

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[555] "Speech of Jefferson Davis on the resolutions concerning the relations of the states. May 8, 1860," *JDC*, 4:255. The Democracy, Davis declared, was "baptised in the blood of the Revolution, [and] rocked in the cradle of civil and religious liberty since 1800…." "Speech at Washington," July 9, 1860, *PJD*, 6:358.

[556] "Speech of Jefferson Davis before the Democratic State Convention at Jackson, Miss., July 6, 1859," from the New York *Daily Tribune*, August 31, 1859, *JDC*, 4:71. See "From E. Q. S. Waldron," March 1, 1860, *PJD*, 6:553.

[557] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the naval appropriation bill. June 18, 1860," *JDC*, 4:523. Davis ultimately hoped to reduce the South's black population *via* "diffusion" and "a system of colonization" in Central America, but foreign and domestic abolitionists were standing in the way by opposing U.S. expansion. "Speech at Portland," September 11, 1858, *PJD*, 6:218. See ibid., 6:218-19; "Speech at Vicksburg," November 27, 1858, *PJD*, 6:228; and "Reply to Stephen A. Douglas," May 17, 1860, *PJD*, 6:329.

[558] "Speech of Jefferson Davis at the Grand Ratification Meeting, Faneuil Hall, Monday evening, Oct. 11, 1858," *JDC*, 3:321. See "Speech of Jefferson Davis at the Portland Meeting," late August 1858, *JDC*, 3:300; and "Speech of Jefferson Davis before the Democratic State Convention at Jackson, Miss., July 6, 1859," from the New York *Daily Tribune*, August 31, 1859, 4:70.

temporary and official relation."[559] But Davis was not pleased that southern slaves were "growing fatter under better treatment," and he criticized Radical paternalism for turning the South's blacks into a lazy and "improvident population."[560] He thus called for black slaves to be removed from their ostensibly easy lives "in the relation of domestics to their southern masters" and put to hard work in factories or upon internal improvements for the benefit of all whites.[561]

Invoking both the Constitution and the increasingly popular racial sciences, Davis also rejected Radical slavery-in-the-abstract doctrines by asserting that while no non-white could or should become a U.S. citizen, only blacks were fit to enslaved: "We recognize the fact of the inferiority stamped upon that race of men by the Creator, and from the cradle to the grave, our Government, as a civil institution, marks that inferiority."[562] Radicals held that southern slavery could be applied to every society and solve all of the modern world's ailments, but Davis insisted that the engine of global progress was not slavery *per se* but rather imperial white supremacy,

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[559] "Speech of Jefferson Davis before the Democratic State Convention at Jackson, Miss., July 6, 1859," *op. cit.*, 4:79. "There is a relation belonging to this species of property," Davis reiterated, "unlike that of apprentice or the hired man, which awakens whatever there is of kindness or of nobility in the heart of him who owns it...." "Speech of Jefferson Davis in relation to property in the territories. May 16 and 17, 1860," *JDC*, 4:327. See "Speech at Mississippi City," October 2, 1857, *PJD*, 6:147; and "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the naval appropriation bill. June 18, 1860," *JDC*, 4:527. Also see "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Montgomery, April 29, 1861, *JDC*, 5:72.

[560] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the naval appropriation bill. June 18, 1860," *JDC*, 4:527; and "Remarks of Jefferson Davis in reference to the Kansas Message. Feb. 8, 1858," *JDC*, 3:172. Davis also angered Radicals by calling for more state government regulation of slaveholders because slavery as a "relation of labor to capital had defects," for "it was subject to abuse by the vicious, the ignorant and the wayward." "Speech at Mississippi City," October 2, 1857, *PJD*, 6:147. See "Reply to William H. Seward," February 29, 1860, *PJD*, 6:282.

[561] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Harpers Ferry Invasion Resolutions. Dec. 8, 1859," *JDC*, 4:108. See "Speech at Jackson," November 4, 1857, *PJD*, 6:158; "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the civil appropriations bill. March 2, 1859," *JDC*, 4:48; "Reply to William H. Seward," February 29, 1860, *PJD*, 6:283-84; and "Reply to Stephen A. Douglas," May 17, 1860, *PJD*, 6:329. Davis, moreover, exulted that corporations employing northern engineers were "working coal mines in Virginia with hired slaves…." "Speech at Mississippi City," October 2, 1857, *PJD*, 6:149. See "To Joseph E. Davis," April 19, 1858, *PJD*, 6:175-76. Davis also asserted in a July 1856 letter that "Colored laborers" under "White overseers" should perform the most dangerous and unhealthy tasks rather than white workers. Quoted in *PJD*, 6:429.

[562] "Reply to William H. Seward," *op. cit.*, 6:283. "We have a subject race among us," Davis declared, "our fathers had it; and in the formation of the Government they recognized that race as subject, and recognized the master as holding property in it." "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on Mr. Brown's Resolutions. Jan. 27 and 28, 1860," *JDC*, 4:175. See "Speech of Jefferson Davis in the City of New York, Palace Garden Meeting, Oct. 19, 1858," *JDC*, 3:333; "Speech of Jefferson Davis before the Democratic State Convention at Jackson, Miss., July 6, 1859," from the New York *Daily Tribune*, August 31, 1859, 4:71; and "Speech of Jefferson Davis on the resolutions concerning the relations of the states. May 8, 1860," *JDC*, 4:254.

which did not have to take the form of "that particular institution called domestic slavery of African bondsmen."[563] Indeed, he often referred to southern slavery as "African slavery" because he regarded the institution as, at bottom, an atavism like "selfdom [*sic*]" or "villenage" that had been conceived by "the barbarians of Africa."[564] Asserting that blacks would invariably "lapse into the barbarism of their ancestors" if they were "left to themselves," he claimed that while the black emigrants from the South in Liberia had "reduced natives there to slavery," Liberia had not become civilized and the black slaveholders were "themselves steadily lapsing into barbarism."[565] Blacks, he avowed, were "a race of men who… for thousands of years have occupied the condition they did in the American colonies, and do now in the southern States," where they had reached "the highest condition which that race has ever attained anywhere...," indicating not that southern slavery should be applied to non-blacks but rather that "the negro could not exist in anything like a civilized condition without the presence of the white man."[566]

Davis knew that he could never have ostensibly proven that point if the Royal African Company and the slave-trading ancestors of the New England Federalists had not sent African slaves to the South in the first place, but he was not inclined to be grateful as a result. Mocking the British and northern abolitionist heirs of trans-Atlantic colonial slave-traders for condemning

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[563] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the civil appropriations bill. March 2, 1859," *JDC*, 4:49. See "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Harpers Ferry Invasion Resolutions. Dec. 8, 1859," *JDC*, 4:110.

[564] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis in reference to the Kansas Message. Feb. 8, 1858," *JDC*, 3:172; and "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the slave trade bill. May 24, 1860," *JDC*, 4:361. See "To Caleb Cushing," June 18, 1853, *PJD*, 5:22-23; "Speech at Mississippi City," October 2, 1857, *PJD*, 6:147; and "Speech of Jefferson Davis before the Democratic State Convention at Jackson, Miss., July 6, 1859," from the New York *Daily Tribune*, August 31, 1859, *JDC*, 4:63.

[565] "Speech of Jefferson Davis before the Democratic State Convention at Jackson, Miss., July 6, 1859," from the New York *Daily Tribune*, August 31, 1859, 4:72-73; and "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on Mr. Brown's Resolutions. Jan. 27 and 28, 1860," *JDC*, 4:181. See "Speech of Jefferson Davis at the Portland Meeting," late August 1858, *JDC*, 3:300; and "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the naval appropriation bill. June 18, 1860," *JDC*, 4:522.

[566] "Speech of Jefferson Davis on the resolutions concerning the relations of the states. May 8, 1860," *JDC*, 4:279; "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on Mr. Brown's Resolutions. Jan. 27 and 18, 1860," *op. cit.*, 4:181; and "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Harpers Ferry Invasion Resolutions. Dec. 8, 1859," *JDC*, 4:110. See "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on questions connected with slavery in the territories. Feb. 23, 1859," *JDC*, 3:576; and "Speech of Jefferson Davis before the Democratic State Convention at Jackson, Miss., July 6, 1859," *op. cit.*, 4:69.

their own progenitors as "pirates and man-stealers," he also cursed them in the old Jeffersonian fashion for saddling southerners with what he took to be the burden or even curse of the black race's presence, for "[d]uring the colonial condition, Great Britain not only protected the slave-trade, but denied to the Colonies the right to prohibit the importation of negro slaves into their respective territory. Now she is the source of an agitation against the United States, because the descendants of the negroes so imported are held in bondage."[567] Radicals, however, thanked the British for bestowing the supposed blessing of slavery upon the South and sought to convince them that slaveholding Cavaliers had reformed the institution in the same paternalistic spirit exhibited by their distant English aristocratic kin. Indeed, N. Beverley Tucker had even urged James Henry Hammond to inform the British government in 1850 that a seceded South Carolina would happily exempt black British sailors from a state law mandating temporary incarceration for all black seamen onboard visiting ships, showing Britain that true Southrons took class stratification more seriously than racial hierarchy.[568] Radicals, Davis observed, feared that Britain was following the example set by the North, from which they were inclined to separate because "[t]he Northern States" no longer "held slaves" or "engaged in the importation of African slaves."[569] Yet if he were ever to endorse southern secession, he would do so not because northerners had turned against slavery but rather because they had imbibed British "Negrophilism."[570] Insisting with reference to British and northern abolitionists that modern science had affirmed the reality of racial inequality and thereby "disproved the assertions and refuted the theories on which their movement commenced...," he acidly remarked in an 1859

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[567] "Speech of Jefferson Davis before the Democratic State Convention at Jackson, Miss., July 6, 1859," from the New York *Daily Tribune*, August 31, 1859, 4:65.
[568] See Brugger, *Beverley Tucker*, 190.
[569] "Speech of Jefferson Davis before the Democratic State Convention at Jackson, Miss., July 6, 1859," from the New York *Daily Tribune*, August 31, 1859, 4:65. See "Remarks of Jefferson Davis in reference to the Kansas Message. Feb. 8, 1858," *JDC*, 3:170-71.
[570] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on Mr. Brown's Resolutions. Jan. 27 and 28, 1860," *JDC*, 4:171.

letter to his friend the leading southern scientific racialist Dr. Samuel A. Cartwright, who attended to Davis's own slaves and would soon became a medical inspector for the Confederate States of America, that while "[a] negro slave escaping from his Master in this country might be naturalized in England," if he were to manifest the "want of forecaste which characterizes the race of Ham" by returning "to vaunt his british citizenship," it would "surely avail him little."[571]

Yet even as Davis expected to have many conflicts with Radicals inside a seceded South, he hoped that at least a few of them might emulate John A. Quitman, a prominent Mississippi Democrat who had supported Polk's nomination as a Calhoun acolyte.[572] In the Wilmot Proviso's wake, however, Quitman became even more distrustful of the North than Calhoun, let alone Davis. He began inclining toward the Radicals as a result, hoping to defeat Mexico without any northern assistance because "[w]e look upon this as our own quarrel. We feel strong enough to fight it out; aye, if need be, to carry our eagles to the Pacific. We want no aid from the abolitionists. The free States question our strength in war, England is looking on expecting to witness the weakness of the slave-holding States. Let President Polk now give us an opportunity of disproving these slanders upon our institutions."[573] Quitman was a brigadier general under Taylor, and his relations with Davis deteriorated on a personal level when he "came in person" to make him comply with an order to cease pursuing retreating Mexican forces during the Battle of Monterey, an order which Davis "obeyed… reluctantly as did the men who were with me...."[574] Quitman, in turn, reported in that Davis had "shown himself a selfish and fiercely ambitious man, without one particle of generosity or magnanimity in his character. I am his superior. He

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[571] "Speech of Jefferson Davis before the Democratic State Convention at Jackson, Miss., July 6, 1859," *JDC*, 4:71. See "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on Mr. Brown's Resolutions. Jan. 27 and 28, 1860," *JDC*, 4:180.
[572] See "Jefferson Davis to J. A. Quitman," S. B. *Ambassador*, December 11, 1844, *JDC*, 1:13.
[573] "John A. Quitman to Jacob Thompson," from the Vicksburg *Sentinel*, May 22, 1846, *PJD*, 3:608-09.
[574] "Memoranda of events connected with the Mississippi Riflemen during the siege of Monterey, New Leon, New Mexico," Beauvoir, Mississippi, April 6, 1885, *JDC*, 1:142. See "Jefferson Davis to John Jenkins," Brierfield, Mississippi, November 16, 1846, from the Vicksburg *Sentinel*, November 24, 1846, *JDC*, 1:62.

is impatient of the restraint of any superior, and full of envy & destraction."[575] Quitman was soon reassigned to Winfield Scott's army, as a leading officer in which he participated in the famous storming of Chapultepec fortress and became the U.S. military governor of Mexico City.

Radical secessionists thought that Quitman became one of their own when he narrowly defeated Davis in 1850 for the Mississippi governorship as a pro-secession Democrat who scorned his opponent's secession-if-necessary stance. Davis, after all, had declared that Quitman was in a condition of "estrangement to the great body of the democratic party."[576] And when South Carolina's Radical Democrat secessionist Robert Barnwell Rhett toasted Quitman and Davis in 1852 as the "heroes of the Gate of Belen and Pass of Buena Vista," either of whom would be a fine choice for "*the first President of the Southern Confederacy*" because "[*t*]*he South looks to them to lead to victory and to liberty*," Quitman, unlike Davis, hailed Rhett.[577] Yet while Quitman became a Fire-Eater insofar as he endorsed immediate secession, he wanted a seceded South to spurn Radical state's rights and rejected the Radical conception of southern nationality. He had, after all, competed with Davis to gain the favor of the U.S. navy veteran, wealthy Mississippi planter, and fervent Catholic John B. Nevitt, on whose behalf Davis sought to obtain a tariff exemption for an imported Italian bell destined for St. Mary's Cathedral in Natchez, of which Nevitt was a trustee.[578] Quitman was even involved in an 1851 fist-fight with

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[575] Quoted in *PJD*, 2:107.

[576] "Jefferson Davis to W. B. Tebo," from the *Mississippi Free Trader*, Brierfield, Mississippi, August 22, 1849, *JDC*, 1:246. See "Jefferson Davis to B. D. Nabors and Others," Jackson, November 19, 1850, from the *Mississippi Free Trader*, November 30, 1850, *JDC*, 2:82-83; and "Ethelbert Barksdale to Jefferson Davis," Jackson, Mississippi, September 19, 1851, *JDC*, 2:83-84.

[577] "Jefferson Davis to Messrs. Barksdale and Jones," Brierfield, Mississippi, February 16, 1852, from the Yazoo *Democrat*, March 10 and 17, 1852, *JDC*, 2:145. See "Jefferson Davis to the People of Mississippi," Warren County, Mississippi, January 26, 1852, from the *Mississippi Free Trader*, February 1, 1852, *JDC*, 2:133-34. Unsurprisingly, Rhett and his son would later excoriate Confederate president Davis in the name of Radical state's rights, which Davis had deprecated in a November 1860 letter to them in which he advocated cooperative secession as opposed to separate and immediate state action. See "To Robert Barnwell Rhett, Jr.," Warren County, Mississippi, November 10, 1860, *PJD*, 6:369-70. Also see "To Our Constituents," Washington, D.C., December 14, 1860, *PJD*, 6:377.

[578] See "From Ferdinand L. Claiborne," May 25, 1850, *PJD*, 5:479. St. Mary's Cathedral was founded in 1842 as the heart of the Diocese of Natchez, which was established in 1837. Nevitt was also the head of Mississippi's

Davis's Radical enemy Henry S. Foote, a *de facto* ally of Douglas within the Mississippi Democracy who denounced Quitman for advocating and Davis for threatening secession during the 1850-51 crisis, after which he moved to California and became a Know-Nothing.[579]

Quitman also supported Pierce administration policies even though he continued to advocate secession. Governor Quitman had already exasperated the Fillmore administration by giving material aid to Narciso López, prompting Davis to praise "Quitman, our own gallant Quitman, who carried the first gate of the city of Mexico...."[580] Quitman organized a filibuster expedition of his own in 1853 with tacit approval from Pierce, who shut his operation down in 1854 for fear that another invasion of Cuba would utterly ruin the Democracy's electoral prospects in the North. Yet one of Davis's admirers urged him to advise Pierce to encourage Quitman to lead an anti-British filibuster invasion of Nicaragua all the same.[581] As the Democratic Chairman of the House Military Affairs Committee, moreover, Quitman closely collaborated with Secretary of War Davis. He endorsed pay raises for the Engineer Corps; encouraged the American Medical Association to cooperate with West Point in studying cholera; requested a $50,000 appropriation to supply army and militia regiments with manuals of tactics and regulations; and championed compensation claims for militia called into U.S. service to fight Indians on behalf of the white Hispanic Catholic priest and Democratic congressional

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Roman Catholic Society and the president of St. Mary's Orphan Society, which was created in 1847. See *PJD*, 2:79. Also see Robert E. May, *John A. Quitman: Old South Crusader* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1985), 211.

[579] See "Resolution of the Mississippi Legislature commending the conduct of Senator Davis and censuring the conduct of Senator Foote. Dec. 19, 1850," *JDC*, 1:600; and *PJD*, 6:53. The "traitorous" Foote, Davis claimed, would never consent to a duel because he knew that he was "unequal to me in a trial with deadly weapons." "To Howell Hinds," Washington, D.C., September 20, 1856, *PJD*, 6:51-52. Foote, however, returned to Mississippi in 1860 and promptly aligned himself with Davis's Radical Democrat opponents. See "To Caleb Cushing," West Point, August 8, 1860, *PJD*, 6:361; and New York *Herald*, August 3, 1860.

[580] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the joint resolution to confer the title of lieutenant-general by brevet on Major General Scott. Feb. 12, 1851," *JDC*, 2:25. See "Jefferson Davis to the People of Mississippi," Warren County, Mississippi, January 26, 1852, from the *Mississippi Free Trader*, February 1, 1852, *JDC*, 2:136.

[581] "From 'Senex,'" Memphis, Tennessee, November 18, 1856, *PJD*, 6:61.

representative for the New Mexico territory José M. Gallegos.[582] Davis was delighted too when Quitman secured funding for a gas lighting line to the new arsenal at Augusta, Georgia as a military necessity, and he hailed Quitman's idea to establish a preparatory school for West Point at Andrew Jackson's old Hermitage given his own fond "memories which are attached to it."[583]

Davis and Quitman were even planning fishing trips together by 1857, and when Quitman died after falling ill at Buchanan's inauguration, Davis celebrated his "high military reputation which will descend as a rich inheritance to his family" in an 1859 eulogy, lauding his efforts as well to help "a people oppressed by despotism [who] were struggling to be free in Cuba."[584] He also praised him as a fellow disciple "follow[ing] in the path of that great political luminary" Calhoun, who had been the "light and guide" of Quitman's "youth." They both believed that "all power emanated from, and permanently resided in the people" such that "government existed alone by the consent of those over whom it was established...," upholding "the State-rights strict-constructions school" against consolidation and Radical state's rights alike.[585] "General Quitman," Davis explained a year later in the Senate, "held the same opinions with myself; or, if there was a difference, held them to a greater extreme...."[586] And to his relief, many of Quitman's followers who had been close to the Radical secessionists broke with them in the wake of southern secession to become foes of Radical state's rights as partisans of the Davis

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[582] See *PJD*, 6:421-22, 433, 490, 532. Also see ibid., 6:399, 420, 431, 438, 440, 450, 462, 467, 492, 535; and Fray Angelico Chavez, *Tres Macho He-Said: Padre Gallegos of Albuquerque, New Mexico's First Congressman* (Sante Fe: William Gannon, 1985).
[583] "To John A. Quitman," February 19, 1857, *PJD*, 6:535. See ibid., 6:540.
[584] See "To John A. Quitman," October 12, 1857, *PJD*, 6:550.
[585] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Death of Hon. John A. Quitman. Jan. 5, 1859," *JDC*, 3:466. "It was his special fortune," Davis added with reference to Mexico City, "to lead the column which first entered the capital, and receive the surrender of the citadel of the place." Ibid., 3:466-67. See ibid., 3:465.
[586] "Speech of Jefferson Davis in relation to property in the territories. May 16 and 17, 1860," *JDC*, 4:306.

administration, which was supported in the C.S. Congress by Quitman's ally Otho Robards Singleton, who had been a Mississippi Democratic Congressman through most of the 1850s.[587]

Yet Quitman was a beacon of hope for Davis not so much in relation to the Radicals as to northerners. Davis suggested in his 1859 eulogy that Quitman deviated from Calhoun's path by too quickly writing the North off as hopelessly corrupted by British abolitionism, but he admitted that he had perhaps strayed himself by trusting that a large majority rather than a significant minority of northerners would stay or become proper Democrats.[588] It was rather ironic that he had, unlike Quitman, always insisted that Mississippi's Mexican War glory "belonged equally to the people of Maine," for Quitman was born and raised in New York close by Massachusetts.[589] Having informed the northerners who "do really love the Union and the Constitution, which is the life-blood of the Union," in 1858 that "the time has come when we should look calmly, though steadily, the danger which besets us, in the face," Davis was confident that a Republican victory in 1860 would induce them to follow Quitman's example by seceding from or rebelling against a Republican-controlled U.S. government."[590] "[T]hough not represented in Congress," there was, after all, Davis insisted, even "within the limits of New England a large mass of as true Democrats as are to be found in any portion of the Union."[591] And so he declared the following in early 1860: "Yes, I believe the Old Bay State, to-day, has enough Democrats true to

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[587] Singleton went on to become an advocate of U.S. expansion in Cuba and Mexico as a Democratic congressman from 1875-87. See *PJD*, 6:135.
[588] See "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Death of Hon. John A. Quitman. Jan. 5, 1859," *JDC*, 3:467.
[589] "Speech of Jefferson Davis before the Mississippi Legislature. November 16, 1858," *JDC*, 3:341. See "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Death of Hon. John A. Quitman. Jan. 5, 1859," *op. cit.*, 3:464.
[590] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis in reference to the Kansas Message. Feb. 8, 1858," *JDC*, 3:173-74.
[591] "Speech of Jefferson Davis at the Grand Ratification Meeting, Faneuil Hall, Monday evening, Oct. 11, 1858," *JDC*, 3:331. Davis, moreover, had hoped in 1858 to "welcome Maine again to her position on the top of the Democratic pyramid," but that state elected a Republican governor and three more Republican congressman that year. "Speech at Portland," September 11, 1858, *PJD*, 6:223.

the Constitution and loyal to its obligations, if it comes to a test of hand to hand and man to man, to drive back those who thus wrong her from her duties to the Constitution and the Union."[592]

[592] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on Mr. Brown's Resolutions. Jan. 17 and 18, 1860," *JDC*, 4:161. Asserting that a Republican victory in 1860 would be "equivalent to the destruction of our constitutional Union," Davis had predicted that the "eye of the patriot" in the North would then be "turned with hope and confidence to the South" for deliverance by force of arms rather than the ballot. "Speech at Mississippi City," October 2, 1857, *PJD*, 6:148. His "old and intimate friend" Caleb Cushing after all, had denounced John Brown's Harpers Ferry raid in a widely-circulated pamphlet, presiding over both the 1860 Democratic Charleston convention and the break-away Democratic convention which nominated John C. Breckinridge as well. "Speech of Jefferson Davis at the Grand Ratification Meeting, Faneuil Hall, Monday evening, Oct. 11, 1858," *JDC*, 3:315. See O'Brien, *Conjectures of Order*, 33. Cushing was "one of those true sons of Massachusetts," and Davis informed Pierce from Washington, D.C. in January 1861 that "Genl. Cushing was here last week and when we parted it seemed like taking leave of a Brother." "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on Mr. Brown's Resolutions. Jan. 17 and 18, 1860," *JDC*, 4:183; and "Jefferson Davis to Franklin Pierce," Washington, D.C., January 20, 1861, *JDC*, 5:38.

Chapter 3
Jefferson Davis's Apex: The Democratic Party of the 1850s and Napoleon III's France

"We must retrench the extravagant list of magnificent schemes which received the sanction of the Executive... [T]he great Napoleon himself, with all the resources of an empire at his sole command, never ventured the simultaneous accomplishments of so many daring projects. The acquisition of Cuba... the construction of a Pacific Railroad... the international preponderance in Central America… the submission of distant South American states... the enlargement of the Navy; a largely increased standing Army... what government on earth could possibly meet all the exigencies of such a flood of innovations?"

Washington, D.C., *National Intelligencer*, January 24, 1859

The 1850s marked the apex of Davis's hopes and aspirations. He anticipated that the rise of Napoleon III's new French Bonapartist empire would allow the Union to realize its Manifest Destiny in the near future when Napoleonic France and a Democrat-dominated U.S. would fight another but more successful War of 1812 against the British Empire as equal partners committed to equality among whites and white supremacy. Having won over many an important Cotton Whig to his faction within the Democracy, which seemed to have gained an ascendancy over the Radical and Douglas Democrats, he was therefore both surprised and disappointed to find himself by early 1861 in the position of having to, in his view, launch a new American Revolution rather than re-fight the War of 1812. Yet he was as confident as ever that the Davis Democrats *cum* Confederates would receive sympathy and support from Bonapartist France, the favor of which he had sought to cultivate during the 1850s and which he still deemed a natural strategic and ideological ally against Britain's Anglophile abolitionist proxies within the North.

Jefferson Davis's Personal and Ideological Admiration for Napoleon I

Like his mentor Calhoun and the other pro-Bonaparte Democrats, Davis saw the French Revolution as an emulation of 1776 initiated on behalf of equality among whites and white supremacy. Having championed an 1848 Senate resolution to place a portrait of Baron de Kalb prominently in the Library of Congress, he hailed the French officers who spread "democratic"

American ideals in France after helping the Patriots win "glorious battles which must remain on the page of history a wonder to all posterity."[1] Three of Davis's favorite words, in fact, were "equality, and fraternity," and, to a lesser extent, liberty.[2] He revelled in the fact that Winfield Scott and other Whigs accused him of being "a true leveller" as a result of his dedication to equality among whites.[3] In turn, he constantly claimed that the scions of New England Federalism were undermining "the spirit of fraternity in which the Union began" by promoting inequality among whites and racial equality *via* British abolitionism, unlike the northern Democrats who extended "fraternal feeling" to southerners.[4] "For years past," he had complained in 1849, "we have seen our fraternity disturbed, our country torn by domestic contention; even now we see our Government seriously embarrassed by a dissension, the seeds of which were sown by the British emissaries, who assumed the false pretext of philanthropy to mask their unholy designs to kindle the fires of civil war among the United States."[5] To "restore the fraternity which existed among our fathers...," southern Democrats had, he insisted, extended "a peace-offering on the altar of fraternity" through the Missouri Compromise, but the heirs of the New England Federalists had responded by calling for not just emancipation by means of federal consolidation but even racial equality.[6] Equality and fraternity were, Davis warned, the

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[1] "Jefferson Davis's Speech at Trenton, N. J.," July 16, 1853, *JDC*, 2:241. See *PJD*, 3:440. Davis was also delighted when the U.S. consul in Zurich George H. Goundie found a cannon bestowed by George Washington upon the Auvergne regiment, which had distinguished itself fighting in both the American and French revolutions. See "From Robert J. Atkinson," February 20, 1855, *PJD*, 5:410; and *PJD*, 5:375.
[2] "Reply to Stephen A. Douglas," May 17, 1860, *PJD*, 6:332.
[3] "Winfield Scott to Jefferson Davis," Headquarters of the Army, New York, January 31, 1856, *JDC*, 2:602.
[4] "Address of Jefferson Davis at Faneuil Hall," Boston, October 12, 1858, in Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 1:613; and "Jefferson Davis to H. R. Davis and Others," from the *Mississippi Free Trader*, October 26, 1848, *JDC*, 1:216. See "Speech at Mississippi City," October 2, 1857, *PJD*, 6:140-41; "To the Commissioners of the Gulf and Ship Island Railroad," Portland, Maine, August 28, 1858, *PJD*, 6:211; "Speech at Washington," July 9, 1860, *PJD*, 6:359; and "To John W. French," Washington, D.C., December 12, 1860, *PJD*, 6:376.
[5] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis in the Senate concerning the opinions of Father Mathew, on the resolution to admit him to a privileged seat. Senate Dec. 20, 1849," *JDC*, 1:247.
[6] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on Compromise Bill of June 28, 1850," *JDC*, 1:386; and "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on Compromise Bill of June 27, 1850," *JDC*, 1:372. See "Remarks of Jefferson Davis in Senate. May 8, 1850," *JDC*, 1:335.

ultimate bases of the Union, which would be at risk of civil war until he and his supporters could ascertain that all sections of the U.S. but especially the upper North had spurned "the pseudo philanthropy of British teachers… enter[ing] like a wedge to rend our Union asunder…."[7]

Carefully studying Bonaparte's campaigns and the theory of Napoleonic warfare as distilled by the writings of Napoleon's former general Antoine-Henri (Baron Jomini) at West Point, Davis came to admire Napoleon as one of "the three greatest generals" of all time alongside Frederick the Great and Julius Caesar, remarking in an 1858 speech that "[t]he most marked compliment ever paid by one General to another, was that of Napoleon to Caesar, when he halted on his encampments without a previous reconnaisance [*sic*]."[8] The victory of Wellington and his "British mercenaries" at Waterloo was hence due more to fortune than either skill or courage in his opinion.[9] Davis, however, adulated Napoleon even more for rescuing the French Revolution, the fundamental principles of which he had preserved – albeit in an imperfectly republican form – and protected from the British-backed forces of the *ancien régime*. Indeed, the French emperor had spread equality among whites throughout Europe, quashing feudalism, serfdom, and religious intolerance by "making war upon the hereditary monarchical institutions of Europe...."[10] It was "the confident reliance upon their nation's gratitude," Davis insisted, "which led Napoleon's armies over Europe, conquering and to conquer...," and their zeal was proof that "the great Emperor of Europe" had ruled with "the consent of the people."[11] Davis, moreover, revered Napoleon all the more because socially-elite descendants of New

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[7] "To Lowndes County Citizens," Steamboat "Gen. Scott," November 22, 1850, *PJD*, 4:143. See "To Malcolm D. Haynes," Brierfield, Mississippi, August 18, 1849, *PJD*, 4:35.

[8] "Remarks on the Occupation of the Yucatan," May 5, 1848, *PJD*, 3:321; and "Speech of Jefferson Davis before the Mississippi Legislature. November 16, 1858," *JDC*, 3:341. See "Second Reply to William Sawyer concerning the Value of a Military Education," from the Washington, D.C., *Daily Union*, May 28, 1846, *PJD*, 1:620; and Beringer and Hattaway, *Jefferson Davis, Confederate President*, 77, 148.

[9] "Speech of Jefferson Davis at Memphis, Tenn.," from the Yazoo *Democrat*, August 4, 1852, *JDC*, 2:174.

[10] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the naval appropriation bill. June 18, 1860," *JDC*, 4:528.

[11] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the resolution of thanks to Gen. Taylor. May 28, 1846," *JDC*, 1:47; and "Speech of Jefferson Davis in Senate Feb. 13 and 14, 1850 on Slavery in the Territories," *JDC*, 1:268.

England Federalists continued to echo John Quincy Adams by disdaining the "Corsican ruffian" for his "presumptuous Insolence."[12] Born himself to a relatively humble provincial family of Welsh extraction, Davis identified with Bonaparte's outsider origin and castigated anyone who would presume to insult Napoleon as a boorish usurper. The greatest of "heroes," after all, were, he insisted in an 1853 speech, usually not from upper-class backgrounds, and so it was laudable rather than shameful that "Napoleon should have been born on the desert island of Corsica."[13]

Davis commended Napoleon as well for sanctioning black slavery as a means to the end of imperial white rule. He therefore insisted that if the U.S. government were to assail rather than protect slavery in states which had emerged in lands acquired *via* the Louisiana Purchase, or to ban slave property from Louisiana Purchase territories, it would violate not only the Constitution but also "the specific obligations of the treaty with France for the acquisition of the territory."[14] In addition to guaranteeing the property rights and religious liberties of Louisiana's white Catholics, the Union had also promised to respect French civil law in the "territory acquired by the purchase of Louisiana, stretching to the 49th parallel of latitude, covering by its position all we now possess on the Pacific..." – a vast expanse which was originally "slave

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[12] "John Quincy Adams to Thomas Boylston Adams," Berlin. 22. October. 1799, Adams Family Papers, Letterbooks, Massachusetts Historical Society; and "John Quincy Adams to Thomas Boylston Adams," St: Petersburg 24 January 1814, Adams Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society. See "John Quincy Adams to Thomas Boylston Adams," 20. January. 1801, Adams Family Papers, Letterbooks, Massachusetts Historical Society; "Thomas Boylston Adams to John Quincy Adams," Quincy 27th: December 1807, Adams Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society; and Elkins and McKitrick, *The Age of Federalism*, 677. John Adams's friend Francis Adriaan van der Kemp also yearned to see "the vain presumtuous [*sic*] Corse… humbled in the dust!" "Francis Adriaan van der Kemp to John Adams," Olden Barneveld 18 Febr. 1806, Adams Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.

[13] "Speech of Jefferson Davis at Wilmington, Del.," from the Washington, D.C., *Union*, July 15, 1853, *JDC*, 2:238. Davis also decried Republicans who "questioned the greatness of Napoleon because he was born in the little island of Corsica…." "Speech of Jefferson Davis in relation to property in the territories. May 16 and 17, 1860," *JDC*, 4:292.

[14] "Speech of Jefferson Davis before the Democratic State Convention at Jackson, Miss., July 6, 1859," from the New York *Daily Tribune*, August 31, 1859, *JDC*, 4:66. See "Speech of Jefferson Davis in Senate Feb. 13 and 14, 1850 on Slavery in the Territories," *JDC*, 1:283, 296-97; "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on March 8, 1850, on Compromise resolutions concerning slavery," *JDC*, 1:312; "Speech of Jefferson Davis in relation to property in the territories. May 16 and 17, 1860," *JDC*, 4:318; and "Reply to Stephen A. Douglas," May 17, 1860, *PJD*, 6:317.

territory" thanks to the Napoleonic Code.[15] As a result, Republicans feared "that the laws of France would be revived in the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska."[16] Davis, in fact, disliked the whole "feudal system" of English common law, which the Republicans usually admired but he yearned to see replaced throughout the Union by civic codes emulating the *Code Napoléon*.[17]

The Republicans, in turn, did not fail to notice that Davis was constantly seeking to acquire Napoleon-related books, frequently quoted Napoleon, regaled audiences with Napoleonic anecdotes, and rebuked anyone who would denigrate Bonaparte.[18] And so the Republican press would needle Davis by belittling him and Napoleon in same breath, claiming in 1858, for instance, that his innovative tactical formation at Buena Vista had "been previously performed by an English regiment at Quatre Bras" against Napoleon.[19] Observing that Davis's political rhetoric was littered with military metaphors, individuals who sought to curry his favor sent him books about Napoleon or praised him for advocating policies and reforms spelled out by "Napoleon at St. Helena."[20] Flattering Davis that "[t]he South is proud of you as a military man and as a statesman," one anonymous admirer even urged him to lead a "Napoleonic demonstration" in the capital if the Republicans, who were abolitionists "infuriated with

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[15] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Compromise Bill, July 31, 1850," *JDC*, 1:429, 430.
[16] "Reply to Stephen A. Douglas," May 17, 1860, *PJD*, 6:319.
[17] "Jefferson Davis to the Editor of the *Sentinel*," Brierfield, Mississippi, July 5, 1845, *JDC*, 1:15.
[18] See, for instance, "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the resolution of thanks to Gen. Taylor. May 28, 1846," *JDC*, 1:47; "Second Reply to William Sawyer concerning the Value of a Military Education," in the Washington, D.C., *Daily Union*, May 28, 1846, *PJD*, 2:620, 624; "To George H. Crosman," near Camargo, Texas, September 3, 1846, *PJD*, 3:21; "Speech of Jefferson Davis before the Mississippi Legislature. November 16, 1858," *JDC*, 3:341; and "Remarks of Jefferson Davis concerning Senator Davis' resolutions concerning the relations of the states. May 24, 1860," *JDC*, 4:349. Also see "Jefferson Davis to Hon. W. P. Harris, C.S. Congress," Richmond, December 13, 1861, *JDC*, 5:179; and Cooper, Jr., *Jefferson Davis, American*, 493.
[19] "Speech of Jefferson Davis before the Mississippi Legislature. November 16, 1858," *op. cit.*, 3:341. See New York *Times*, September 15, 1856; and "To J. Watson Webb," Washington, D.C., October 19, 1856, *PJD*, 6:53-54.
[20] "William Anderson to Jefferson Davis: Washington City, Feby 27, 1856," *JDC*, 2:606. See "Jefferson Davis to Messrs. Barksdale and Jones," Brierfield, Mississippi, February 16, 1852, from the Yazoo *Democrat*, March 10 and 17, 1852, *JDC*, 2:142; "From O[rin] D. Palmer, M.D.," Zelienople, Pennsylvania, August 17, 1856, *PJD*, 6:495; "To Orin D. Palmer, M.D.," August 27, 1856, *PJD*, 6:495; and "James L. Farmer to Jefferson Davis," Portland, Maine, October 18, 1858, *JDC*, 3:283.

religious fanaticism," were to win the 1856 election.[21] And Davis did in fact occasionally toy with the idea of launching a Bonaparte-style *coup d'état* as an alternative to southern secession in the event of a Republican electoral victory. Declaring in an 1858 speech that if "an Abolition President should be elected in 1860," he "should never be permitted to take his seat in the Presidential Chair," the Mississippian mused that southern Democrats and their northern allies might perhaps, by "holding the city of Washington, the public archives, and the glorious star spangled banner," force the Republicans of the upper North to secede from the Union or march in force upon the capital, in which case "blood should flow in torrents throughout the land."[22]

Jefferson Davis's Francophile Sentiments as a Function of his Pro-Bonaparte Sympathies

Admiration for Napoleon as well as the Bonapartist version of equality among whites and white supremacy fueled Davis's Francophile tendencies. With funding from the Kentucky legislature and the Lexington city government, Transylvania sent an agent to Paris in the early 1820s when Davis was a student there to purchase medical texts for the university's new medical department.[23] Paris, after all, was already eclipsing Edinburgh as the most important locale for American medical students studying abroad.[24] Davis also took extra private French lessons at Transylvania, and he became fluent in the language at West Point by studying French military texts.[25] According to his wife, he was a "more than ordinarily good French scholar," although he "had learned the language simply to read military books, and pronounced it as though it were

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[21] "From 'Senex,'" Memphis, Tennessee, November 18, 1856, *PJD*, 6:60-61.
[22] "Speech at Vicksburg," November 27, 1858, *PJD*, 6:228. See "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the special message on affairs in South Carolina. Jan. 10, 1861," *JDC*, 5:3.
[23] See O'Brien, *Conjectures of Order*, 518-19.
[24] See ibid., 91, 110, 115, 116, 119-21. Also see John Harley Warner, *Against the Spirit of System: The French Impulse in Nineteenth-Century American Medicine* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998); and McCullough, *The Greater Journey*, 103-39.
[25] See Cooper, Jr., *Jefferson Davis: American*, 25. Davis ranked "nineteenth out of ninety-one members of the fourth class in French." "Merit Roll," U.S. Military Academy, January [31], 1825, *PJD*, 1:21.

English."[26] Indeed, Calhoun and Davis both married French-speaking women of a higher social class, for Varina Davis had been educated in Philadelphia at Madame Deborah Grelaud's French academy, the Huguenot proprietor of which was a refugee from the St. Domingue slave revolt.[27]

Davis peppered his letters and speeches with French *bon mots*, insisting as well that his young relatives learn French.[28] He sent his niece Margaret Howell to a boarding school specializing in French, and a teacher there informed him that she was "quite charmed to see the interest you take in Miss Howell's french."[29] Davis also read the French literary journal *Revue des Deux Mondes*, the goal of which was to foster friendly relations between the U.S. and France.[30] And when he downsized his capital residence in 1857, he listed such items for sale as a "large French Sofa," "French China, Granite, and Painted Toilet sets," and a French "Caleshe Carriage."[31] Davis, moreover, wore expensive suits custom-made in New Orleans that were cut according to French tastes, defying U.S. Anglophiles who were emulating British sartorial styles in the process. As Martin Van Buren observed, Davis's "handsome arched feet were at their best in a pair of New Orleans shoes."[32] Davis, in fact, identified with the "beautiful city" of New Orleans more than with any other metropolis, and he regarded the prominence of Mississippian "patriot heroes" at the 1815 Battle of New Orleans as the apogee of his state's glory.[33] "I reside so near to New Orleans," he remarked in 1850, "and visit it so often, it being my market

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[26] Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 2:305. See Allen, *Jefferson Davis, Unconquerable Heart*, 327-28. Davis also liked to quote such other famous French generals as Louis XIV's Claude Louis Villars. See *PJD*, 6:341.
[27] See Joan Cashin, *First Lady of the Confederacy: Varina Davis's Civil War* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006), 19, 23-24, 28.
[28] See, for instance, "To Varina Banks Howell," March 8, 1844, *PJD*, 1:120; "Speech at Oxford," [July 15, 1852], *PJD*, 4:281; and "To Franklin Pierce," Washington D.C., April 4, 1858, *PJD*, 6:173.
[29] "From A. Manners [Manvers]," [1856?], *PJD*, 6:519. See "To Miss Catherine L. Brooke," [1856], *PJD*, 6:497.
[30] See "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the naval appropriation bill. June 18, 1860," *JDC*, 4:525.
[31] "Auction Notice," Washington, D.C., March 19, 1857, *PJD*, 6:116.
[32] Quoted in *PJD*, 2:139. See Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 1:169-70.
[33] "Speech of Jefferson Davis at Memphis, Tenn.," from the Yazoo *Democrat*, August 4, 1852, *JDC*, 2:174; and "Speech at Mississippi City," October 2, 1857, *PJD*, 6:138. See "Reply to Stephen A. Douglas," May 17, 1860, *PJD*, 6:330. Varina Davis recalled that New Orleans was the city her husband "preferred... to all other cities" in the Union. Varina Davis, *op. cit.*, 2:823.

town…," that he hoped to see the French-inflected port become the commercial nexus of "the greatest empire the world has ever seen…."[34] To that end, he even opposed building new custom-houses in Vicksburg and other Mississippi towns.[35] And while he regarded the Democratic New York City merchants who dominated Crescent City shipping as allies and friends, he lamented that New Orleans was becoming "little more than a suburb of New York."[36]

Insisting that the Union was just as much the creation of French Huguenots and other French settlers as it was of New England Puritans or Virginia Cavaliers, Davis was always happy to bestow patronage favors upon the mostly Democratic French-Americans.[37] He also believed that North Americans of French ancestry residing beyond the current U.S. borders were eager to join a Democrat-controlled Union. Quebec's Jean-François Hamtramck, after all, became a hero in Patriot service during the American Revolution, after which he led French Catholic U.S. settlers against Indians on the northwestern frontier; maintained frosty relations with Major General Alexander Hamilton throughout the Federalist "quasi-war" against France; and commanded the Detroit garrison until his death in 1803, having been promoted to colonel under President Jefferson.[38] Davis, for his part, entered politics due in part to his anger at Van Buren's role in the disappointing outcome of *Patriote* rebellion, which occurred from 1837-38 in what John Quincy Adams once called "the British Provinces."[39] Angered by suffrage restrictions imposed by the so-called Family Compact of Loyalist-descended Tories, disaffected whites

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[34] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the slave trade in the District of Columbia. Sept. 11, 1850," *JDC*, 1:539; and "Remarks of Jefferson Davis in regard to the fugitive slave law. Feb. 24, 1851," *JDC*, 2:47. Also see "Jefferson Davis to Preston Pond, Jr., Canton, La.," Richmond, June 7, 1864, *JDC*, 6:269, in which Davis would assert that he had "many near relations and dear friends" in New Orleans and Louisiana as a whole.
[35] See "Remarks of Jefferson Davis, Sept. 19, 1850, on appropriations for certain custom-houses," *JDC*, 1:553-55.
[36] "To the Commissioners of the Gulf and Ship Island Railroad," Portland, Maine, August 28, 1858, *PJD*, 6:209.
[37] See *PJD*, 3:427; and "Speech at Oxford," July 15, 1852, *PJD*, 4:282.
[38] See, for instance, "From John F. Hamtramck," Fort Fayette Decr. 1: 1799, Alexander Hamilton Papers, Library of Congress.
[39] "John Quincy Adams to Louisa Catherine Adams," Quincy 7. October 1804, Adams Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.

throughout British North America but particularly in Quebec rebelled against the British Empire. The most ardent rebels styled themselves "*Patriotes*" or "Sons of Liberty" as they hoped to establish a new democratic republic which would join the U.S. in exchange for Van Buren's diplomatic and material support.[40] The Little Magician, however, rebuffed them, and they were soon routed by the British army. The *Patriotes* who escaped to the U.S. proceeded to form militia outfits together with enthusiastic Democrats known as the Hunters' Lodge or *Frères chasseurs*, which raided British North America in the name of the Republic of Lower Canada until they were suppressed by Van Buren at Britain's behest in late 1838.[41] U.S. fugitive slaves, moreover, flocked to support the Family Compact, which supported legal racial equality in Upper Canada. Quebec, in contrast, maintained black slavery until forced to abolish it by Britain in the 1830s, turning a consistently cold shoulder to fugitive slaves from the Union as well.[42] Davis would sympathize with every "proposition to acquire Canada" that arose in Congress as a result.[43] And he was sure that Quebec would welcome U.S. invaders seeking to overthrow British abolitionist rule on behalf of equality among whites and white supremacy, for Edmund Bailey O'Callaghan had been one of the leading *Patriotes*, and subsequent Irish Catholic immigration to *la belle province* had rendered it even more receptive to Democratic ideology.[44]

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[40] See Lillian F. Gates, "A Canadian Rebel's Appeal to George Bancroft," *The New England Quarterly*, vol. 41, no. 1 (March 1968), 96-104.

[41] See Allan Greer, *The Patriots and the People: The Rebellion of 1837 in Rural Lower Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993); Joseph Schull, *Rebellion: The Rising in French Canada, 1837* (Toronto: Macmillan Canada, 1996); and Andrew Bonthius, "The Patriot War of 1837-1838: Locofocism with a Gun?" *Labour/Le Travail*, vol. 52 (Fall 2003), 9-43.

[42] See Jean M. Humez, *Harriet Tubman: The Life and the Life Stories* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2003), 24. Also see Frank Mackey, *Done with Slavery: The Black Fact in Montreal, 1760-1840* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2010).

[43] "Speech of Jefferson Davis before the Democratic State Convention at Jackson, Miss., July 6, 1859," from the New York *Daily Tribune*, August 31, 1859, *JDC*, 4:83.

[44] See Robert J. Grace, "A Demographic and Social Profile of Quebec City's Irish Populations, 1842-1861," *Journal of American Ethnic History*, vol. 23, no. 1 (Fall 2003), 55-84; and Mary Haslam, "Ireland and Quebec, 1822-1839: Rapprochement and Ambiguity," *The Canadian Journal of Irish Studies*, vol. 33, no. 1 (Spring 2007), 75-81. Also see Alan Taylor, *The Civil War of 1812: American Citizens, British Subjects, Irish Rebels, and Indian Allies* (New York: Vintage Books, 2010).

Yet Davis had no affinity for Frenchmen who rejected that ideology or the Bonapartist variant thereof. The "propagandism" of the Jacobins and *Amis des noirs* had, he thought, undermined and debased the French Revolution.[45] Their "destructive spirit of revolutionary anarchy" warped the Jeffersonian principle of religious toleration into atheistic persecution of the religious.[46] Their military ineptitude, moreover, nearly saw France conquered by the British-led forces of the *ancien régime*.[47] And their impetuous reaction to President Adams's pro-British position benefited the New England Federalists, for attacking U.S. shipping had diminished the appeal of France's Democratic allies and damaged the Franco-American friendship forged during the American Revolution.[48] Worst of all, they distorted the French Revolution's initial purpose to establish democratic equality among the whites of the *patrie* by launching a disastrous crusade for racial equality in St. Domingue and other colonies. The "*amis des noirs* of France," to be sure, differed from the British abolitionists insofar as they stood for the elimination of class in addition to racial hierarchies, but Davis surmised that they would work with abolitionist Britain to overthrow any government dedicated to equality among whites and white supremacy.[49]

Davis, however, disliked the Bourbon and Orleans dynasties which succeeded Napoleon as much as the ideological heirs of the Jacobins, for those kings had turned France into a "stronghold of the feudal system" once more by striving to suppress the masses and supporting rather than challenging Britain and the other European regimes dedicated to inequality among

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[45] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the naval appropriation bill. June 18, 1860," *JDC*, 4:528.
[46] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Army Appropriation bill. June 7, 1860," *JDC*, 4:475. See "From James Gadsden," "[Private]," Mexico, July 19, 1854, *PJD*, 5:79.
[47] See "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Army Appropriation bill. June 7, 1860," *JDC*, 4:476.
[48] See "Speech of Jefferson Davis on French Spoliations. Jan. 7 and 10, 1859," *JDC*, 3:477.
[49] "Speech of Jefferson Davis on the resolutions concerning the relations of the states. May 8, 1860," *JDC*, 4:278. See "To Malcolm D. Haynes," Brierfield, August 18, 1849, *PJD*, 1:65.

whites.[50] He therefore hailed in 1851 "the late revolution of France [that] toppled over Louis Phillip [*sic*], from his seven high ducal pillars…."[51] The "Red Republicans" had appeared to dominate the new French republic established in 1848, and an ailing Calhoun feared that they and their European ideological equivalents would unleash anarchy in the Old World and race war in the Americas for the sake of universal equality, musing that "[t]o my mind, the signs of war & convulsions never were stronger…. All appear to be apt at pulling down existing political institutions, but not one able architect has risen in all Europe to reconstruct them."[52] He and his even more enthusiastic protégé, however, surmised that the "architect" had arisen when Louis-Napoleon Bonaparte was elected president of France in late 1848 by millions of Frenchmen who had come to look back upon Napoleon I with nostalgia as the avatar of equality and fraternity.[53]

Equality among Whites and White Supremacy in Napoleon III's France

President Louis-Napoleon seemed to be a sincere champion of equality among whites. Having been sentenced to life-in-prison for launching another failed coup against Louis Philippe, he escaped in 1846 by disguising himself as a laborer, a feat for which his foes mocked him but of which he was proud. He had also endeared himself to French poor whites during his incarceration by writing his well-known 1844 work *L'extinction du pauperism*, which would be translated in 1853 by Baltimore's James H. Causten, a prominent Washington, D.C. lawyer, War

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[50] "Speech of Jefferson Davis in the House of Representatives, December 19, 1845, on the Subject of Native Americanism and the Naturalization Laws," *JDC*, 1:24. See "Speech of Jefferson Davis on French Spoliations. Jan. 7 and 10, 1859," *JDC*, 3:469.
[51] "Speech at Fayette," July 11, 1851, *PJD*, 4:211. See *PJD*, 3:435.
[52] Quoted in Fox-Genovese and Genovese, *The Mind of the Master Class*, 41.
[53] See Stanley Mellon, "The July Monarchy and the Napoleonic Myth," *Yale French Studies*, no. 26 (1960), 70-78; and Sudhir Hazareesingh, "Napoleonic Memory in Nineteenth-Century France: The Making of a Liberal Legend," *MLN*, vol. 120, no. 4 (September 2005), 747-73. For the general history of Napoleon III's France, see Alain Plessis, *The Rise & Fall of the Second Empire, 1852-1871* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985); Bierman, *Napoleon III and his Carnival Empire*; Fenton Breslar, *Napoleon III: A Life* (New York: Carroll & Graf, 1999); David Baguley, *Napoleon III and His Regime: An Extravaganza* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2000); and Stephane Kirkland, *Paris Reborn: Napoléon III, Baron Haussmann, and the Quest to Build a Modern City* (New York: St. Martin's Griffin, 2013).

of 1812 veteran, relative of James Madison, loyal Democrat, and rumored Catholic convert.[54] Louis-Napoleon crushed the candidates of the Left in addition to those of the Right in 1848 as a result, winning nearly three quarters of the total votes cast thanks to support from the rural and urban working poor in an election featuring universal male suffrage. Wearing military garb rather than civilian clothes, the new president promoted his worker-bee symbol of national unity. Insisting that the "hive" owed gratitude to the "bees" in exchange for hard work, he endorsed government-funded pensions for workers in general and soldiers in particular. Yet his suppression of a small June 1849 uprising by the Left in Paris led by Alexandre Auguste Ledru-Rollin, who fled to Britain, ironically redounded to the benefit of Adolphe Thiers and his Party of Order, which blocked the president's proposed reforms and curtailed the suffrage rights of poor Frenchmen in 1850. Heeding, as Davis put it, the "voice… of the people," Louis-Napoleon demanded a retraction from Theirs.[55] And when he was rebuffed, he launched a coup in the name of democracy in late 1851, restoring universal male suffrage even as he arrested hostile members of the Right and crushed devotees of the Left who took to the barricades.[56] His coup was soon ratified by a national plebiscite, and Louis-Napoleon issued a new constitution that secured universal male suffrage, lengthened the presidential term, and created a weakened legislature, which founded the second French Empire at the end of 1852 by making the executive hereditary while leaving the rest of the constitution unchanged.[57] Yet Napoleon III still held

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[54] See Napoleon III, *The Extinction of Pauperism*, trans. James Hyman Causten (1844; Washington D.C.: W. M. Morrison, 1853). Also see "James Hyman Causten, Sr. to Thomas Jefferson," Baltimore October 11th 1825, Thomas Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.

[55] "Speech at Fayette," July 11, 1851, *PJD*, 4:212.

[56] As Wolfgang Schivelbusch has observed, the members of the French far Left would remain "on the political margins" throughout Louis-Napoleon's time in power, "[b]iding their time…." Schivelbusch, *The Culture of Defeat*, 168. Schivelbusch also describes Napoleon III as a "populist emperor" who was "temporarily able to paper over the divisions" between the French Left and Right. Ibid., 112.

[57] Napoleon I was also confirmed as emperor by a national plebiscite at the start of the Hundred Days in 1815.

periodic plebiscites to burnish his democratic credentials, and he gradually delegated powers to the elected legislature even though he was always willing to brandish his line-item veto power.

Having been baptized under the watchful gaze of his godfather Napoleon I, Louis-Napoleon re-established the Catholic Church, the publically-funded schools of which were often tuition-free and preached Bonapartism alongside theology and physical fitness. The emperor, however, protected the religious liberty and equal political rights of Jews and Protestants. The French Jews of the Rothschild, Péreire, and Erlanger banking families, in turn, underwrote the empire's burgeoning debts on generous terms to express their gratitude.[58] Napoleon III also raised the national literacy rate by creating public schools for girls, establishing women's colleges, and opening universities to females. Yet even as he founded hospitals and subsidized housing for the working poor, set up governmental workshops and insurance funds for aged, injured, or unemployed laborers, mandated better working conditions, and allowed workers to form unions, he insisted upon universal military service in return and vastly increased the army's size through conscription. The emperor, after all, had asserted in his *Des idées Napoléoniennes* that "[l]'esprit militaire n'est dangereux qu'autant qu'il l'apanage exclusive d'une caste."[59]

The young Louis-Napoleon had sympathized with the Left-leaning Carbonari, who were seeking Italy's independence from Austria, the Papacy, and the Spanish Kingdom of Naples. Indeed, his older brother Napoleon-Louis died in 1831 fighting with the Carbonari, whose leader Giuseppe Mazzini was a friendly correspondent of William Lloyd Garrison.[60] Louis-Napoleon, however, became a bitter enemy of the Carbonari champion Giuseppe Garibaldi. The Italian rose to fame during the 1839-51 Uruguayan Civil War, in which the white-clad Blancos of the

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[58] See Rondo E. Cameron, "The Crédit Mobilier and the Economic Development of Europe," *Journal of Political Economy*, vol. 60, no. 6 (December 1953), 461-88. See Napoleon III, *Napoleonic Ideas*, 45.
[59] Bonaparte, *Des idées Napoléoniennes*, 123.
[60] See Enrico Del Lago, *William Lloyd Garrison and Giuseppe Mazzini: Abolition, Democracy, and Radical Reform* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2013).

National Party battled the red-wearing Colorado Party. Garibaldi and his compatriots fought for the Colorados ("coloreds"), who were backed by Britain and Louis Philippe. Besieged in the capital for nine long years, the Colorados offered not just freedom but also citizenship to Uruguay's black slaves. The Blancos, in contrast, promised freedom but not equal rights to the enslaved blacks who helped them besiege Montevideo. Garibaldi and his red-garbed followers returned in triumph to Italy in 1849 and promptly overthrew Pope Pius IX. President Bonaparte delighted French Catholics by sending 40,000 troops to restore the pope, driving not only Garibaldi from Rome but also his own cousin Charles-Lucien Bonaparte, a famous ornithologist who had lived in the U.S. with Joseph Bonaparte from 1822-26 but renounced Bonapartism to support the short-lived Roman Republic, from the collapse of which Mazzini fled to England.[61]

The pre-eminent example of equality among whites in the new French empire was also a symbol of imperial white supremacy. France's famous Zouave regiments were among Napoleon III's most enthusiastic supporters, and they were at the forefront of his creation of a new French colonial empire that regarded slavery as an atavism but subjugated non-whites throughout the world in the name of progress. Louis XVIII's successor Charles X conquered much of Algeria during the 1820s, but he trusted non-white mercenaries more than restive lower-class French whites and ruled his new domain using Arab and black troops.[62] Calhoun hence welcomed the news of Charles X's overthrow in 1830, although the new Orléans king would, he predicted,

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[61] Louis-Napoleon granted Charles-Lucien Bonaparte amnesty in 1850. The latter made his peace with Bonapartism upon becoming the director of the *Jardin des Plantes* in 1854, and one of his sons would even become a Catholic cardinal. See Friedrich Engel-Janosi, "The Return of Pius IX in 1850," *The Catholic Historical Review*, vol. 36, no. 2 (July 1950), 129-62; and Patricia Tyson Stroud, *The Emperor of Nature: Charles-Lucien Bonaparte and His World* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000). As the London *Literary Gazette* noted in 1825, "Charles Buonaparte, is a *savan*, and a most active member of the Philadelphia Academy of Natural Sciences; he has just given to the public the first part of a magnificent publication on Ornithology…." London *Literary Gazette, and, Journal of Belles Lettres, Arts, Sciences, &c*., no. 463, December 3, 1825, 779.

[62] See O'Brien, *Conjectures of Order*, 264.

prove little better.[63] Louis Phillippe kept Charles X's non-white Algerian soldiers, who came to be known as the Zouaves and formed the core of his French Foreign Legion. Louis-Napoleon, however, wanted to emulate his uncle by making French citizenship available to pro-Bonaparte but non-French whites, and so he overhauled the Zouaves upon coming to power.[64] Retaining the celebrated Arab-style Zouave uniform, he opened an enlarged French Foreign Legion to whites of all nations, established new Zouave regiments in the regular army and refurbished Imperial Guard composed entirely of French whites, and relegated the non-white soldiers to secondary support units commanded by white officers termed Tirailleurs Algerians or "Turcos."

Employing revolutionary new rifle and light infantry tactics in addition to fierce bayonet charges, the Zouaves were also famed for their female members, the vivandières. Napoleon I's armies had contained women informally attached to each regiment known as *cantinières*, who were uasually married to a soldier and served as provisioners, water-bearers, seamstresses, *de facto* mascots, and, in a pinch, field medics or combatants. Napoleon III doubled the number of *cantinières*, who were officially re-designated salaried vivandières in 1854. Zouave vivandières wore a modified version of the Zouave uniform, paraded with their regiments wearing dress swords, and, unlike *cantinières*, always accompanied their regiments onto the battlefield. Indeed, Napoleon III even awarded the coveted Medaille Militaire to two vivandières in 1859.[65]

The vivandières helped Louis-Napoleon more than double the size of France's colonial empire, spreading white French rule and Catholicism around the world by conquering millions of

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[63] See "Rough Draft of an Address to the People of South Carolina," [for the S.C. General Assembly, *ca*. December 1, 1830], *PJCC*, 11:279.

[64] See Napoleon III, *Napoleonic Ideas*, 140.

[65] French regiments usually had between four-to-six vivandières, but Zouave regiments had as many as twenty. See André Figueras, *Gloire à L'Armee d'Afrique* (Fontenay sous Bois: Editions de L'Orme Rond, 1987); Patrick Bouhet, "Les Femmes et les Armées de la Révolution et de l'Empire: un apercu," *Guerres mondiales et conflits contemporains*, no. 198 (June 2000), 11-29; Carol E. Harrison, "Zouave Stories: Gender, Catholic Spirituality, and French Responses to the Roman Question," *The Journal of Modern History*, vol. 79, no. 2 (June 2007), 274-305; and Douglas Porch, *The French Foreign Legion: A Complete History of the Legendary Fighting Force* (New York: Skyhorse Publishing, 2010).

non-whites, particularly in Africa. The Algeria-based Foreign Legion Zouaves presided over a vast inflow of white colonists after Napoleon III completed Algeria's conquest in 1852. Notwithstanding ongoing Arab and black guerilla resistance, over 100,000 Europeans moved to Algeria's coastal regions during the 1850s. Some of them also began venturing into the interior, taking advantage of their superior legal rights to buy or expropriate land from non-whites. Napoleon III facilitated the process by forcing Algerian tribes to renounce their collective landowning practices, and he also induced Arab chieftains to free their black slaves while offering French citizenship to Muslims who were predominantly white and culturally French. Beginning in 1854, moreover, the emperor's famous general Louis Faidherbe turned a few French Senegalese trading posts into a vast colonial project. Zouaves and Turcos forced black laborers to construct forts, railroads, factories, and plantations, eradicating both slavery and the slave trade in Senegal while subjecting all the blacks there to direct white rule for the first time.[66]

Quite a few blacks perceived that Louis-Napoleon frowned upon slavery as an institution when he visited the Union, and some of them even named children in his honor. A black abolitionist named Louis Napoleon, for instance, managed to free several slaves who were accompanying their Virginian master as he sojourned at New York City in 1852, after which Democratic merchants there paid profuse compensation to the affronted slaveholder. (The 1860 state supreme court case of *Jonathan Lemmon v. Louis Napoleon* affirmed the free status of the slaves, who had fled to Upper Canada).[67] Very few U.S. blacks, however, would be called Louis-Napoleon when it became clear in the early 1850s that he and the French scientific racialists whom he patronized viewed blacks as the most inferior of non-whites. New York's

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[66] See Yves-Jean Saint-Martin, *Le Sénégal sous le second Empire: Naissance d'un empire colonial (1850-1871)* (Paris: Karthala, 1989).
[67] See New York *Times*, April 16, 1860; and Jordan, *Black Confederates and Afro-Yankees in Civil War Virginia*, 12-14.

Louis Napoleon and his fellow abolitionists on both sides of the Atlantic were disappointed when President Bonaparte began to rescind French support for Uruguay's ascendant Colorados in 1850, and they were even more alarmed to see him follow in his uncle's footsteps *vis-à-vis* the Dumas family. Napoleon I had threatened to execute the famous black Jacobin general Thomas-Alexandre Dumas, who fell out with him upon being assigned a command far below his rank during France's invasion of Egypt. Dumas also led the assault upon the Al-Azhar mosque during the anti-French uprising in Cairo, but Napoleon had him replaced with a white Frenchman in the famous Roussy-Trioson commemorative painting. When Dumas was imprisoned by *ancien régime* forces in southern Italy, moreover, Napoleon refused to ransom him, and when he was liberated by conquering French forces in 1801, Napoleon not only denied him a new commission but a pension as well, effectively negating his citizenship. Dumas's son the famous French writer Alexandre Dumas detested *Bonapartisme* as a result. Having penned an 1850 novel extolling Garibaldi's feats in Uruguay, he self-exiled himself from France in 1851 after President Bonaparte distanced himself from the Colorados and overthrew the French republic.[68] Lauding Louis Philippe's class-stratified but racially egalitarian France as against Napoleon III's regime, Dumas noted that while the Bourbon and Orleans kings had sanctioned the institution of slavery, they had at least rejected white supremacy by embracing the few well-to-do French free blacks.[69]

Charles X, after all, recognized Haiti in 1825, but Napoleon III would have very poor relations with that black republic. Haiti's ruling mulatto elite lost control over Santo Domingo in 1844, and they were soon deposed altogether by Faustin-Élie Soulouque, who seized power on

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[68] See Alexandre Dumas, *Montevideo, ou une nouvelle Troie* (Paris: Imprimerie Centrale de Napoléon Chaix et Cie, 1850). Also see David McLean, "Garibaldi in Uruguay: A Reputation Reconsidered," *The English Historical Review*, vol. 113, no. 451 (April 1998), 351-66.

[69] See Valerie Parks Brown, "Napoleon and General Dumas," *The Journal of Negro History*, vol. 61, no. 2 (April 1976), 188-99; and Harry A. Spurr, *The Life and Writings of Alexandre Dumas, 1802-1870* (London: J. M. Dent & Co., 1902), 90-91.

behalf of the "pure" blacks and became Emperor Faustin I in 1849. Having fought against Napoleon I's troops in his youth, Soulouque urged U.S. fugitive slaves and free blacks to become Haitian citizen-soldiers; launched several failed invasions of Santo Domingo in the name of black deliverance; rejected Catholicism for voodoo paganism; and made Haiti even more dependent upon Britain. Yet Faustin I emulated the sartorial trappings of the French emperors at the same time, prompting an indignant Comte de Gobineau to juxtapose Haiti's "retrogression" under Soulouque with Napoleon III's modernizing France as proof of the sheer degree of black racial inferiority.[70] And the newspapers of the French Left inadvertently strengthened his case. Legally barred from directly insulting Napoleon III, Left-leaning political cartoonists such as Honoré Daumier used Soulouque as a stand-in to mock the French emperor, but they reinforced negative perceptions of blacks in France instead by depicting the Haitian ruler with a grotesquely exaggerated but stereotypical physiognomy to suggest that Napoleon III was a violent and lascivious brute.[71] Faustin I's regime, moreover, collapsed after a disastrous invasion of Santo Domingo in 1859. Soulouque himself found refuge in British Jamaica, and abolitionists on both sides of the Atlantic such as Philadelphia's "Britannicus" continued their efforts to refute the disparaging charges levelled against his government by gloating Democrats and Bonapartists.[72]

Tensions between Napoleon III's France and the British Empire during the 1850s

Louis-Napoleon had predicted that Britain would bring the forces of the Left and Right together once more against a new Bonapartist France, and the second French Empire's initial

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[70] Quoted in Henry Goldschmidt and Elizabeth McAlister, *Race, Nation, and Religion in the Americas* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 236.

[71] See Honoré Daumier, "Commençant à render justice aux blanches," Paris *Le Charivari*, April 9, 1859.

[72] See "Britannicus," *The Dominican Republic and the Emperor Soulouque: being remarks and strictures on the misstatements, and a refutation of the calumnies, of M. d'Alaux, in the article under the above title in the* Revue des deux mondes (Philadelphia: T. K. Collins, Jr., 1852); John E. Baur, "Faustin Soulouque, Emperor of Haiti: His Character and His Reign," *The Americas*, vol. 6, no. 2 (October 1949), 131-66; and Murdo J. MacLeod, "The Soulouque Regime in Haiti, 1847-1859: A Reevaluation," *Caribbean Studies*, vol. 10, no. 3 (October 1970), 35-48. Also see Alfred N. Hunt, *Haiti's Influence on Antebellum America: Slumbering Volcano in the Caribbean* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1988), 147-89.

relations with the British were poor indeed. He had lived in England periodically during his exile years, studying in the British Museum, touring Manchester factories, and even meeting leading Britons on occasion. Yet he spent most of his time there with certain wealthy but disreputable figures who were on the fringes of pro-abolitionist British polite society, cavorting with his rich but scandalous mistress Harriet Howard, who helped fund his subsequent exploits. He was also *persona non grata* to the British government, which supported Louis Philippe and helped thwart a coup which he launched from British soil in 1840. Indeed, Queen Victoria declared in 1848 when the deposed Orleans king arrived in England that "for *sixteen* years he did a great deal to maintain peace and made France prosperous, which should *not* be forgotten…."[73] Louis Philippe would pass away as a guest of the Royal Family in 1850, and when Napoleon III sought to arrange a political marriage with Queen Victoria's niece Princess Adelaide of Hohenlohe-Langenburg a year later, the British monarch convinced her to spurn him as an immoral usurper, informing her mother with reference to the womanizing French emperor that "I feel your dear child is *saved* from *ruin* of every possible sort," for "[y]ou know what *he* is."[74]

President Bonaparte had already alarmed the British by withdrawing support for the Colorados when his 1851 coup elicited memories among them of Napoleon I, and they dramatically increased military spending as rumors of impending war swirled.[75] Napoleon III calmed their fears by famously proclaiming that "*L'Empire, c'est la paix*," but observers on both sides of the Atlantic suspected that he was not extending a sincere hand of friendship to them but rather biding his time so as to industrialize France and cultivate likeminded regimes as allies before challenging Britain. To the apprehension of many a Briton, Napoleon III vastly expanded

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[73] Quoted in McCullough, *The Greater Journey*, 283-84.
[74] Quoted in Bierman, *Napoleon III and his Carnival Empire*, 106.
[75] See Nicholas C. Edsall, *Richard Cobden: Independent Radical* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1986), 256, 271.

the French railroad network by means of corporations which were both subsidized and supervised by the government. Together with new technologies, agricultural schools, and scientific reforms, the railroads raised the productivity of French farming and turned France into a net exporter of agricultural goods. They also bore tens of thousands of surplus rural laborers to the cities while carrying iron, coal, and manufactured goods from large-scale mines, mills, and factories, most of which were subsidized, overseen, or even nationalized by the government as strategic economic sectors.[76] And with France's rate of industrial production increasing twice as rapidly as Britain's, Napoleon III upstaged London's famous 1851 Crystal Palace Exhibition by hosting the 1855 Exposition Universelle des produits de l'Agriculture, de l'Industrie et des Beaux-Arts de Paris, at which four million visitors toured the enormous Palais de l'Industrie.[77]

British fears, however, were alleviated by the fact that many economists believed that Napoleon III would play into Britain's hands by championing the cause of free trade, which they predicted would inhibit French industrialization by turning France into a *de facto* British colony that exported agricultural products while importing manufactured goods. Protracted French-British negotiations finally resulted in the 1860 Chevalier-Cobden tariff reduction treaty, but French exports to Britain actually increased more than British exports to France. The British market was opened to French agricultural exports even as French light industries became more efficient and productive upon losing their tariff protections, and France's heavy industries were subsidized and controlled by the French government anyway. The British press railed against Richard Cobden as a result, for he was the treaty's principal advocate in Britain as well as an

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[76] See Paul Kennedy, *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers: Economic Change and Military Conflict from 1500 to 2000* (New York: Random House, 1987), 168.

[77] See Napoleon Joseph Charles Paul Bonaparte, *Exposition universelle de 1855: Rapports du jury mixte international*, 2 vols. (Paris: Imprimerie Impériale, 1856).

egalitarian-minded Member of Parliament who was notorious for his admiration of Napoleon III. Indeed, Cobden had once even advised his fellow Britons to adopt Napoleon I's metric system.[78]

Napoleon III also temporarily allayed British fears by aligning with Britain against Russia's Nicholas I, a champion of serfdom-in-the-abstract who was competing with the British for spheres of influence within Asia and the Ottoman Empire. Joining Britain in declaring war against Russia in 1854, Napoleon III's France forestalled the possible emergence of a grand new anti-Bonaparte coalition. At the same time, the French upstaged the British by fielding over 50,000 troops in the Crimea – significantly more than Britain. The British were also embarrassed by the French on several well-known occasions during the Crimean War.[79] Florence Nightingale, for instance, was inspired to become a hospital matron in the Crimea due in part to the fame garnered by France's Sisters of Mercy, who nursed French soldiers during the war with both bravery and skill. Humiliated by the sorry state of Britain's military medical care, the British press lionized Nightingale as Protestant Britain's response to Catholic France; yet even she found it necessary to quietly employ over a dozen British Sisters of Mercy to make her hospitals function at all, let alone effectively.[80] The Zouaves, moreover, famously rescued the defeated British Guards from the Russians at the 1854 Battle of Inkerman, and they were hailed by humbled British officers when they suffered a devastating casualty rate capturing the formidable Malakoff Redoubt and hence Sevastopol in 1855, at which point Russia sued for peace even though a a simultaneous British assault on the Redan fortifications had miscarried.[81]

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[78] See Edsall, *Richard Cobden*, 332-33, 341.

[79] As Davis reported in late 1854 regarding the repulse of Royal Navy attacks, "[t]he capacity of sea-coast defences to effect this object against the most powerful armaments that have ever been placed afloat, is amply demonstrated by the results of the late military operations in the Black sea and the Baltic." "Jefferson Davis to Franklin Pierce: Report of the Secretary of War," War Department, Washington, D.C., December 4, 1854, *JDC*, 2:410.

[80] See *The Crimean Journal of the Sisters of Mercy, 1854-1856*, ed. Maria Laddy, *et al*. (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2004).

[81] See Kennedy, *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers*, 175-77; and Norman McCord and Bill Purdue, *British History, 1815-1914*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 200, 271-72.

When the British Catholic nuns who served as Crimean War nurses marched in their habits with a returning regiment at Portsmouth in 1856, an anti-French mob pelted them with rocks and garbage until the soldiers intervened.[82] Britons were increasingly irritated by Napoleon III's penchant for feigning friendship while upstaging, embarrassing, and undermining Britain. Napoleon III had rejected Nicholas I's claim to be the exclusive protector of all Christians in the Ottoman Empire, but asserting a rival claim of his own, he pleased the French public and especially his Catholic supporters when he defied the expressed wish of the British government by sending 7,000 troops to Lebanon and Syria in 1860 to stop Ottoman persecution of Christians there.[83] He also challenged British dominance in the Pacific while professing benign intentions.[84] The French Empire conquered the indigenous Kanak people of New Caledonia in 1853, establishing Port-de-France and a sizable military presence near British Australia by transforming New Caledonia into a penal colony over the course of the 1850s. In 1857, moreover, France joined Britain in battle against China after a Catholic missionary priest was executed by Chinese authorities. The true intention of Napoleon III, however, was to break Britain's monopoly on China's commerce by securing Chinese trade concessions for France. After the first phase of the second Opium War ended in 1858 with the fall of Canton, he obtained his coveted trade concessions in the Treaty of Tientsin even as Britain secured the right to export opium to China. The second phase began when China reneged on the treaty, and the British were soon embarrassed by the Zouaves once again. Britain was enraged when the Chinese executed several British diplomats by the gruesome method of slow slicing. With Beijing at the mercy of French and British forces after the crushing Chinese defeat at the 1860 Battle of

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[82] See Evelyn Bolster, *The Sisters of Mercy in the Crimean War* (Cork: Mercier Press, 1964), 272.
[83] See Marcel Émerit, "La crise Syrienne et l'expansion économique française en 1860," *Revue Historique*, vol. 207, no. 2 (1952), 211-32.
[84] See John F. Cady, "The Beginnings of French Imperialism in the Pacific Orient," *The Journal of Modern History*, vol. 14, no. 1 (March 1942), 71-87.

Palikao, the vengeful Britons moved to raze the entire city, but the Zouaves enhanced France's reputation at Britain's expense in the court of world opinion by forcing the British, who had recently slaughtered hundreds of thousands of civilians during the "Devil's Wind" in India, settle for burning and looting the Chinese emperor's Summer Palace. An irate Britain insisted that France withdraw from the Middle East as a result, and while Napoleon III acceded to the British government's demand in 1861, he still established a new French sphere of influence by installing a pro-French governor in Lebanon and Syria who was only nominally beholden to the Ottomans.

Britain was also disturbed by Napoleon III's efforts to re-organize the Catholic kingdoms of Europe along Bonapartist lines. Over ten thousand Italian troops from the Kingdom of Piedmont-Sardinia fought alongside the French in the Crimea, and Napoleon III thanked them by expelling Austria from Lombardy. Count Arese, after all, was a friend of the French emperor as well as an advisor to Piedmont-Sardinia's king Victor Emmanuel II, having once dined with Louis-Napoleon in New York City.[85] After winning bloody but impressive victories over the Austrians, Napoleon III encouraged them to strengthen their empire by promoting equality among their various subordinate white ethnicities, urging them as well to focus their efforts upon thwarting Protestant Prussia's growing influence among the German states.[86] He also hoped to please both French Catholics and Spaniards by creating a Bonapartist alternative to Garibaldi for Italian nationalists to support in northern Italy, one which would protect rather than menace the Papal States and Naples. Yet he pressured the Papacy to reject the doctrines of the Right at the same time. As a result, Pius IX established new ministries of commerce, education, war, and internal affairs. Placing more power in the hands of laymen, he allowed for a greater degree of religious toleration in the Papal States as well. He also imposed new taxes on the wealthy to

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[85] See Dorrance and Macartney, *The Bonapartes in America*, 164.
[86] See Kennedy, *Rise and Fall of the Great Powers*, 166.

finance railroads, telegraphs, factories, port facilities, agricultural reforms, and schools. Having refurbished St. Peter's Basilica and founded a renowned astronomical observatory, he even introduced a version of the Napoleonic Code and endorsed a tariff-reduction treaty with France.[87]

Napoleon III had accelerated his plans for Italy when he was nearly murdered in early 1858 by the pro-Garibaldi Carbonari member Felice Orsini, who had established a base of operations in England as a political exile and hoped to bring the French Left to power. There had, after all, been a "jacobinical attempt to assassinate" Napoleon I, a plot which, as John Quincy Adams once recounted, "failed only by one of those extraordinary chances, which superstitious, nay, which many religious minds ascribe to the special interposition of Heaven. It was an instrument emblimatical of the jacobin character, an *infernal*, by which he was to [be] blown up as he rode through the streets of Paris…."[88] The Jacobin assassination attempt had slain over half-a-dozen bystanders, and Orsini killed or wounded over a hundred French citizens in Paris with his bombs. He was captured, tried, and guillotined, but the British government refused to extradite his actual or perceived abettors in London due to their political refugee status. And when Prime Minister Palmerston partially yielded to an enraged France by moving to arrest some of the suspects, his administration fell in the face of Parliamentary denunciations and street protests.[89] More anxious than ever to foil Garibaldi and his British patrons, Napoleon III emulated his uncle by taking over 200,000 French soldiers across the Alps, revolutionizing warfare in the process by pioneering the use of railroads as troop transportation.

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[87] See Frank J. Coppa, "Pio Nono and the Jews: From 'Reform' to 'Reaction,' 1846-1878," *The Catholic Historical Review*, vol. 89, no. 4 (October 2003), 671-95; and Roberto de Mattei, *Pius IX*, trans. John Laughland (2000; reprint, Leominster: Gracewing, 2004).

[88] "The extraordinary rapidity," Adams added, "with which his coachman drove, saved him by an interval of less than half a minute…," acerbically remarking as well that "[a]ll France has congratulated him upon his escape, but had he not escaped, who shall say that all France would not have congratulated his murderers?" "John Quincy Adams to Thomas Boylston Adams," 20. January. 1801, Adams Family Papers, Letterbooks, Massachusetts Historical Institute.

[89] See McCord and Purdue, *British History*, 276.

And the French emperor would even accompany them upon the battlefield during the hard-fought 1859 victories of Magenta and Solferino, albeit issuing precious few orders in the field.

Napoleon III, however, alienated Piedmont-Sardinia's leaders and Italians more generally when he let Austria keep Venice and re-annexed Nice and Savoy, both of which had been stripped from France in 1815 and voted to re-join *la patrie* in an 1860 plebiscite. Taking advantage of those errors, Garibaldi invaded Sicily and conquered Naples in September 1860 thanks to the Royal Navy, which transported his forces – among whom were many British volunteers – to the Italian mainland.[90] Britain's soaring pro-Garibaldi sentiment was memorably expressed by the London *Punch* cartoons "The Latest Arrival," which depicted John Bull cutting in on Napoleon III's dance with Italy, and "A Glimpse of the Future," which looked forward to the expulsion of "King Bomba" of Naples, Pius IX, and Napoleon III from Italy.[91] Garibaldi and his British supporters, though, would soon be stymied by the Papal Zouaves, which Pius IX would establish in 1860 even though President Bonaparte left a large French garrison behind to protect Rome in 1849. The famous French-speaking force was a kind of Papal Foreign Legion comprised of Catholics from all over the world but particularly France, Belgium, and Quebec.[92]

Yet while the British were disconcerted by Napoleon III's false friendship and efforts to forge a French-led alliance of Catholic Bonapartist powers in Europe, they were upset above all by France's bid to challenge Britain's naval supremacy. The British had wanted to launch a major Baltic naval campaign against Russia in 1856 to restore their martial reputation, but Napoleon III refused to countenance the idea, compelling them to come to the negotiating table

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[90] See Janet Fyfe, "Scottish Volunteers with Garibaldi," *The Scottish Historical Review*, vol. 57, no. 164/2 (October 1978), 168-81.

[91] See John Tenniel, "A Glimpse of the Future," London *Punch*, April 7, 1860; John Tenniel, "The Latest Arrival," London *Punch*, March 18, 1861; and Eleanor McNees, "'Punch' and the Pope: Three Decades of Anti-Catholic Cariacature," *Victorian Periodicals Review*, vol. 37, no. 1 (spring 2004), 18-45. Also see John Tenniel, "A Good Offer," London *Punch*, September 27, 1860.

[92] See Charles A. Coulombe, *The Pope's Legion: The Multinational Fighting Force that Defended the Vatican* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).

instead at the ensuing Congress Paris. They had to deal there with Poland's Count Alexandre Joseph Colonna-Walewski, an illegitimate son of Napoleon I and former French Foreign Legion officer who had alarmed them in 1851 by trumpeting Louis-Napoleon's coup as France's ambassador to Britain.[93] Napoleon I, moreover, had delivered the Poles from the clutches of Prussia and Russia, and his nephew hoped to use Walewski to create an independent Bonapartist Poland which would distract France's Prussian and Russian enemies. The Poles and their age-old French patrons, after all, had, as Davis remarked in an 1859 speech denouncing Republicans and Radicals for their common hostility toward white Catholic immigrants, "join[ed] our fathers when they bore the name of rebels...," and so Americans were fittingly "reared from our infancy to turn to the names of De Kalb and Kosciusko, and Pulaski and La Fayette, with grateful veneration...."[94] Having replaced the relatively pro-British Drouyn de Lhuys as the French minister of foreign affairs, Walewski dominated the Congress of Paris thanks to France's prestige, which was surging to such an extent after the Crimean War and Exposition Universelle that Britain seemed to be in relative decline.[95] He made Russia demilitarize the Black Sea, but he also maneuvered Britain into overtly renouncing a pillar of British naval policy, namely, the implementation of punitive but inevitably porous blockades over entire coastlines, as when Britain had, in Calhoun's 1812 words, "violated" international law by insisting in 1806 that "the whole Coast of the Continent from the Elbe to Brest inclusive was… in a State of Blockade," for "[b]y the law of Nations, as recognized by Great Britain herself, no Blockade is lawful, unless it

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[93] See "The Three Sons of Napoleon," *The English Illustrated Magazine*, vol. 35 (April to September, 1906), 131.
[94] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Death of Hon. John A. Quitman. Jan.5, 1859," *JDC*, 3:466-67. Secretary of War Davis, moreover, had informed Philadelphia's James Lynch, who was descended from a doctor who treated Count Pulaski during the American Revolution, that while he wished he could furnish him information pertaining to Pulaski's burial, the British had burned the relevant War Department records in the War of 1812. See *PJD*, 5:325.
[95] See Kennedy, *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers*, 169, 175, 177, 183.

be sustained by the application of an adequate force…."[96] Article 4 of the 1856 Declaration of Paris therefore mandated that "[b]lockades, in order to be binding, must really be effective, that is to say, maintained by a force sufficient really to prevent access to the coast of the enemy."[97]

Napoleon III also challenged Britain's naval power by making Egypt a French client state in hopes of fulfilling his uncle's dream to dig a canal across the Suez. Muhammad Sa'id Pasha was the French-educated ruler of Egypt from 1854-63 and a descendant of Egypt's famous Caucasian khedive Muhammed Ali. Upon coming to power, he and his Francophile minister Ali Mubarak invited French engineers, officers, and bankers to re-make Egypt in the Bonapartist mold. With France's assistance, he founded the Bank of Egypt as well as numerous public schools and colleges, built Egypt's first railroads, reduced the power of local sheiks, introduced conscription, and established large-scale cotton plantations. At the French emperor's behest, he also outlawed slave importations from the Sudan and began to gradually free Egypt's black slaves. Yet he conquered more Sudanese and Ethiopian territory at the same time and subjected blacks there to French-supported Arab rule, for while Napoleon III's France viewed Egyptian Arabs as racial inferiors and hence as clients rather than allies, French scientific racialists deemed them far superior to blacks. Sa'id Pasha, moreover, forced the British to sell all of their shares in the Suez Canal Company to the Egyptian government in 1854 with the French emperor himself serving as arbiter, and he entrusted the project to Ferdinand de Lesseps, who was a famous canal-builder and cousin to Napoleon III's wife Eugénie de Montijo. An angry Britain retaliated by inducing the Ottomans to menace Egypt; arming Bedouins to raid canal construction sites; and deploying abolitionist rhetoric against France even though the Compagnie

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[96] "Report on the Causes and Reasons for War," June 3, 1812, *PJCC* 1:113. "A policy so injurious to the common interest of mankind," Calhoun added in 1814, "must sooner or later unite the world against her." "Speech on the Loan Bill," February 25, 1814, *PJCC*, 1: 226. See ibid., 1:223-24.

[97] "The Declaration of Paris, 1856," *The American Journal of International Law*, vol. 1, no. 2 (April, 1907), 89.

Universelle du Canal Maritime de Suez's tens of thousands of state-coerced black workers were not enslaved, though indeed mistreated. The Suez Canal was well underway by 1858 regardless and would be completed in 1869 under Sa'id Pasha's French-educated nephew Ismail, who befriended Napoleon III as Egypt's representative to France and continued his uncle's legacy by modeling Cairo after Paris with new waterworks, gaslights, boulevards, and opera houses; introducing French civil law; opening Egypt's schools and colleges to women; creating a new but token legislature; and waging more anti-slavery wars of black subjugation in Ethiopia and the Sudan. "My country," he declared, "is no longer in Africa, it is now in Europe," and he sought to meet the vast expense of making Egypt "European" by taking out ever-more French loans, as well as by charging the British exorbitant prices for cotton throughout the American Civil War.[98]

A French-controlled canal across the Suez would have allowed France's warships to reach Britain's colonies in Asia and Australia much more quickly than their British equivalents during a war, but the French *Jeune École* naval strategy was designed to destroy the Royal Navy altogether. Informed observers on both sides of the Atlantic had long since surmised that Napoleon I squandered France's resources by attempting to rival the quality and quantity of Britain's wooden ships-of-the-line.[99] Bonaparte had perhaps sensed that would be the case, for the world's first viable combat submarine was built in France at his behest from 1800-01 by the American steamboat pioneer Robert Fulton. But the hand-cranked *Nautilus* sprang a leak before its scheduled demonstration in front of Napoleon, who concluded that Fulton was a fraud.

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[98] Quoted in William L. Cleveland and Martin Bunton, *A History of the Modern Middle East*, 4th ed. (Boulder: Westview Press, 1999), 95. See ibid., 93-97. Also see *Percement de l'isthme de Suez. Rapport et Projet de la Commission Internationale. Documents Publiés par M. Ferdinand de Lesseps, troisième série* (Paris: bureaux de l'Isthme de Suez, Journal de l'Union des deux Mers, et chez Henri Plon, Éditeur, 1856); Edward Mead Earle, "Egyptian Cotton and the American Civil War," *Political Science Quarterly*, vol. 41, no. 4 (December 1926), 520-45; and John Pudney, *Suez; De Lesseps' Canal* (New York: Praeger, 1969).

[99] See, for instance, "Thomas Boylston Adams to John Quincy Adams," Quincy 10th: April 1808, Adams Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society; and "To Samuel Brown," Washington Oct. 27. 08, Papers of Thomas Jefferson, Library of Congress.

Britain promptly paid a small fortune to recruit Fulton, who returned to the U.S. in 1806 upon realizing that the British were actually seeking to suppress his submarine technology so as to preserve their naval dominance, which they had achieved by means of their vast fleet of high-quality wooden warships.[100] Napoleon's former artillery officer, the École polytechnique graduate Henri-Joseph Paixhans, however, rendered all wooden ships highly vulnerable by developing naval guns in the 1840s that could fire incendiary explosive shells, which destroyed wood hulls far more effectively than cannonballs. Davis, for his part, boasted that Paixhans was inspired by Colonel George Bomford's War of 1812 Columbiad coastal defense guns.[101] Be that as it may, Paixhans guns had become the standard French naval armament by the early 1850s.

President Bonaparte challenged the British in 1850 by launching the massive 90-gun *Napoléon*, which was the world's first coal-powered and screw-propelled wooden warship. Britain, however, responded by launching a similar ship pointedly named *Duke of Wellington*. Unable to match Britain's wooden ship-building capacity, the French opted to dispense with wooden warships altogether when the British and Russians began introducing their own versions of the Paixhans gun. France's *Jeune École* naval theorists, after all, had been inspired by Paixhans's writings and inventions to argue that a massive conventional navy could be destroyed by a smaller but more technologically and tactically innovative force using sea mines ("torpedoes") and submarines to devastate enemy blockaders; fast commerce raiders to annihilate the foe's merchant marine; and ironclad warships armed with Paixhans guns to obliterate entire fleets of wooden warships.[102] Napoleon III's France poured funds into the

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[100] See Holden Furber, "Fulton and Napoleon in 1800: New Light on the Submarine Nautilus," *The American Historical Review*, vol. 39, no. 3 (April 1934), 489-94.
[101] See *PJD*, 5:388.
[102] See Henri-Joseph Paixhans, *Nouvelle force maritime, et application de cette force force a quelques parties du service de l'armee de terre* (Paris: Bachelier, Libraire, Quai des Augustins, 1822). For American notice of Paixhans's work even beyond military circles, see "Art. IX-New Maritime Artillery," *The American Quarterly*

development of torpedoes, submarines, and commerce-raiding cruisers as a result, achieving significant advances in the first two areas but lagging behind in the last due to a dearth of wooden ship-building skill. Indeed, the brilliant French naval engineer Dupuy de Lôme helped design the first ever steam-powered submarine in 1859, and *Le Plongeur* was ready for field tests by 1863.[103] Neither Paixhans-type shells nor traditional ordnance, moreover, could sink France's iron-armored floating batteries during the Crimean War, after which the French would not build another wooden warship. And when France launched de Lôme's *La Gloire*, which was the world's first oceangoing ironclad, in 1858, Davis exulted that British naval superiority was at an end, for he and naval officers on both sides of the Atlantic concluded that Britain's hundreds upon hundreds of wooden warships had been rendered obsolete.[104] In response, the British hurriedly built new coastal fortifications, ramped up military spending, and triggered a hostile arms race with France by launching their own *Warrior* and *Black Prince* ironclads in the early 1860s, although neither was as well-armored as *La Gloire*.[105] By 1861, both powers had over a dozen ironclads under construction and were striving to develop new rifled naval guns capable of penetrating iron armor; yet France still made more ironclads in service than Britain until 1864.[106]

Britons knew that control of the seas would allow France to invade the British Isles themselves, for as the future Confederate governor of Louisiana Henry W. Allen observed during an 1860 visit to England, "[t]he press here is unanimous, and without any exception denounces

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Review, vol. 8, no. 8 (December 1828), 480-507. Also see Arne Roksund, *The Jeune École: The Strategy of the Weak* (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill, 2007).

[103] See Richard Compton-Hall, *The Submarine Pioneers: The Beginnings of Underwater Warfare* (Gloucestershire, UK: Sutton Publishing, 1999), 87.

[104] See "To James W. Denver," War Department, Washington, D.C., March 2, 1857, *PJD*, 6:106; Kennedy, *Rise and Fall of the Great Powers*, 168, 183; and William C. Davis, *A Government of Our Own: The Making of the Confederacy* (New York: The Free Press, 1994), 318.

[105] See Edsall, *Richard Cobden*, 355-56, 368; Hattaway and Beringer, *Jefferson Davis, Confederate President*, 148; McCord and Purdue, *British History*, 277; and Howard J. Fuller, *Empire, Technology, and Seapower: Royal Navy Crisis in the Age of Palmerston* (New York: Routledge, 2014). Also see John Tenniel, "Beggar My Neighbour," London *Punch*, March 23, 1861.

[106] See Brooke, Jr., *John M. Brooke*, 252.

Napoleon…. They abuse him, and even ridicule him; but a passing stranger can easily see that there is an all-pervading secret dread that the Frenchman will some day cross the Channel." Yet the situation in Ireland was even more dire as "[t]he whole country here is arming, the militia is training, and all seem to be on the look-out for Napoleon."[107] Britons, after all, had not forgotten Napoleon I's Irish Legion, which had been formed in 1803 to lead a future French invasion of the British Isles. Thanks to Britain's naval power, the French were unable to put more than a thousand troops ashore to bolster the 1798 Irish rebellion, which they also bolstered by landing the famous Irish rebel James Napper Tandy, who had been living as an exile in the Union. Napoleon secured the release of Tandy and several other leading Irish rebels in 1802 as part of the short-lived Treaty of Amiens on condition that they would never again return to Ireland or take up arms against Britain.[108] One such rebel was John D'Evereux, who helped Simon Bolivar overthrow the Spanish Right in South America after declining a general's commission from Napoleon so as to adhere to the terms of his release. Some of his relatives, moreover, eventually settled in Mississippi, where they established the D'Evereux Hall Orphan Asylum of St. Mary's Cathedral in 1854 with assistance from Davis's supporter the wealthy Catholic planter William St. John Elliot.[109] Other exiled Irish rebels, however, were willing to violate their paroles by joining Napoleon's green-clad Légion irlandaise, and they bedeviled Britain during the Peninsular War even though the Royal Navy had dashed their hopes of landing upon Irish or British soil. Among the most hard-fighting and loyal of Napoleon's soldiers, they won a plethora of Légion d'honneur commendations until Louis XVIII disbanded their regiment, bad memories of which among were evoked in Britain when, after the 1848 risings in Ireland failed,

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[107] H. W. Allen, *The Travels of a Sugar Planter: Or, Six Months in Europe* (New York: John F. Trow, 1861), 4, 11.
[108] See R. F. Foster, *Modern Ireland: 1600-1972* (London: Penguin, 1989), 239, 275.
[109] See "To William L. Marcy," January 27, 1854, *PJD*, 5:305; *The Annual Register, or a View of the History and Politics of the Year 1860*, vol. 102 (London: Woodfall & Kinder, 1861), 411; and *Sketch of the Catholic Church in the City of Natchez, Miss., on the Occasion of the Consecration of Its Cathedral* (Natchez: n.p., 1886), 43.

Louis-Napoleon opened the Foreign Legion to escaping Irish rebels, many of whom would also flock to the Papal Zouaves.[110] One of Napoleon's most trusted generals, moreover, was "the Brave Kilmaine" Charles Edward Jennings, a French-educated Irish Catholic who served France with distinction in both the American and French revolutions. He passed away in 1799 at the age of forty-eight, lamenting that the Royal Navy had foiled all of his and Consul Bonaparte's plans to liberate Ireland.[111] The Brave Kilmaine's place, however, was taken in the second French Empire by Napoleon III's foremost general Patrice Maurice de MacMahon, who commanded the Foreign Legion during the 1840s, led the Zouaves at both the Malakoff and Magenta, and was proudly descended from Irish Catholic rebels who relocated to France after fighting for James II.

Irish rebels often drew inspiration from MacMahon and Napoleon III.[112] John Mitchel, for instance, hailed the French emperor for embodying "the grand idea of national life, national growth and independence."[113] An advocate and practitioner of violent resistance against Britain as a journalist for the influential Dublin *Nation* and a leader of the 1848 uprisings, he was deported to Tasmania, where he worked as a convict laborer and nursed, as R. F. Foster puts it, an "almost psychotic Anglophobia."[114] Escaping to New York City in 1853, he rose to prominence as a Democratic editor and denounced moderate Irish leaders who rejected armed rebellion and sympathized with abolitionism such as Daniel O'Connell, whom Davis had decried

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[110] See Richard Hayes, "Irish Links with Napoleon," *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review*, vol. 35, no. 137 (March 1946), 63-74; John G. Gallaher, *Napoleon's Irish Legion* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1993); Trevor Parkhill, "The Wild Geese of 1798: Emigrés of the Rebellion," *Seanchas Ardmhacha: Journal of the Armagh Diocesan Historical Society*, vol. 19, no. 2 (2003), 118-35; James McConnel and Máirtín Ó Catháin, "A Training School for Rebels: Fenians in the French Foreign Legion," *History Ireland*, vol. 16, no. 6 (November-December 2008), 46-49; and Robert Doyle, "The Pope's Irish Battalion, 1860," *History Ireland*, vol. 18, no. 5 (September/October 2010), 26-29.

[111] See Richard Hayes, "General Charles Jennings Kilmaine, 1751-1799," *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review*, vol. 23, no. 90 (June 1934), 301–12.

[112] See D. H. Firinne and Eugene O'Curry, *Life of Marshal MacMahon, Duke of Magenta; with the Pedigree of the MacMahon Family, from their Founder, Brian Boroimhe, Monarch of Ireland, Down to the Present Century* (Dublin: The "Irishman" Office, 1859).

[113] Quoted in Bryan P. McGovern, *John Mitchel: Irish Nationalist, Southern Secessionist* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2009), 170.

[114] Foster, *Modern Ireland*, 315.

in 1849 for "attempt[ing] to incite the Irishmen, naturalized citizens of the United States, to unite as a body with the Abolitionists in their nefarious designs...."[115] Saluting Catholic Irish-American Democrats for fighting the "mis-called 'American' policy" of the Know-Nothings in an 1857 speech, the Mississippian also hailed such "gallant spirits as your Meagher and your Mitchel."[116] Mitchel, after all, was, in Foster's words, setting a "tone of Francophilia" among Anglophobic Irish revolutionaries, for he thought that Napoleon III would help establish an independent and religiously-tolerant Ireland allied to both France and the Union.[117] Sensing that "[t]here is an Anglo-French war in the air," he journeyed to Paris in 1859 hoping to secure French support for yet another Irish rising.[118] After mailing letters to papers in Ireland urging Irish rebels to assist an impending French invasion of the British Isles, a disappointed Mitchel returned to New York City, but he still gave a laudatory lecture about Napoleon III at the Cooper Institute in 1860.[119] In October 1862, moreover, he defected to the Confederacy, where he edited the pro-Davis administration Richmond *Enquirer* and was soon joined by his sons. James made his way from Paris and lost an arm in battle; William died at Gettysburg; and John, Jr., who had, like his father, fought against Britain in 1848 and served time as a convict laborer, defended Charleston as a Confederate lieutenant of artillery. Rising to the rank of captain, John Mitchel, Jr. even commanded Fort Sumter itself from April 1863 until his July 1864 demise in combat.[120]

Secretary of War Davis and Alliance-Building with Napoleon III's France, 1852-57

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[115] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis in the Senate concerning the opinions of Father Mathew, on the resolution to admit him to a privileged seat. Senate Dec. 20, 1849," *JDC*, 1:248. See Foster, *Modern Ireland*, 316.
[116] "Speech at Jackson," May 29, 1857, *PJD*, 6:125.
[117] Foster, *op. cit.*, 316.
[118] Quoted in McGovern, *John Mitchel*, 169-70. See ibid., 169-70.
[119] See ibid., 170. Also see New York *Phoenix*, December 15, 1860.
[120] See Ella Lonn, *Foreigners in the Confederacy* (1940; reprint, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), 155. Mitchel's friend and fellow Irish rebel E. C. McCarthy, moreover, ended up as a Confederate lieutenant in the 30th Louisiana Infantry. See ibid., 156.

Davis prioritized the cultivation of good relations with Bonapartist France even before Louis-Napoleon became Napoleon III. He hence attempted to thwart the nomination of Samuel G. Goodrich as the U.S. minister to France.[121] An author, ardent Whig, Connecticut Congregationalist, and Taylor-appointed U.S. consul in France, Goodrich took pride in mentoring young abolitionist writers. Having been removed from his post by the Pierce administration, he would later claim that Louis-Napoleon had turned France into a brutal military dictatorship which strongly opposed abolitionism, suppressed freedom of speech, incarcerated and even executed political opponents *en masse*, and turned the national legislature into a charade, for "I was forcibly struck by the preponderance of soldiers in the assembly, and I said several times to my companions that it seemed more like a camp than a palace." Accusing the French emperor of instituting a "Reign of Terror," Goodrich also dismissed his claims to democratic legitimacy because it was only "[i]n the midst of agitation, delusion, and panic, [that] the vote was taken, and Louis Napoleon was elected by a vote of eight millions of suffrages!"[122]

Pierce appointed Davis's Virginian friend and political ally John Y. Mason to replace Goodrich, gratifying his Secretary of War at the cost of estranging the influential Democratic editor of the New York *Herald* James Gordon Bennett, who coveted the post as a reward for decrying both the "secession tomfooleries of the Southern fire-eater" and "our abolition demagogues and fanatics."[123] A staunch supporter of Andrew Jackson and a Democratic congressman from 1831-37, Mason could not abide Van Buren and followed his friend Calhoun into the Tyler administration, which he served as the Secretary of the Navy from 1844-45. He returned to the Democracy after Van Buren's eclipse and acquired French Paixhans guns as

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[121] See *PJD*, 5:481.
[122] Samuel G. Goodrich, *Peter Parley's Own Story: From the Personal Narrative of the Late Samuel G. Goodrich, ("Peter Parley")* (New York: Sheldon & Company, 1864), 307, 310. See ibid., 304.
[123] *PJD*, 6:175. Bennett, however, did come around and support the Buchanan administration. See *PJD*, 6:167.

Polk's Secretary of the Navy from 1846-49. Presiding over the 1851 Virginia constitutional convention, moreover, Mason overcame Radical opposition to finally secure universal suffrage among white men in Virginia.[124] He was partially paralyzed by a stroke later that year, however, and his Richmond home had recently burned down when he was offered the ambassadorship in 1853. Fearing that he might decline the offer, Davis informed him as a result that "[t]he importance at this time of having a true Southern man at the court of France has seemed to me very great and I was truly gratified to hear that we should probably have the advantage of your services in that position."[125] Mason, though, was so eager to accept that he even offered to leave for Paris before receiving confirmation from the Senate, knowing full well the "urgency of the occasion" and "the Presidents anxiety, to have a representative of the United States in Paris...."[126]

Upon arriving in Paris, Mason delighted Napoleon III but irritated U.S. anti-Democrats and Radical Democrats alike by insisting upon wearing a martial diplomatic uniform rather than a simple civilian suit. He also had a knack for solving any spats with France. Davis was initially pleased to have the French geologist Jules Marcou working upon War Department surveys of the west, but Marcou peremptorily quit in 1854 and took the reports he had prepared back to Paris. Mason, however, convinced the French government to impel Marcou to return the reports.[127] And when the U.S. businessman Charles E. D. Wood violated a contract with Napoleon III's regime that Davis had helped him to acquire, Mason ferreted out Wood's address for the Secretary of War in 1855, scolding him as well to pay full and prompt recompense to France.[128]

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[124] See Frances Leigh Williams, "The Heritage and Preparation of a Statesman, John Young Mason, 1799-1859," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. 75, no. 3 (July 1967), 305-30. Also see *PJD*, 5:45.
[125] "To John Y. Mason," Washington, D.C., September 28, 1853, *PJD*, 5:45.
[126] "John Y. Mason to Jefferson Davis," Richmond, October 2, 1853, *JDC*, 2:269.
[127] See "To John Y. Mason," December 15, 1854, *PJD*, 5:338.
[128] See "From John Y. Mason," November 14, 1855; "From Charles E. D. Wood," January 31, 1856; and "To John Y. Mason," February 12, 1856, *PJD*, 5:397-98. Mason also helped Davis's friend the Mississippian French-American Felix Labauve, whose sister had died in Paris. Davis and Mason helped Labauve defray funeral expenses by enclosing his letters in their own correspondence. See "From John Y. Mason," March 15, 1856, *PJD*, 6:443.

Davis, moreover, was so active in seeking to send likeminded Democrats to France as consuls that he admitted to overstepping departmental bounds, noting in 1853 that "I have commenced many things in the War Dept. And have become more involved in the general administration than I expected."[129] He thus recommended Grenada's Dr. William C. Willikings and the Natchez physician Dr. A. Chevalier, whom he described as "a sound Democrat and learned Surgeon," for consulships in France, where his confidante Edward B. Buchanan was the U.S. consul at La Rochelle from 1853-56.[130] Buchanan was a Maryland lawyer and Pierce Democrat who "sincerely hope[d] that Cuba and that greatest work of modern times, the Pacific Railroad may give renown to the Administration."[131] Updating Davis with regard to the Exposition Universelle, he also furnished him copies of Bonapartist newspapers, as when he sent an article from "the Paris *Constitutionel*, the 'organ' of the Government, on the culture of Tobacco and Cotton in Algiers...."[132] He also stoked Davis's hopes that Spain would become a Bonapartist ally of France and sell Cuba to the U.S. as a result, informing him in 1854 that if the pro-French Spanish forces which had launched a coup in the name of democratic equality among whites were to fail, "a French army may be in Spain in less than a year."[133] Celebrating Britain's Crimean disasters and mounting "fears" of the Union, Buchanan believed that Britain's ability to defeat an overt U.S. invasion of Cuba had declined as well.[134] Indeed, he predicted that Britain's

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[129] "Jefferson Davis to Stephen Cocke," Washington, D.C., December 19, 1853, *JDC*, 2:336.
[130] Quoted in *PJD*, 5:255. See "From Hendley S. Bennett," March 19, 1853, *PJD*, 5:168; and "From Thomas J. Johnston," June 18, 1853, *PJD*, 5:219.
[131] "E. B. Buchanan to Jefferson Davis," La Rochelle, August 1, 1854, *JDC*, 2:373. See *PJD*, 5:76.
[132] "E. B. Buchanan to Jefferson Davis," *op. cit.*, 2:372-73. See *PJD*, 5:362.
[133] "E. B. Buchanan to Jefferson Davis," *op. cit.*, 2:373. "It is the opinion of well informed people in France," Buchanan added, "that the French Government has had much to do with the late movements in Spain…." Ibid., 2:373.
[134] "From Edward B. Buchanan," London, June 26, 1854, *PJD*, 5:75. See "E. B. Buchanan to Jefferson Davis," La Rochelle, August 1, 1854, *JDC*, 2:373.

entire abolitionist Gulf empire would fall sooner or later before the Union and France, noting in 1854 that the "French government feels that it has an *important interest* in the West Indies...."[135]

The perceived alliance between the U.S. and Napoleon I seemed to be reviving in Davis's view as François André Michaux helped Napoleon III promote forestry and swamp reclamation by creating France's first public arboretum in 1851. Following in the footsteps of the French botanist Pierre Magnol, after whom the eighteenth-century French scientist Charles Plumier named the magnolia, Michaux rose to fame as a botanist, explorer, American Philosophical Society member, Légion d'honneur Chevalier, and Jefferson correspondent who came to the U.S. with a commission from Napoleon I to bring tree samples back to France and sent scientific texts to the Charleston Library Society up into the late 1820s.[136] Radicals, moreover, wanted to make the South "somewhat independent of the North" by increasing the cotton-for-manufactures trade with Britain, but Davis hoped to replace British manufactured goods with U.S. and especially southern manufactures or French imports.[137] He was therefore pleased to see Napoleon III seek to enhance France's trade with the Americas and especially the U.S. by building impressive new port facilities on the French Atlantic coast. Pius IX, too, signed a tariff-reduction treaty with the Union, to which he dispatched the first Papal Legate to the horror of Know-Nothings, elation of Pierce Democrats, and delight of France.[138] "During Mr. Pierce's Administration," Varina Davis recalled, "the Holy Father, Pius IX., sent his Legate to America, and the Roman Catholic

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[135] "E. B. Buchanan to Jefferson Davis," La Rochelle, August 1, 1854, *JDC*, 2:372.

[136] See "To François André Michaux," Monticello Apr. 15. 1811, *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson: Retirement Series, Vol. 3, 12 August 1810 to 17 June 1811*, ed. J. Jefferson Looney, *et al.* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2006), 561-62; Rodney H. True, "François André Michaux, the Botanist and Explorer," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, vol. 78, no. 2 (December 1937), 313-27; Elizabeth J. Savage and Henry Savage, Jr., *André and François Michaux* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1986); and O'Brien, *Conjectures of Order*, 216-17. Also see P. J. S. Whitmore, "Charles Plumier: Craftsman and Botanist," *The Modern Language Review*, vol. 54, no. 3 (July 1959), 400-01.

[137] "From Robert B. Campbell," London September 19, 1856, *PJD*, 6:501. See "Speech at Jackson," September 23, 1848, *PJD*, 3:383.

[138] See David J. Endres, "Know-Nothings, Nationhood, and the Nuncio: Reassessing the Visit of Archbishop Bedini," *U.S. Catholic Historian*, vol. 21, no. 4 (Fall 2003), 1-16. Also see Leo Francis Stock, "The United States at the Court of Pius IX," *The Catholic Historical Review*, vol. 9, no. 1 (April 1923), 103-22.

families were all anxious to receive him; notable among these was Madame de Sartige, the very agreeable wife of Comte de Sartige, the French Minister."[139] The Secretary of War also sent U.S. navy flag and pennant diagrams to France at the request of that minister, who reciprocated by facilitating the visit of U.S. military observers to France in the midst of the Crimean War.[140]

Davis's commissioners received French military texts as gifts and were allowed to see "some of the principal fortifications, arsenals and dock yards" in France, observing food canning for the French army by Chollet & Co. as well.[141] They also brought the vivandières to American attention, but Davis was disappointed when Napoleon III's notoriously secretive government sought to conceal the nuances of Zoauve tactics by denying his commissioners permission to watch French forces in the field.[142] France recompensed him, however, by sending the ordnance expert Captain F. Auguste Bruckner to instruct U.S. army officers.[143] And thanks to Alexandre Vattemare, Davis developed contacts of a personal nature with Napoleon III. Seeking to facilitate friendly book exchanges between the U.S. and France, Vattemare came to Washington, D.C. in 1848 and successfully lobbied Congress thanks to Senator Davis, who was on the Joint Library Committee and, like his wife, fond of Vattemare's "feats of magic or juggling."[144] Many of the French books were incinerated during the 1851 Capitol fire, but that did not discourage either Vattemare or Davis, who thanked him in 1855 for "the receipt of the very valuable works… presented by you to this Department in the name of His Excellency the Minister of War of France, and I beg leave to return, through you, my acknowledgements for the handsome

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[139] Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 1:567-68.
[140] See *PJD*, 5:261, 422. Also see "Jefferson Davis to R. Delafield, A. Mordechai, and George B. McClellan," War Department, Washington, D.C., April 2, 1855, *JDC*, 2:447.
[141] "Jefferson Davis to Franklin Pierce: Report of the Secretary of War," War Department, Washington, D.C., December 1, 1856, *JDC*, 3:86. See *PJD*, 5:428. Among those fortifications was a massive new coastal fortress at Cherbourg designed to counter a seaborne British invasion. See *PJD*, 6:393.
[142] See "Jefferson Davis to Franklin Pierce: Report of the Secretary of War," War Department, Washington, D.C., December 1, 1856, *JDC*, 3:85; and *PJD*, 5:428-29.
[143] See "From G. Le Page du L'Ongehan," July 15, 1856, *PJD*, 6:451; and *PJD*, 5:400.
[144] Varina Davis, *op. cit.*, 1:363.

addition to the Library of the War Department."[145] Davis asked Vattemare to acquire "l'atlas du Mineur et du Metallurgist" as well, but he was far more eager to obtain a signed copy of "Etudes sur le passé et l'avenir de l'artillerie, par le Prince Napoleon Louis Bonaparte."[146] The French emperor, after all, had already given his own personal copy of *La biblothêque historique et militaire* to the War Department, prompting the Secretary of War to instruct Vattemare to thank Napoleon III on his behalf for the "numerous favors already received by this Department…," favors which "will be reciprocated by it, as far as it may be in its power, to make returns."[147]

Yet Davis could hardly have done anything more in the way of reciprocation surpassing the fact that he had secured a youthful heir for Napoleon III by combing War Department records for information pertaining to Bonapartists who had lived in the U.S. during the first Napoleonic era.[148] During a visit to the U.S. as a French naval officer, Napoleon I's infatuated brother Jerome married the Maryland socialite Elizabeth Patterson in an 1803 ceremony performed by the Baltimore archbishop John Carroll, a bust of whom James Madison would place in his Montpelier home because the famous Catholic prelate and Georgetown University founder endorsed religious toleration, the Democratic Party, and higher education for women.[149] Napoleon's brother endeared himself to many Americans due to the fact that, as one of Jefferson's correspondents "learnt at the French Minister's," "the style of addressing Jerome Bonaparte, used by the Minister and proper to be used by others, is Monsieur and Sir, in

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[145] "To Alexandre Vattemare," War Department, Washington, D.C., May 5, 1855, *PJD*, 5:103.
[146] Ibid., 5:103.
[147] Ibid., 5:103. See *PJD*, 5:104.
[148] See "From Robert J. Atkinson," February 20, 1855, *PJD*, 5:410.
[149] See Philip Gleason, "The Main Sheet Anchor: John Carroll and Catholic Higher Education," *The Review of Politics*, vol. 38, no. 4 (October 1976), 576-613; Annabelle M. Melville, "John Carroll and Louisiana, 1803-1815," *The Catholic Historical Review*, vol. 64, no. 3 (July 1978), 398-440; and Jacques M. Gres-Gayer, "Four Letters from Henri Grégoire to John Carroll, 1809-1814," *The Catholic Historical Review*, vol. 79, no. 4 (October 1993), 681-703. As one of Jefferson's correspondents recounted a few years later, "[o]n the arrival of a great personage in the City of Baltimore in the Commonwealth of Maryland some Considerable number of months since He the said personage called by the *Sirname* of *Jerome Buonaparte* was introduced to a handsome Female by the Sirname of Patterson." "John O'Neill to Thomas Jefferson," Prince Georges County 30th. June 1806, Coolidge Collection, Massachusetts Historical Society.

the manner a private frenchman was addressed before the Revolution."[150] A smirking John Quincy Adams, however, was not surprised when Napoleon insisted that the marriage be annulled so as to marry Jerome to a German princess instead.[151] Denying his brother's wife admission into France, Napoleon had his way; Jerome wed the German princess even though he was still married to Elizabeth Patterson, who returned to Baltimore with her infant son Jerome-Napoleon Bonaparte and finally obtained a divorce in 1815 thanks to the Maryland legislature.

Davis, however, assuaged any lingering bad memories in the U.S. stemming from Napoleon's old snub when he helped place an American in the Napoleonic line of succession. Jerome Bonaparte's Baltimore grandson Jerome-Napoleon Bonaparte, Jr. graduated from West Point in 1852 and fought Indians as a cavalry lieutenant on the southwestern frontier until 1854, when he resigned from the U.S. army with the Secretary of War's blessing to serve his cousin Napoleon III as a junior French officer. He rose to the rank of colonel and earned his way into the Légion d'honneur by fighting bravely in Algeria, the Crimea, and Italy, after which he was recognized by Napoleon III as an heir to the French throne behind only Napoleon IV and Napoleon Joseph Charles Paul "Plon-Plon" Bonaparte, who was the son of Jerome Bonaparte and the German princess whom Napoleon I had preferred to Elizabeth Patterson Bonaparte.[152]

Jerome Bonaparte, for his part, had also attempted to assuage hard feelings on the part of snubbed Americans by informing Jefferson in early 1808 as the new ruler of the Napoleon's

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[150] "Jacob Wagner to Thomas Jefferson," Tuesday morning [January 15, 1805], Thomas Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.

[151] "Poor Jerome," Adams observed, "who is so cavalierly left out of the line of aggrandizement and succession must be content to sing to the tune of All for Love, or the world well lost – And well lost in my opinion it really will be for him – I have been told however that in his Marriage Articles, there is an express provision made for the possible case, of his getting sick of his bargain and casting off the lady – A stipulation which is equally marked with humility, and with prudence on her part." "John Quincy Adams to Louisa Catherine Adams," Quincy 19. July 1804, Adams Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.

[152] See William D. Hoyt, Jr., "Jerome Napoleon Bonaparte, Jr., at West Point, 1850," *New York History*, vol. 26, no. 2 (April 1945), 208-17; and Charlene M. Boyer Lewis, *Elizabeth Patterson Bonaparte: An American Aristocrat in the Early Republic* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012).

model German state of Westphalia that "[v]otre bon ami" wanted "à établir, garder et conserver les rapports de bonne amitié et intelligence, que nous desirons voir subsister à perpétité entre nos Etats et ceux qui composent le Gouvernement fédéral."[153] Jefferson, in turn, assured him that "[y]our disposition to favor a continuance of the friendly relations subsisting between our two Countries, shall, assuredly be met, on our part, by every measure which may render them mutually advantageous. I pray God, Great and Good Friend, to have you always in his holy keeping."[154] Jerome Bonaparte was welcomed back to the U.S. in 1814 after the fall of Bonapartist Westphalia as a result, although he soon returned to support Napoleon during the Hundred Days. He passed away in 1860 as a Marshal of France who had presided over the French Empire's national legislature, and his Kentucky namesake Jerome Bonaparte Robertson would help carry on the pro-Bonaparte Democratic tradition as one of Davis's Confederate generals. A graduate of Transylvania's French-influenced medical school, Robinson moved to Texas in 1836 as a volunteer soldier and went on to become an Indian-fighting Democratic politician there. He led the famed Texas Brigade in the Confederacy's Army of Northern Virginia from Fredericksburg to Chickamauga, promoting railroad-building and European immigration in Texas after the war as well. And his Democratic son the Confederate brigadier general Felix Huston Robertson would become notorious when soldiers under his command murdered dozens of wounded black U.S. soldiers after the 1864 Battle of Saltville in Virginia.[155]

Davis also wanted to convince the French emperor that a Democrat-controlled Union would be a worthy and likeminded ally by shaping the U.S. in the image of Napoleon III's

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[153] Jerome Bonaparte to Thomas Jefferson," ["A Cassel, le deuxième jour de Janvier, de l'an Mil huit cent huit, de notre regne le second"], R.G. 59, U.S. National Archives and Records Administration.
[154] "Thomas Jefferson to Jerome Bonaparte," ["Written at the City of Washington the Twenty Seventh day of April 1808"], R.G. 59, U.S. National Archives and Records Administration.
[155] See Thomas D. Mays, *The Saltville Massacre* (Abilene, TX: McWhiney Foundation Press, 1998); and Alexander Mendoza, "Brig. Gen. Jerome Bonaparte Robertson," in *Kentuckians in Gray: Confederate Generals and Field Officers of the Bluegrass State*, ed., Bruce S. Allardice and Lawrence Lee Hewitt (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 2008), 223-29.

France. President Jefferson established the U.S. Military Academy at West Point in 1802 as an emulation of France's famous École polytechnique.[156] Secretary of War Calhoun built on that legacy at West Point by championing merit-based scholarships for poor cadets, encouraging "scientific attainments," fostering the study of French, and overcoming opposition from both Radicals and erstwhile New England Federalists to the appointment of French Bonapartists as instructors.[157] Davis, too, insisted that when founding West Point his namesake had been "following the plan of the great institution of France, the Polytechnique."[158] Having previously urged Congress to fund higher salaries for West Point instructors to better teach "the science of war," "military engineering," and French, he began to phase out traditional musket drills at the U.S. Military Academy to focus instead upon Zouave-style rifle tactics as the Secretary of War.[159] He also strove in the teeth of Republican opposition to secure increased pay, better quarters, and a professorship in Spanish for his friend the refined West Point sword master and accomplished musician Patrice de Janon despite the French Creole's poor command of English.[160] Davis, moreover, was fond of the famous West Point professor of military science Dennis Hart Mahan, whose New York parents were Irish Catholic immigrants. Mahan established the Napoleon Seminar at the U.S. Military Academy for the most promising cadets, and having been sent by Davis on a mission to study French military academies, he was pleased to inform him that he been "promised at the earliest moment, orders for my admission to

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[156] See Onuf, *The Mind of Thomas Jefferson*, 179-201.

[157] "To Sylvanus Thayer, West Point," Department of War, February 10th 1818, *PJCC*, 2:130. See "First Speech on the Military Academies Bill," January 2, 1816, *PJCC*, 1:287; and "From Claudius Berard, 'Librarian & Teacher of French,'" West Point, December 31st 1819, *PJCC*, 4:527-28. Also see Theodore J. Crackel, *West Point: A Bicentennial History* (Lawrence: Kansas University Press, 2002), 42.

[158] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Army Appropriation bill. June 7, 1860," *JDC*, 4:471.

[159] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Military Academy bill. Aug. 29, 1850," *JDC*, 1:525. See ibid., 1:529; and *PJD*, 6:486.

[160] See *PJD*, 5:280; *PJD*, 6:116-17, 460; "From A. O. P. Nicholson," January 19, 1857, *PJD*, 6:479; and James L. Morrison, *The Best School: West Point, 1833-1866* (Kent, OH: The Kent State University Press, 1998), 116. U.S. officers, Davis insisted, needed to learn Spanish in addition to French so as to facilitate "intercourse with our neighbors the Hispano Americans." "To Mary P. De Janon," Washington, D.C., March 24, 1857, *PJD*, 6:116.

examine all the Schools under the Minister of War…."[161] He also caused an international incident *en route* to France in April 1856 when, in the wake of the expulsion of Britain's ambassador to the Union, he neglected to wear a dress uniform upon being presented to Queen Victoria. The London *Times* demanded to know, "When will Americans learn manners?"[162] And the U.S. minister George M. Dallas even suspected that war might be imminent, observing, as Mahan reported to Davis, "some movements of the English navy, that seemed to him suspicious."[163] Yet when the Republican-friendly New York *Times* accused Mahan of colluding with Dallas, Davis, and Pierce to deliberately worsen relations with Britain, the West Point instructor claimed in Paris's anti-Bonaparte *Journal des Débats* that he, unlike Dallas, had never intended to exacerbate "the difficulties between the countries."[164] Mahan, though, quickly regained Secretary of War Davis's favor by publicly recommending that West Point be further reformed along French rather than British lines given that Britain's principal military academy "was *infinitely below* what I could have conceived of, in a school of such long standing...."[165]

Having endeavored to make the U.S. army as a whole conform even more closely to the French pattern too, Davis would later liken himself to Napoleon I's "great Secretary of War, Carnot, whose name remains equally identified with education and with the military movements of the French Army," and who "commenced, from the wrecks of defeat, to create the system on which he built the future grandeur of the military establishment of France," which the Mississippian thought was being restored to its former Napoleonic standards under Napoleon III

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[161] "Dennis Hart Mahan to Jefferson Davis," London, June 27, 1856, *JDC*, 3:57. See "From G. Le Page du L'Ongehan," July 15, 1856, *PJD*, 6:451.
[162] Quoted in "Dennis Hart Mahan to Jefferson Davis," *op. cit.*, 3:50. See ibid., 3:49-51.
[163] "D. H. Mahan to Jefferson Davis," Paris, July 17, 1856, *JDC*, 3:55.
[164] Ibid., 3:55. See "From D. H. Mahan," Paris, August 19, 1856, *PJD*, 6:451.
[165] "Dennis Hart Mahan to Jefferson Davis," London, June 27, 1856, *JDC*, 3:56. See "From D. H. Mahan," *op. cit.*, 6:451. Also see "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Military Academy bill. Aug. 29, 1850," *JDC*, 1:529; "Jefferson Davis to Franklin Pierce: Report of the Secretary of War," War Department, Washington, D.C., December 4, 1854, *JDC*, 2:401-02; and Henry L. Abbot, *Memoir of Dennis Hart Mahan, 1802-1871* (Washington, D.C.: National Academy of Sciences, 1878).

after decades of neglect by the Bourbon and Orleans kings.[166] Secretary of War Davis hence sought to purge the U.S. army's remaining "British articles of war," which had originally been introduced by the first President Adams.[167] He also wanted to eliminate "the British system for their generals" of brevet ranks used in "our service, as in the English," for Americans ought to have had, "throughout our whole military history," a "system of offices the reverse of that of Great Britain."[168] Davis, moreover, recommended large-scale offensives against hostile Indians using concentrated forces rather than dispersing troops in numerous small posts because "[t]he occupation of Algeria by the French presents a case having much parallelism to that of our western frontier, and affords us the opportunity of profiting by their experience."[169] Re-designing the U.S. army uniform to resemble the French more closely even as many state militia regiments began dressing in emulation of the Zouaves, Davis incorporated French tactics into the U.S. army as well by ordering the future Confederate general Henry Heth to translate the French Vincennes academy's *Instruction sur le tir*.[170] And whereas John Quincy Adams had once

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[166] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Army Appropriation bill. June 7, 1860," *JDC*, 4:476. See, for instance, "Jefferson Davis to Franklin Pierce: Report of the Secretary of War," War Department, Washington, D.C., December 4, 1854, *JDC*, 2:402.

[167] "Jefferson Davis to Franklin Pierce: Report of the Secretary of War," War Department, Washington, D.C., December 1, 1856, *JDC*, 3:77.

[168] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the joint resolution to confer the title of lieutenant-general by brevet on Major General Scott. Feb. 12, 1851," *JDC*, 2:23; and "Jefferson Davis to Franklin Pierce: Report of the Secretary of War," War Department, Washington, D.C., December 4, 1854, *JDC*, 2:398. See ibid., 2:401-02; and "Jefferson Davis to Franklin Pierce," War Department, Washington, D.C., October 12, 1855, *JDC*, 2:532. Brevet commissions were used in both the U.S. and British armies as a reward conferring upon officers ranks in the army at large higher than their actual regimental ranks. John Adams introduced them in the U.S. army, and Jeffersonian Democrats subsequently sought to remove them without success. See *PJD*, 6:70. Indeed, Davis himself occasionally submitted brevet recommendations to President Pierce, doing so for a favorite of James K. Polk's widow Sarah Childress Polk in March 1856. See "To Franklin Pierce," War Department, Washington, D.C., December 1, 1856, *PJD*, 6:440.

[169] "To Franklin Pierce," War Department, Washington, D.C., December 1, 1856, *PJD*, 6:68. The offensive-minded concentration strategy was pioneered in the 1840s by the French military governor Thomas-Robert Bugeaud, three of whose books were in the War Department library. See *PJD*, 6:92.

[170] See Henry Heth, *A System of Target Practice: For the Use of Troops with the Musket, Rifle-Musket, Rifle, or Carbine, Prepared Principally from the French* (1859; reprint, New York: D. Van Nostrand, 1862). Also see "Extract: Jefferson Davis, Ex-President of the Confederate States of America: A Memoir," [Beauvoir, Mississippi, November, 1889], *PJD*, 1:lxi; and *An Illustrated Encyclopedia of Military Uniforms of the 19th Century*, ed. Kevin F. Kiley, Digby Smith, and Jeremy Black (Leicestershire: Lorenz Books, 2011), which notes that the uniform design

famously urged Americans to keep British weights and measures, Davis called for the U.S. army to adopt metric measurements, to which end Alexandre Vattemare sent him an 1854 petition from U.S. citizens living in France who urged the Union to adopt Napoleon's metric system.[171]

The U.S. navy used French-purchased Paixhans gun technology to good effect against ships and cities during the Mexican War thanks to Secretary of the Navy John Y. Mason, and Secretary of War Davis similarly aimed to modernize the U.S. army's ordnance with French rifle technology.[172] President Louis-Napoleon had been transferring French military technology to the Union even before 1850, in which year Davis declared that the U.S. required accurate "geodetic" maps "such as France now presents of her territory...," for "[w]e are in this matter behind the civilization of the nineteenth century; and it is time we should come up to it...."[173] As the Secretary of War noted in 1854, "I learn from the Ordinance Bureau that the Carbine de Vincennes was sent to this country by the French Government in 1849, in exchange for specimens of our arms and accoutrements sent to them...."[174] He was also pleased to see French arms forge ahead of the British thanks to the Minié ball, which was a new kind of conical bullet designed for a rifled musket that was more accurate than traditional smoothbore balls, as well as more quickly loaded and devastating in terms of wounds inflicted. France first used Minié rifles in the Crimea, and the Democratic Maine politician Josiah Pierce gloated in a May 1854 letter to Davis that the London *Times* had been shocked by the inferiority of British weaponry.[175] Davis, moreover, was pleased to observe that the British were failing to catch up to the French.

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of the U.S. army as seen in 1858 had a pronounced "French influence." Ibid., 104. Davis also ordered all companies in the U.S. army to switch over to "French Bell Tents" in September 1855. See *PJD*, 5:456.

[171] See *PJD*, 5:206, 256. Also see John Quincy Adams, *Report upon Weights and Measures* (Washington: Gales & Seaton, 1821), 61.

[172] See Reed, *The Caste War of Yucatàn*, 33.

[173] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the bill creating the office of surveyor general of public lands in Oregon, and making donations of land to actual settlers. Sept. 17, 1850," *JDC*, 1:551, 553.

[174] "Jefferson Davis to Z. Kidwell," War Department, Washington, D.C., March 20, 1854, *JDC*, 2:348.

[175] "From Josiah Pierce," Portland, Maine, May 30, 1854, *PJD*, 5:346. See "From Josiah Pierce," Portland, Maine, January 4, 1855, *PJD*, 5:346. Also see Kennedy, *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers*, 168, 183.

Reporting to Pierce in relation to Britain's version of the Minié bullett that the "Pritchett ball," which was "brought into use by Mr. Pritchett, a gun-maker in London," was an imitation of an obsolete design "suggested by Capt. Delvigne" of the French army, he recommended against the purchase of British Enfield muskets rifled to fire Pritchett balls.[176] A delighted Davis, after all, had been able to obtain Minié technology from France in mid-1854, and he began upgrading U.S. arsenals to assemble Minié ball-firing rifles or turn smoothbores into "rifled arms."[177] As the Secretary of War informed the president in late 1854, the U.S. needed to adopt "the plan known by the name of the inventor, Captain Minnié, of the French army," for ordnance tests had "confirm[ed] the great superiority claimed for this invention abroad," "render[ing] it almost certain that smooth-bore arms will be superseded as a military weapon...."[178] And he returned the favor by giving a prototype U.S. musket improved with Maynard primer technology, which he had acquired from France's Belgian ally, to Eugène de Sartiges in 1853, lauding the Harpers Ferry arsenal a few years later for improving U.S. Minié rifles with Maynard primers as well.[179]

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[176] "Jefferson Davis to Franklin Pierce: Report of the Secretary of War," War Department, Washington, D.C., December 4, 1854, *JDC*, 2:411. See *PJD*, 5:409. Captain Delvigne's system had already been replaced in France by "the plan of Colonel Thouvenin, of the French army… known as the system 'á la tige' which has been used extensively in their service," and which Davis hoped to introduce in the U.S. army. "Jefferson Davis to Franklin Pierce: Report of the Secretary of War," *op. cit.*, 2:410.

[177] "Jefferson Davis to Franklin Pierce: Report of the Secretary of War," War Department, Washington, D.C., December 1, 1856, *JDC*, 3:81. See *PJD*, 5:346, 459. Winfield Scott, moreover, opposed the acquisition of Minié technology, having objected to Colonel Davis's initiative to equip his regiment with rifles rather than "the old flint-lock muskets" during the Mexican War. "Extract: Jefferson Davis, Ex-President of the Confederate States of America: A Memoir," [Beauvoir, Mississippi, November, 1889], *PJD*, 1:lx.

[178] "Jefferson Davis to Franklin Pierce: Report of the Secretary of War," War Department, Washington, D.C., December 4, 1854, *JDC*, 2:410-11. For Davis's longstanding certainty that rifles in general and the Minié ball in particular would render smoothbore muskets utterly obsolete, see "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the bill to raise two regiments of riflemen delivered in the House, March 27, 1846," *JDC*, 1:39; "Jefferson Davis to James Shields," War Department, Washington, D.C., July 26, 1854, *JDC*, 2:371; and "Jefferson Davis to Franklin Pierce: Report of the Secretary of War," War Department, Washington, D.C., December 3, 1855, *JDC*, 2:562-63.

[179] See "Jefferson Davis to S. T. Kieckhoffer," War Department, Washington, D.C., November 4, 1853, *JDC*, 2:281; "Jefferson Davis to Z. Kidwell," War Department, Washington, D.C., March 20, 1854, *JDC*, 2:348; "From John J. Seibels," U.S. legation in Brussels, May 10, 1856, *PJD*, 6:469; "From L. F. Morchoine," Paris July 21, 1856, *PJD*, 6:489; *PJD*, 5:280; and *PJD*, 6:93-94.

The Secretary of War also sent blueprints for such U.S. rifles to Spain in 1856.[180] Napoleon III had signaled his intention in 1853 to pick up where his uncle left off in terms of reforming Spain along Bonapartist lines by marrying Eugénie de Montijo, who was a devout Catholic, champion of female education, fashion icon, and daughter of a wealthy Spanish aristocrat who had fought for Napoleon I. Davis remained confident up into the late 1850s that Eugénie and her husband would be able to topple the Spanish Right and thereby turn Spain against Britain, at which point the French could broker a deal whereby Spain would sell Cuba to the U.S. in exchange for the Union and France helping Spain take back the "priceless" possession of Gibraltar, where "the British flag still floats" to the "mortification of her pride."[181]

Davis claimed in 1859 that the Union's adoption of the Minié ball and copying of an improved British version thereof called the Burton bullet were among his greatest accomplishments as Secretary of War, but he was also proud of his Napoleonic camel project.[182] Importing camels to transport soldiers and military supplies as well as to defeat Indians on the southwestern frontier was an idea of Major Henry Constantine Wayne, who convinced the Secretary of War to pursue the project by emphasizing "what was done by Napoleon" and his camel corps against Bedouin raiders in Egypt.[183] A Georgian expert in French fencing techniques, Wayne had helped lead U.S. forces during the Aroostook "Pork and Beans War" over the demarcation of Maine's border with British North America in 1838-39, and he lived in Washington, D.C. close by Davis, who regarded him as a "very intelligent officer" while Varina

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[180] See *PJD*, 6:441.
[181] "Speech of Jefferson Davis before the Democratic State Convention at Jackson, Miss., July 6, 1859," from the New York *Daily Tribune*, August 31, 1859, *JDC*, 4:82. See "Speech at Vicksburg," June 6, 1855, *PJD*, 5:108.
[182] See "To [Robert Carter]," Senate Chamber, February 9, 1859, *PJD*, 6:240.
[183] "H. C. Wayne to Jefferson Davis," Washington, D.C., November 21, 1853, *JDC*, 2:291.

Davis deemed him "a dear friend."[184] Davis, in fact, would commission Wayne a Confederate brigadier general in December 1861 even though the Georgian's reputation had been badly tarnished by rumors of fiscal corruption in connection with the 1850s U.S. army camel project.[185]

The Secretary of War informed Pierce in late 1853 that "Napoleon when in Egypt used with marked success the dromedary... in subduing the Arabs, whose habits and country were similar to those of the mounted Indians of our western plains," and now Napoleon III's "France is about again to adopt the dromedary in Algeria for similar service to that which they were so successfully used in Egypt."[186] Having recalled William S. Harney from leave in Paris to lead a punitive expedition against the Sioux after they killed close to thirty U.S. troops in the so-called Grattan Massacre, Davis responded to Henry Heth's report about continuing Sioux depredations by ordering the Crimea commissioners to pay close attention to France's military use of camels in 1855, during which year he also sent Wayne to Asia and North Africa to purchase camels.[187] With the assistance of Secretary of the Navy Dobbin, Wayne soon brought several dozen camels to Texas, and Davis was pleased to inform Pierce in late 1856 that the initial "tests fully realize the anticipations entertained of their usefulness in the transportation of military supplies."[188]

Yet Davis also saw Wayne's camel project as a means to the end of befriending Napoleon III's France. The pro-British Ottomans banned the export of camels from Egypt during the Crimean War, but Sa'id Pasha, who was still nominally under Ottoman control, offered Wayne a group of camels as a gift in 1855 all the same. To express his gratitude, Davis

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[184] "To Franklin Pierce," War Department, Washington, D.C., December 1, 1856, *PJD*, 6:87; and Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 1:570. See *PJD*, 6:95. Also see Henry C. Wayne, *The Sword Exercise, Arranged for Military Instruction* (Washington, D.C.: Gideon and Co., 1850).
[185] See *PJD*, 6:476; and Ezra J. Warner, *Generals in Gray: Lives of the Confederate Commanders* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1959), 329-30.
[186] "Jefferson Davis to Franklin Pierce: Report of the Secretary of War," War Department, Washington, D.C., December 1, 1853, *JDC*, 2:320.
[187] See *PJD*, 5:125, 411.
[188] "To Franklin Pierce," War Department, Washington, D.C., December 1, 1856, *PJD*, 6:87.

ordered Wayne to give the pro-French Egyptian ruler a shipment of U.S. rifles.[189] The Secretary of War, moreover, sought to move Egypt into France's orbit even faster by instructing U.S. officers to use "French money" in Egyptian ports whenever possible rather than British currency.[190] He also told Wayne to befriend French camel experts, informing him in 1855 to consult "General Marey Monge, Colonel Carbuccia, and other officers of the French army who were connected with the experiments in Asia on the use of the camel in the military service of France."[191] Wayne dutifully complied and sent works by Jean-Luc-Sébastian Carbuccia and the French scientist Louis-Maurice-Adolphe Linant de Bellefonds to the War Department in early 1856, works which Davis personally translated.[192] Indeed, Wayne even received a medal from the Société impériale zoologique d'acclimatation for introducing camels to the U.S. southwest.[193]

The Secretary of War, however, wanted France to view the Union as an equal partner rather than a junior ally, let alone a client like Egypt. As a result he sent three Egyptian Arab camel handlers who had helped train U.S. officers home instead of allowing them to immigrate.[194] France and the Union were in fact the two most industrialized powers behind Britain in the early 1850s, and Davis wanted to indicate that they were likeminded nations which were both on the verge of surpassing the British by emulating Napoleon III's re-modeling of Paris while re-furbishing Washington, D.C., which Secretary of War Calhoun had finished re-building alongside his friend the Huguenot U.S. army engineer Isaac Roberdeau after the War of 1812.[195] An amateur scientist, architect, and engineer himself, the French emperor famously

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[189] See "To Henry C. Wayne," September 25, 1856, *PJD*, 6:476. Also see *PJD*, 5:426; and *PJD*, 6:28, 388.
[190] "Jefferson Davis to David D. Porter," War Department, Washington, D.C., June 26, 1856, *JDC*, 3:48.
[191] "Jefferson Davis to Henry C. Wayne," War Department, Washington, D.C., May 10, 1855, *JDC*, 2:461.
[192] See Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 1:526; and *PJD*, 6:385.
[193] See *JDC*, 2:288; and *PJD*, 6:95. Wayne also wanted to promote his project by bringing a camel to Congress and presenting congressmen with socks made from camel hair. See *PJD*, 6:385, 387.
[194] Davis did so at U.S. government expense, though, to salve any hurt Egyptian feelings. See *PJD*, 6:388.
[195] See "To J[acob] Brown, War Dep[artmen]t, 9th Aug[us]t 1820, *PJCC*, 5:316; *PJCC*, 5:559; and Kennedy, *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers*, 149.

worked with the Prefect of the Seine Baron Georges Eugene Haussmann to revamp Paris by building grand new boulevards, public parks, aqueducts, railroad stations, monuments, and military installations. He also built the world's largest opera house, established the first-ever department stores, extended gas lines, improved the sewage system, and introduced electric lighting.[196] His projects, moreover, provided jobs for tens of thousands of workers even as they diminished the Left's ability to erect barricades in narrow slum streets. Davis, for his part, had wanted to re-make the Capitol in the image of the French Chamber of Deputies since his days on the Public Buildings Committee during Fillmore's presidency, and he was delighted when President Pierce conferred sole responsibility for the project to the War Department.[197] Victorian Britons and Anglophile Americans inspired by German Romanticism favored neo-Gothic architecture, but Napoleon III upheld the neo-classical style favored by his uncle even as he cautiously patronized such early post-Romantic French *avant-garde* artists as Édouard Manet.[198] Davis accordingly insisted that all of the new marble-work, reliefs, decorations, and other "improvements" to the Capitol conform to French neo-classical style, seeking out books by architectural experts like Jean Nicholas Louis Durand, General Arthur Jules Morin, Jules Gailhabaud, and the famous École polytechnique professor Victor Calliat as well.[199] Yet he rejected a contract bid at the same time from Antoine Etex, who had completed the Arc de Triomphe's reliefs; informing him that while the Capitol would be renovated to accord with his

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[196] See Christopher Prendergast, *Paris and the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996), 8, 25, 166.
[197] See "From Robert Mills," May 1, 1850, *PJD*, 6:675-76; and "Jefferson Davis to Franklin Pierce: Report of the Secretary of War," War Department, Washington, D.C., December 1, 1853, *JDC*, 2:330. Also see "To John B, Floyd," Washington, D.C., January 23, 1858, *PJD*, 6:168.
[198] For Napoleon III's neo-classical artistic and architectural tastes, see Prendergast, *op. cit.*, 167.
[199] "Jefferson Davis to Franklin Pierce: Report of the Secretary of War," War Department, Washington, D.C., December 3, 1855, *JDC*, 2:570. See "To John Wiley," War Department, Washington, D.C., March 11, 1854, *PJD*, 5:62.

style, the Union would accomplish the project on its own.[200] As "the enormous masses of iron composing the dome" were slowly lifted into place, the Secretary of War exulted that the refurbished Capitol would "be an object of rare architectural beauty" and "national pride," adding extensive fireproofing to mitigate accidents but also to thwart future George Cockburns.[201] And he decreed that the statue of "armed liberty" which was slated to be placed atop the dome bear a "bundle of rods" to indicate that "in Union there is strength" and "endless existence," insisting that it sport a war "helmet" instead of a Jacobin-like "liberty cap" as well.[202]

A future British attack upon the U.S. capital would also have to contend with the new Washington Armory, although the contractors erecting the building irritated Davis by "wholly disregard[ing]" his instructions to make the armory harmonize with Pierre L'Enfant's original city plan.[203] Davis, moreover, built the Washington Aqueduct and Cabin John Bridge, which he later boasted "will be the bridge of greatest span in the world when it is finished," enhancing the District of Columbia's growth rate and defensive capabilities while "elevat[ing] us to a fair comparison with any other country.... I do glory in seeing [the] capital surrounded by monuments of art that show how far our generation has progressed."[204] Insisting with regard to the Washington Aqueduct that "[t]here is no modern aqueduct to compare with it...," he also rejoiced to witness the nearly-completed aqueduct send water in the new Capitol grounds fountain

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[200] See "To Antoine Etex," War Department, Washington, D.C., August 10, 1855, *PJD*, 5:116; and *PJD*, 5:445. As Davis explained in an 1858 Senate speech, he had wanted "the building finished in the very highest order of modern art." "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the civil appropriations bill. May 28, 1858," *JDC*, 3:260.

[201] "Jefferson Davis to Franklin Pierce: Report of the Secretary of War," War Department, Washington, D.C., December 3, 1855, *JDC*, 2:571; and "Jefferson Davis to Franklin Pierce: Report of the Secretary of War," War Department, Washington, D.C., December 1, 1853, *JDC*, 2:331. See *PJD*, 6:516.

[202] "To Montgomery Meigs," War Department, Washington, D.C., January 15, 1856, *PJD*, 6:7.

[203] "To Franklin Pierce," July 3, 1856, *PJD*, 6:431. Also see *Paris on the Potomac: The French Influence on the Architecture and Art of Washington, D.C.*, ed. Cynthia R. Field, *et al*. (Columbus: Ohio University Press, 2013).

[204] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the civil appropriation bill. June 12, 1860," *JDC*, 4:503; and "Remarks on the Aqueduct and Capital Appropriations," Washington, June 1, 1858, PJD, 6:181. See "To William W. Corcoran," March 16, 1851, *PJD*, 4:175.

soaring over a hundred feet in 1859.[205] And saluting "the mechanics of our country" even as he forbade strikes, he sought to hurry equestrian statues of George Washington and Andrew Jackson to completion so as to put the finishing touches to the capital and grace other major U.S. cities like New Orleans.[206] Undertaken by the Charleston sculptor Clark Mills, the Washington statue was dedicated in 1860 by President Buchanan before a crowd of ten thousand. But Mills' Jackson statue for Lafayette Square was completed in 1853; it depicted Old Hickory advancing against the British and was based upon a celebrated painting of Napoleon I crossing the Alps.[207]

U.S. Senator Davis and Alliance-Building with Napoleon III's France, 1857-60

Davis hoped that France and the Union would come to challenge the British Empire as equal partners in their respective hemispheres. An impressed French press did indeed take note of the U.S. navy's use of Paixhans guns to raze Greytown, Nicaragua within Britain's Mosquito Coast protectorate in July 1854, but the Secretary of War had been irked a month earlier by an apparent French attempt to skirt the Monroe Doctrine by establishing a *de facto* French colony in Mexico.[208] His friend Samuel W. Inge was an Alabama U.S. Democratic congressman from 1847-51 and a Catholic whom Pierce appointed U.S. attorney at San Francisco, where he jostled with the North Carolinian emigrant and Whig leader Edward Stanly, who had once fought a duel with Inge and would unsuccessfully run for the California governorship as a Republican in 1857.[209] Inge passed on troubling rumors to Davis of a plan by the French consul in San

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[205] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the civil appropriation bill. June 12, 1860," *JDC*, 4:503. See *PJD*, 6:96. Also see "Jefferson Davis to Franklin Pierce: Report of the Secretary of War," War Department, Washington, D.C., December 3, 1855, *JDC*, 2:571.

[206] "To Franklin Pierce," War Department, Washington, D.C., December 1, 1856, *PJD*, 6:89. Secretary of War Calhoun, moreover, had deployed U.S. soldiers to ensure labor discipline in the capital rebuilding project. See "From Tench Ringgold, Marshal of D. C.," 5/27, [1818], *PJCC*, 2:312-13.

[207] See Andrew S. Keck, "A Toast to the Union: Clark Mills' Equestrian Statute of Andrew Jackson in Lafayette Square," *Records of the Columbia Historical Society, Washington, D.C.*, vol. 71/72 (1971/1972), 289-313.

[208] See the Paris *L'Illustration*, July 13, 1854.

[209] See Norman D. Brown, "Edward Stanly: First Republican Candidate for Governor of California," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, vol. 47, no. 3 (September 1968), 251-72. Also see James R. Morrill, "The Presidential

Francisco, Patrice Dillon, to send French soldiers disguised as "adventurers" into northern Mexico to "promote a revolution in Sonora and the permanent establishment therein of French influence," rumors which prompted William Walker to pre-emptively but fruitlessly invade Sonora to secure the region for the Union.[210] Davis had been far more irritated by the Mexican government's revocation of permission for the U.S. army to conduct a transcontinental railroad survey in Sonora, but he was annoyed by France's seeming intrusion in what he took to be the Union's sphere of influence and future territory, as well as by rumors that France was scheming to take over the California gold fields using similar methods after securing northern Mexico.[211]

As Pierce's presidency gave way to the Buchanan administration, however, Davis surmised that the Union would probably have to enter into a future alliance with France as a junior ally rather than equal power. Napoleon III's re-modeling of Paris, after all, overshadowed Davis's Washington, D.C. renovations to the same extent that the French emperor's Exposition Universelle dwarfed the 1853 New York's Fair, which Davis had helped to organize as one of the planning commissioners in a largely unsuccessful effort to put London's Crystal Palace Exhibition to shame.[212] Davis was also aware of the fact that the Union was not yet close to launching oceangoing ironclads like *La Gloire*.[213] He claimed in 1858 as well that the U.S. conquest of Mexico City in 1847 had been a feat equal to France's capture of Sevastopol during the Crimean War, but the Union's ability to project power through "invasive war" was actually far less impressive than that of the French, for the Zouaves would easily conquer southern

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Election of 1852: Death Knell of the Whig Party of North Carolina," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, vol. 44, no. 4 (October 1967), 342-59.

[210] "S. W. Inge to Jefferson Davis," San Francisco, June 1, 1854, *JDC*, 2:362-63.

[211] See "To Henry J. Burton," December 12, 1853, *PJD*, 5:275. Also see Malcolm J. Rohrbough, *Rush to Gold: The French and the California Gold Rush, 1848-1854* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2013).

[212] See "To Joseph C. G. Kennedy," June 10, 1853, *PJD*, 5:217-18.

[213] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on steamer appropriations bill. June 9, 1858," *JDC*, 3:266; and "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Pacific Railroad bill. Jan. 20, 1859," *JDC*, 3:417. See "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Pacific Railroad Bill. Dec. 14, 1858," *JDC*, 3:364.

Vietnam later that year as part of a joint French-Spanish force under Charles Rigault de Genouilly, who was descended from the French naval commander Claude Mithon de Genouilly of American Revolution fame.[214] And while Davis would boast in 1859 that the British had fallen behind the U.S. in terms of artillery technology and that soon "not even the French" would be in front of the Union, he knew full well that France was far ahead.[215] The *Canon obusier de 12* revolutionized field artillery in 1853. A relatively light-weight smoothbore 12cm gun that could fire not only traditional cannonballs and grapeshot but also Paixhans-type explosive shells, it was nicknamed the "*Canon de l'Empereur*" in honor of Napoleon III after rising to fame during the Crimean War. It certainly arrested the attention of Davis's Crimea commissioners, whom he had instructed to pay particular attention to "French field Artillery."[216] The Secretary of War, in fact, was just as eager for the U.S. to acquire the *Canon obusier de 12* as the Minié ball, and while the French did send artillery manuals to the War Department as early as April 1854, when the inventor and engineer J. F. G. Mallat gave Davis a work pertaining to advances in French artillery technology, they did not allow the War Department to have the *Canon obusier de 12* blueprint until 1857, when it went into production in U.S. arsenals as the Napoleon Model 1857.[217] Davis, moreover, had been hoping to improve upon the French design even before the

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[214] "Speech of Jefferson Davis at the Banquet After Encampment at Belfast, [Maine]," late August 1858, *JDC*, 3:290. See ibid., 3:290-91. Saigon fell in 1859, and the Vietnamese emperor was forced to let the French Catholic missionaries he had expelled return and to cease persecuting Vietnamese Catholic converts. When the Zouaves returned from China, they turned all of Vietnam and Cambodia as into outright French colonies from 1864-67. See R. Stanley Thomson, "The Diplomacy of Imperialism: France and Spain in Cochin China, 1859-63," *The Journal of Modern History*, vol. 12, no. 3 (September 1940), 334-56.

[215] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the bill regulating pay of Army officers. Feb. 15. 1859," *JDC*, 3:551. See "To Franklin Pierce," War Department, Washington, D.C., December 1, 1856, *PJD*, 6:74.

[216] "Jefferson Davis to R. Delafield, A. Mordechai, and George B. McClellan," War Department, Washington, D.C., April 2, 1855, *JDC*, 2:447. See *PJD*, 5:125.

[217] See J. F. G. Mallat, *Exposé Succinct d'une Balistique Nouvelle* (Paris: Librairie Militaire, Maritime et Polytechnique, de J. Corréard, 1854); *PJD*, 5:336; and James C. Hazlett, Edwin Olmstead, and M. Hume Parks, *Field Artillery Weapons of the Civil War* (1983; reprint, Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Presses, 2004), 88-89.

U.S. obtained it by rifling the cannon, but the War Department failed to do so even as France employed the La Hitte system to field new rifled *Canon obusier de 12* models in 1858.[218]

Yet Davis did not blame the Union's relative backwardness and weakness *vis-à-vis* France so much on arrogance and cynicism on the part of the French as upon his disappointing successor John Buchanan Floyd. Calhoun had praised the "wisdom" and Bonaparte-style reforms of Pius IX in 1848 as a result of his political alliance and personal friendship with the prominent Virginia Democrat and Catholic convert John Floyd.[219] Having served in the Virginia militia as both a surgeon and brigadier general during the War of 1812, Floyd entered Virginia's state assembly in 1814 as a "War Hawk" ally of Calhoun and enemy of John Randolph. Insisting that the U.S. government had the right to command state militia regiments, he also condemned the peace terms brokered by John Quincy Adams and Henry Clay at the 1814 Ghent negotiations in favor of re-doubled efforts to achieve victory over the British. Congressman Floyd went on to support Secretary of War Calhoun's efforts to strengthen the U.S. army and challenge the British Empire during the 1820s, famously asserting U.S. claims to the entirety of the Oregon territory to that end.[220] A staunch Old Hickory supporter in the 1824 election, he was, like Calhoun, appalled by Van Buren's seeming subversion of the Jackson administration. He therefore urged Calhoun to challenge Jackson for the 1832 Democratic nomination: "three fourths of our friends

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[218] See "From Jacob D. Forney," June 20, 1856, *PJD*, 6:482; "From William W. Hubbell," August 28, 1856, *PJD*, 6:497; Ferdinand Boyer, "Armes et munitions vendues en 1860 par Napoléon III a Victor-Emmanuel II," *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine*, no. 3 (July-September, 1962), 211-18; and *PJD*, 6:436, 537. Davis also wanted the War Department to develop iron artillery carriages to replace the wooden carriages then in use. See "Extract: Jefferson Davis, Ex-President of the Confederate States of America: A Memoir," [Beauvoir, Mississippi, November, 1889], *PJD*, 1:lxi.

[219] Quoted in Fox-Genovese and Genovese, *The Mind of the Master Class*, 53.

[220] See Verne Blue, "The Oregon Question – 1818-1828: A Study of Dr. John Floyd's Efforts in Congress to Secure the Oregon Country," *The Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society*, vol. 23, no. 3 (September 1922), 193-219; and John H. Schroeder, "Rep. John Floyd, 1817-1829: Harbinger of Oregon Territory," *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, vol. 70, no. 4 (December 1969), 333-46.

look to you as the proper person to be supported as president on the first, fit occasion."[221] Calhoun deemed that idea impractical, but he expressed his gratitude to Floyd by exerting his influence within South Carolina to hand all of that state's electoral votes to the Virginian in the 1832 election as a symbolic protest against ideological "corruption" within the Democracy. Floyd also echoed Calhoun by urging likeminded southern Democrats to support Radical state's rights until the North repudiated Van Buren, abolitionism, and "consolidation," not to mention the sectional monopolization of industry and internal improvements. As Virginia's governor from 1830-34, he accordingly sought to foster industrialization by championing state government-subsidized internal improvements, as well as by expanding corporate and governmental use of slave labor in mines, factories, and railroads. A wealthy planter himself, he passed away in 1837 as a Catholic; having converted after his daughter Letitia had scandalized but intrigued Virginia's mostly Episcopalian social elites by embracing Catholicism in 1832.[222]

Floyd's wife regarded Calhoun as a friend to her family long after her husband's death.[223] Indeed, he unsuccessfully urged President Polk to resist pressure from the Illinois legislature to remove her Catholic nephew George R. C. Floyd as Superintendent of Lead Mines in 1846. The Superintendent had angered local mining interests by insisting upon the U.S. government's ownership rights and regulatory role *vis-à-vis* the mines of the upper Mississippi, and he thanked Calhoun for his efforts on his behalf by expressing his "decided partiality for you as the man of all others in this union the best qualified to fill the office of President of the U.S…."[224] John

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[221] See "John B. Floyd to John C. Calhoun," April 16, 1831, in *The Life and Diary of John Floyd: Governor of Virginia, An Apostle of Secession, and the Father of the Oregon Country*, ed. Charles H. Ambler (Richmond: Richmond Press, 1918), 105.

[222] See the New York *Freeman's Journal and Catholic Register*, June 8, 1895; and *The Catholic Encyclopedia: An International Work of Reference on the Constitution, Doctrine, Discipline, and History of the Catholic Church*, ed. Charles George Herbermann, *et al*., vol. 15 (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1912), 457.

[223] See, for instance, "To Mrs. Letitia [Preston] Floyd, [Abingdon, Va.?]," Washington, 28th Jan[uar]y 1846, *PJCC*, 23:531.

[224] "From Geo[rge] R. C. Floyd," Milwaukee, Feb. 4th 1846, *PJCC*, 23:572.

Floyd's Catholic son John Buchanan Floyd, moreover, rose up through the ranks of the Virginia Democracy with Calhoun's support in the mid-to-late 1840s.[225] And he carried on his father's legacy as the governor of Virginia from 1849-52, for as a trusted confidante informed Calhoun in 1849, the governor "was most frank and open in his expressions of adhesion to your views…."[226]

Returning to the Virginia legislature upon completing his gubernatorial term, Floyd distinguished himself as a champion of the Pierce administration and implacable anti-Know-Nothing. He succeeded Davis as the Buchanan administration's Secretary of War as a result, and the Mississippian pledged to "aid and sustain" him in that capacity.[227] Yet Senator Davis also expected Floyd to defer to him as the chairman of the Senate Committee on Military Affairs, as well as a member of the Senate Committee on Public Buildings and the Senate Select Committee on the Pacific Railroad.[228] Floyd, however, proved to be a difficult and disappointing pupil even though he too subjected Winfield Scott to many an indignity.[229] Dogged by rumors of corruption and administrative incompetence, he rejected his predecessor's advice to beseech France to teach the War Department Zouave tactics; divested the U.S. army of its camels; neglected a memorial from the Alabama legislature forwarded by Davis offering to cede state land for a new U.S. army foundry; and ignored the Mississippian's assertion that breech-loading rifles were still far too unreliable for field trials.[230] Floyd, too, failed to sustain Davis's friend John W. French in an internecine West Point dispute, driving the prominent Georgian U.S. army engineer Montgomery

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[225] See *The Catholic Almanac's Guide to the Church*, ed. Matthew Bunson (Huntington, IN: Our Sunday Visitor, 2001), 73.
[226] "From Robert Greenhow," Washington, August 12th 1849, *PJCC*, 27:25.
[227] "To John B. Floyd," March 6, 1857, *PJD*, 6:541.
[228] See *PJD*, 6:552.
[229] See "To William H. Emory," Washington, D.C., June 15, 1859, *PJD* 6:255-56; and "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Army Appropriation bill. June 2, 1860," *JDC*, 4:421.
[230] See "From John B. Floyd," February 24, 1858, *PJD*, 6:558; "Remarks on the Adoption of Breech-loading Arms," Washington, D.C., June 8, 1858, *PJD*, 6:197; "From John B. Floyd," December 23, 1858, *PJD*, 6:561; and *PJD*, 6:389, 552. Also see William P. MacKinnon, "Buchanan's Thrust from the Pacific: The Utah War's Ill-Fated Second Front," *Journal of Mormon History*, vol. 34, no. 4 (Fall 2008), 226-60. Floyd, however, did invite Davis and the rest of the Senate Committee on Military Affairs to tour the site of a proposed arsenal in Deep River County, North Carolina. See "From John B. Floyd," January 25, 1858, *PJD*, 6:561.

C. Meigs from the Democracy as well.[231] Assuring Davis that most of the workers employed would be Democrats, Meigs supervised the Capitol extension, Washington Aqueduct, and Cabin John Bridge projects thanks to the Secretary of War, whom Meigs thanked for his "kindness and confidence" upon advancing his son John R. Meigs as a West Point cadet in late 1856.[232] Floyd, however, fell out with Meigs over administrative matters and so thoroughly humiliated him by removing him from the capital altogether that Meigs became a Republican and sided with the Republican U.S. senators Hannibal Hamlin and Daniel Clark in their acrimonious 1860 dispute with Davis, who accused them of corruption for supporting a contractor's claim to additional compensation with regard to work performed on the Washington Aqueduct.[233] Meigs also contributed to the Confederacy's defeat as the Union's brilliant Quartermaster General, served as a pallbearer at Lincoln's funeral, and effaced Davis's name from Cabin John Bridge even though the Mississippian had expressed "confidence and respect" on his behalf in a missive to Floyd.[234]

Senator Davis reprimanded Floyd several times as the chairman of the Senate Committee on Military Affairs as a result.[235] Floyd, however, became a hero in the South by transferring tens of thousands of rifles from the North during the late 1850s, a charge which the U.S. Congress formally levied against him in February 1861. He had already resigned in late 1860 to protest President Buchanan's refusal to yield Fort Sumter to the new Confederacy, and President Davis reluctantly agreed to nominate the popular Virginian as a Confederate brigadier general in

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[231] See "To James B. Buchanan," June 19, 1857, *PJD*, 6:494.
[232] "From Montgomery C. Meigs," December 16, 1857, *PJD*, 6:523. See "To Montgomery C. Meigs," June 3, 1853, *PJD*, 5:18; Jefferson Davis to Franklin Pierce: Report of the Secretary of War," War Department, Washington, D.C., December 1, 1853, *JDC*, 2:330-31; "Jefferson Davis to John B. Floyd," Washington, D.C., December 16, 1857, *JDC*, 3:122; and *PJD*, 6:19. Davis also assigned the extension of the Post Office building to Meigs. See *PJD*, 5:168.
[233] See "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the bill for the relief of William H. De Groot. June 8. 1860," *JDC*, 4:486-95.
[234] "To John B. Floyd," December 21, 1857, *PJD*, 6:547. See "From Montgomery C. Meigs," August 6, 1857, *PJD*, 6:546-47; "To John B, Floyd," Washington, D.C., January 23, 1858, *PJD*, 6:168-69; "To Montgomery C. Meigs," West Point, July 25, 1860, *PJD*, 6:360-61; and Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 1:615.
[235] See *PJD*, 6:166.

May 1861. General Floyd was wounded and defeated at the September 1861 Battle of Carnifex Ferry in western Virginia, from which region he was transferred to the western theatre in early 1862. He proceeded to abandon a besieged Confederate army at Fort Donelson, Tennessee in February 1862, and Davis accordingly blamed him for the fact that "a large army of our people have surrendered without a desperate effort to cut their way through investing forces, whatever may have been their numbers...."[236] Floyd was summarily relieved of command by the Confederate president in March 1862, and he passed away in 1863 with a tattered reputation.[237]

Yet Davis faulted the Radicals for doing even more than Floyd to hinder his Bonaparte-like initiatives and thereby reduce the Union's claim to equal standing *vis-à-vis* Napoleon III's France. A bungling Floyd, for instance, delayed the building of Davis's long-coveted navy yard at Ship Island, Mississippi into February 1859, but Radicals in the Mississippi legislature had managed to obstruct the initial transfer of state-owned land there to the U.S. government until late 1857.[238] Radicals had also condemned Secretary of War Davis's drive to convert all U.S. arsenals and state militias to "the Minié rifle" as militaristic consolidation, prompting the Mississippian to accuse them of military naiveté and charge them with obstructing the exercise of constitutionally delegated federal powers.[239] They opposed his efforts to increase funding for West Point in the name of curbing wasteful spending as well, and he had remarked in frustration that "I think it is a poor economy to strike at the source of the army's glorious reputation by parsimony in the salaries of professors...."[240] It was, moreover, "poor economy" in his view for Radicals like Tennessee's Andrew Johnson, whom he derided in private as "a demagogue," to

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[236] "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, February 25, 1862, *JDC*, 5:204.
[237] See Charles B. Pinnegar, *Brand of Infamy: A Biography of John Buchanan Floyd* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2002).
[238] See *PJD*, 6:552.
[239] "To Franklin Pierce," War Department, Washington, D.C., December 1, 1856, *PJD*, 6:74. See *PJD*, 6:75-76.
[240] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Military Academy bill. Aug. 29, 1850," *JDC*, 1:526.

assert in 1856 that all funding for the Capitol extension and Washington Aqueduct should be cut off for having exceeded initial cost estimates.[241] They had accused him from the early 1850s onward "in no friendly manner" that he was seeking to "emulate the regal splendor of the works of the old world," for he held that "no public work could be too high or too grand to be undertaken by a free people, especially when it was to benefit a city bearing the name of WASHINGTON…."[242] And while he conceded Johnson's point that the federal government should not "undertake works and make appropriations" to reward corporations or "give employment to the people" as ends in themselves, he insisted that the new capital infrastructure was constitutional due to the U.S. government's exclusive jurisdiction over the District of Columbia and the military nature of most of the improvements.[243] Johnson, however, would declare in 1860 with reference to Davis's reputed presidential ambitions that the Mississippian was "burning up with ambition.... What Jeff will do if he is not nominated *God* only knows."[244]

Congressional Radicals thwarted many of Davis's Bonaparte-inspired reforms by voting in tandem with Republicans, who for Davis were even worse than Radicals in terms of inciting "sectional strife" and vitiating U.S. military power.[245] He encountered strident opposition to camel importation from the Ohio Whig *cum* Republican U.S. senator Thomas Ewing, whom he sought to sway by observing that a "dromedary corps" was not only "used by Napoleon [I] in his Egyptian campaign" against "a race to which our wild Apaches and Comanches bear a close

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[241] "Notes on Politicians," [copy], November 11, 1856, *PJD*, 6:514-15. See "Remarks on the Aqueduct and Capital Appropriations," Washington, June 1, 1858, *PJD*, 6:179. With the cost of completing the Capitol extension having risen to a staggering $2,825,183 by August 1856, Davis requested an additional $750,000 appropriation to finish the project. See *PJD*, 6:485.
[242] "Speech at Washington," November 8, 1853, *PJD*, 5:49.
[243] "Remarks on the Aqueduct and Capital Appropriations," Washington, D.C., June 1, 1858, *PJD*, 6:180-81.
[244] Quoted in *PJD*, 6:272.
[245] "Speech of Jefferson Davis in relation to property in the territories. May 16 and 17, 1860," *JDC*, 4:293. See "Speech of Jefferson Davis in the City of New York, Palace Garden Meeting, Oct. 19, 1858," *JDC*, 3:337.

resemblance," but also employed by the British to transport military supplies in Asia.[246] Davis also insisted that he had "introduce[d] camels into the United States for military purposes," but the Massachusetts Republican U.S. senator Henry Wilson claimed that the camel program was a cynical ploy to secure a southern transcontinental railroad, for "the Government, by its purchase of territory, by its introduction of camels, by its sinking of wells, and all its other policy, has elevated the southern route...."[247] Republicans, moreover, united with Radicals in opposition to Davis's Washington, D.C. renovations, objecting not so much on grounds of expense but rather architectural taste. When the Senate moved into its new Capitol chamber in 1859, for instance, William Pitt Fessenden mocked Davis for emulating the gaudy neo-classicism of Napoleon III's France, and John P. Hale moved to abolish the Capitol's novel system of internal heating and cooling through iron-reinforced glass.[248] Fessenden would also accuse Davis of "attempt[ing] to take the Navy and the Army entirely out of the control of Congress" a year later, having opposed all of the Secretary of War's West Point reforms.[249] With Republicans seeking to de-emphasize both French and Spanish at West Point, Davis had gloomily informed John W. French in 1856 that "I need hardly to say to you that with a Black Republican house, I can have but little influence."[250] He did manage to create a new assistant professorship of French, but he was exasperated by their ability to stymie his efforts to make West Point wholly conform to "the French system" at the École polytechnique – the five-year program of which offered "the most

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[246] "Amendment and Remarks on Purchasing Camels," March 3, 1851, *PJD*, 4:168. Davis's old friend the U.S. Indian Agent Henry L. Dodge was captured and killed by the Apache in November 1856. See *PJD*, 6:527.
[247] "To Franklin Pierce," War Department, Washington, D.C., December 1, 1856, *PJD*, 6:87; quoted in *Speech of the Hon. Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi, on the Pacific Railroad Bill, Delivered in the Senate of the United States, January, 1859* (Baltimore: John Murphy & Co., 1859), 13. See *PJD*, 5:238, 273.
[248] See *PJD*, 6:96.
[249] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Army Appropriation bill. June 7, 1860," *JDC*, 4:482. See ibid., 4:480.
[250] "To Rev. John W. French," December 15, 1856, *PJD*, 6:494. See *PJD*, 6:479.

thorough military education anywhere" – and thereby cement the legacy of Secretary of War Calhoun and "General Bernard, who had been an officer of distinction in the French army."[251]

Davis also thought that the Republicans wanted the Union to remain dependent on gunpowder imports from British India in preference to emulating the French, who were no longer "relying upon foreign Governments for the munitions with which to supply their armies in the field."[252] The Republicans, after all, opposed his calls for the U.S. to follow Napoleon III's example by ceasing to cooperate with the Royal Navy in suppressing the Atlantic slave trade. And he condemned Radicals hoping to resume African slave imports to the South at the same time partly to be consistent with Bonapartist France. "The Bourbons" had, as John Randolph remarked in 1815, "refused to abolish the slave trade," but "Bonaparte, from temporal views, no doubt, has made it the first act after his restoration!"[253] Napoleon III sustained that policy, which Calhoun had endorsed by declaring in 1816 with regard to the "odious" Atlantic slave trade that he "took a large part of the disgrace, as he represented a part of the Union, by whose influence it might be supposed to have been introduced." Yet Calhoun had also decried the New England Federalists who wanted the U.S. navy to help its erstwhile British enemy police the Atlantic, for "gentlemen are too much influenced on this subject by the example of Great Britain. Instead of looking to the nature of our government they have been swayed in their opinion by the practice of that government to which we are but too much in the habit of looking for precedents."[254]

In early 1859, descendants of northeastern Federalist merchants who had suffered at French hands while trading with Britain during the Quasi-War clamored for what they took to be long-overdue compensation from the U.S. government. Urging that their claims be rejected or

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[251] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Army Appropriation bill. June 7, 1860,"*JDC*, 4:479, 483. See ibid., 4:480; and *PJD*, 6:427, 479.
[252] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Army appropriation bill. Feb. 26, 1859," *JDC*, 4:10.
[253] Quoted in Garland, *The Life of John Randolph of Roanoke*, 2:71.
[254] "Speech on the Commercial Treaty with Great Britain," January 9, 1816, *PJCC*, 1:312-13.

least relegated to the bottom of the list, Davis argued that not just Jacobin malice but also New England Federalist perfidy had caused that conflict.[255] "It will be recollected," he remarked, "that, when the colonies declared their independence, and... the people of our United States were struggling against the great military and maritime Power of the globe, we received friendly assistance from France; she came to us in the hour of our need…." "Indeed," he added, "it may well be doubted whether, but for the service they rendered then and there, we could have achieved our independence." After the Franco-American alliance defeated Britain, moreover, "France had guarantied [*sic*] the liberty, sovereignty, and territorial possessions of the United States; and the United States had, in turn, guarantied the possessions of France in the West Indies." The New England Federalists, however, betrayed France by supporting the St. Domingue slave revolt and signing the Jay Treaty. In contrast, "[t]hat party to which my friends and I have succeeded," Davis observed, "the old Democratic party, were not the advocates of the Jay treaty. They considered that treaty as a violation of good faith to France."[256] And it was thanks to Jefferson's Democrats that Napoleon I had been so magnanimous toward the U.S. and grown so fond of Americans as to even be "anxious to revive the treaties of 1778 and 1788...."[257]

Yet now the heirs of New England Federalism had, *via* the Webster-Ashburton Treaty, "led us to an alliance with Great Britain, by which we are bound to keep a naval squadron on the deadly coast of Africa, where American sailors are sacrificed to a foreign policy, urged under the false plea of humanity...."[258] By singing slave trade-suppression treaties, the Bourbon and Orleans kings had, Davis explained, "tamely surrender[ed] to Great Britain her right to hold the police of the seas," and so "it was but following in the footsteps, and in obedience to the

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[255] See "Speech of Jefferson Davis on French Spoliations. Jan. 7 and 10, 1859," *JDC*, 3:470-71.
[256] Ibid., 3:477.
[257] Ibid., 3:469-70, 3:475.
[258] "Speech of Jefferson Davis before the Democratic State Convention at Jackson, Miss., July 6, 1859," from the New York *Daily Tribune*, August 31, 1859, *JDC*, 4:67-68.

demands of Great Britain... that we ever became thus involved in such a policy."[259] Napoleon III's France, however, invoked the Declaration of Paris to rescind the French version of Webster-Ashburton because the treaty "was unfavorable to her" and not "respectful to her dignity as a nation," and "France now keeps no vessel on the coast of Africa, as she has declared, save for the protection of her commerce against the insults and interference of Great Britain. That is the policy which I would pursue."[260] Davis would thus "terminate our treaty with Great Britain" and send "ships of the line worthy to vindicate the right of the American flag and to teach Great Britain what our construction is of the right of visitation and search," defying "British pretensions" as "in the conflict of 1812; and for this right we were ready to strike in 1858."[261]

Davis also blamed Republicans and, to a lesser degree, Radicals for the Union's failure to exhibit the same degree of "feverish" energy in breaking out of British encirclement as had "imperial France," the second version of which was challenging Britain throughout the eastern hemisphere.[262] He became increasingly receptive to Napoleon III's imperial ambitions in Central America and the Caribbean during Buchanan's presidency as a result. Britain, after all, threatened to destroy both slavery and the racial dominance of non-British whites in those regions, whereas anti-slavery Bonapartists would at least uphold white rule there. Besides, the Conscience Whigs and their Republican successors objected to French empire-building in the Americas even more than the Radicals, who regarded the anti-slavery but pro-white supremacy Bonapartists as little better than abolitionists.[263] Upstate New York's John E. Wool, for instance,

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[259] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the naval appropriation bill. June 18, 1860," *JDC*, 4:524, 528.
[260] Ibid., 4:524.
[261] Ibid., 4:524; and "Speech of Jefferson Davis on Fourth of July, 1858, at Sea," *JDC*, 3:272-73. See "To J. L. M. Curry," Washington D.C., June 4, 1859, *PJD*, 6:254.
[262] "Speech of Jefferson Davis at the Portland Serenade. July 9, 1858," *JDC*, 3:278.
[263] For Radicals who were more concerned about the preservation and spread of slavery as an institution rather than white supremacy *per se* in Central America and the Caribbean, see Robert E. May, *The Southern Dream of a Caribbean Empire, 1814-1861* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1973); Matthew Guterl, *American Mediterranean: Southern Slaveholders in the Age of Emancipation* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press,

was a prominent Whig general who garnered fame during the Mexican War but sought to protect Indians in both Mexico and California from abuses by U.S. whites. He also angered Secretary of War Davis far more than Patrice Dillon by demanding from his California post in 1855 that not just William Walker but also the French consul be imprisoned, fanning fears as well about an impending French invasion of California while denouncing Napoleon III.[264] And Davis's frustration was compounded when his successor John B. Floyd denounced the Mississippian's attempts to hinder the delivery of a ceremonial sword awarded by Congress to General Wool.[265]

Floyd also undermined Davis's efforts to enhance U.S. influence among white Catholic Hispanics in and about the Gulf of Mexico, as when Davis arranged for Demetrio Arosemena, who was the son of a former governor of Panama, to attend West Point at Amos B. Corwin's suggestion but was rebuffed by the disappointing Virginian, who insisted that only U.S. citizens could become cadets.[266] Napoleon III, in contrast, was eager to appeal to the white Hispanic Catholics of the Americas, to which end he emphasized cultural affinities between them and the French by popularizing the term "Latin America." He had grudgingly supported the British in 1855 when they thwarted the Davis-inspired plans of the Pierce administration to establish a coaling depot for the U.S. navy on Santo Domingo that would deter and threaten Emperor Faustin I.[267] Napoleon III, however, did not object when the Buchanan administration claimed Navassa Island off Haiti as a guano source, for he was beginning to challenge Britain in Central America and the Caribbean in his own right by the late 1850s, respecting the Monroe Doctrine as well insofar as he would not turn "Latin American" client states or conquests into overt colonies.

2008); and Matt Karp, "This Vast Southern Empire: The South and the Foreign Policy of Slavery, 1833-1861" (PhD Dissertation; Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 2011).

[264] See "From John E. Wool," January 19, 1855, *PJD*, 5:337. Wool also accused Walker of being a French agent who had sought to facilitate rather than pre-empt the French invasion. See ibid., 5:337. Also see *PJD*, 5:89, 291.

[265] See *PJD*, 5:391. Davis claimed that Wool had not asked for the sword to be sent and supposedly feared that it would be lost or stolen *en route*. See *PJD*, 6:545.

[266] See "From John B. Floyd," December 12, 1858, *PJD*, 6:551.

[267] See "Speech at Jackson," June 9, 1852, *PJD*, 4:261; and *PJD*, 5:81.

After the British government destroyed William Walker's filibuster regime in Nicaragua with Republican assistance, the French emperor moved to fill the resulting power void by dispatching the engineer Félix Belly there to build a trans-oceanic canal along the San Juan River that would complement de Lesseps's Suez Canal.[268] Louis-Napoleon, in fact, had dreamed of building a canal through Nicaragua or Panama ever since he wrote an 1846 work to that effect.[269] His ambitions were re-kindled by the École polytechnique-educated engineer Michel Chevalier, who negotiated the Chevalier-Cobden Treaty and hoped to build a French trans-oceanic canal in Central America as well.[270] Arguing that Spanish-speaking Catholic whites in the Americas were cultural and biological offshoots of southern Europe's white Catholic "Latin" nations, Chevalier thought that France was locked in a titanic struggle with Anglo-Saxon Protestant abolitionists for global dominance.[271] The pro-Republican New York *Times*, after all, viewed Belly's canal concession in Nicaragua as an alarming threat to the power of both the Protestant religion and the Anglo-Saxon race in the Americas, warning that Napoleon III would "[p]rotect the Catholic States of America against the United States."[272] And the Bonapartists were increasingly confident as a result that a new French empire in the Americas would be welcomed not only by the "Latin Americans," but also by the Catholic Creole Democrats of the U.S. South.

The Ascent of Pro-Bonaparte French-American Davis Democrats in the 1850s Gulf South

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[268] See Cyril Allen, "Félix Belly: Nicaraguan Canal Promoter," *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, vol. 37, no. 1 (February 1957), 46-59; and Edward W. Richards, "Louis Napoleon and Central America," *The Journal of Modern History*, vol. 34, no. 2 (June 1962), 178-84. Also see Schoultz, *Beneath the United States*, 153.

[269] See Louis-Napoleon Bonaparte, *Canal of Nicaragua: Or, a Project to Connect the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans by Means of a Canal* (London: Mills & Son, 1846).

[270] See Michel Chevalier, *L'isthme de Panama: Examen historique et gèographique des différentes directions suivant lesquelles on pourrait le percer et des moyens a y employer; suivi d'un apercu sur l'isthme de suez* (Paris: Librairie dè Charles Gosselin, 1844).

[271] See Jeremy Jennings, "Democracy before Tocqueville: Michel Chevalier's America," *The Review of Politics*, vol. 68, no. 3 (Summer 2006), 398-427.

[272] New York *Times*, January 25, 1859.

Democrats in all quarters of the Union but especially the South stayed *au courant* with French literature, science, fashion, art, and news during the interregnum between the emperors Napoleon, and they usually echoed the pro-Bonaparte French-American Democrats of the Deep South by condemning the French Left's atheism and racial egalitarianism together with the *ancien régime* nostalgia of the French Right.[273] Their Francophile sympathies or pride in French ancestry diminished as they became increasingly alienated from a France in which only the Left seemed to be challenging the ruling Right to the point that Colonel Davis upbraided a French-American lieutenant in the 1st Mississippi Rifles for making his surname seem less French by spelling it as "Du Barry" rather than "Dubarré."[274] But their enthusiasm for France would be re-kindled thanks to the ideology and achievements of Napoleon III's regime, which southern French-Americans hoped would become an anti-British ally of the U.S. as ardent Davis Democrats who championed equality among whites against Anglo-Saxon dominance; Catholic-friendly religious toleration in opposition to Protestant supremacy; and white supremacy *tout court* against both abolitionist racial equality and Radical doctrines of slavery-in-the-abstract.[275]

Charles Étienne Gayarré, for instance, was a well-known historian and politician who was descended from the pioneering sugar planter and New Orleans mayor Étienne de Boré. He witnessed the Battle of New Orleans in his youth and praised Old Hickory thereafter in commemorative orations.[276] Indeed, he was particularly fond of quoting Jackson's famous pro-French and anti-British speech before the battle: "Louisianans, the base, the perfidious Britons have attempted to invade your country… the proud Briton, the natural and sworn enemy of all

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[273] See O'Brien, *Conjectures of Order*, 5, 20, 91, 115-16, 254, 256, 327, 415, 504, 595. Some antebellum southern Anglo-Protestant law students even travelled to Paris to study French civil law in order to practice in Louisiana. See ibid., 116. Also see ibid., 521.
[274] See "To John A. Quitman," Monterey, September 26, 1846, *PJD*, 3:28-29.
[275] See Horace Perry Jones, "Louisiana Opinion on the Crimean War as Expressed in the Newspapers," *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association*, vol. 18, no. 3 (Summer 1977), 323-34.
[276] See O'Brien, *op. cit.*, 293.

Frenchmen…. Can Louisianans, can Frenchman, can Americans, ever stoop to be the slaves or allies of Britain?"[277] Having served as a Democratic legislator, attorney general, and judge in Louisiana, Gayarré was elected to the U.S. Senate as a Democrat in 1834 but soon resigned due to ill health, living in France until the early 1840s to recuperate and undertake research for his projected histories of Louisiana. Upon returning home, he was elected to Congress as a Democrat, serving from 1844-45 and again from 1856-57. "On balance," Michael O'Brien has observed, "Gayarré disliked the British more than the Americans," and he detested American Anglophiles as a result.[278] Fearing that Radical-led southern Anglo-Protestant emigrants in Louisiana would marginalize French Catholic Creoles, he briefly flirted with the Know-Nothings in hopes of diminishing such emigration on "nativist" grounds. But a horrified Gayarré returned to the Democracy with a vengeance upon experiencing the full extent of Know-Nothing hostility to non-Anglo and non-Protestant whites. Having claimed too that the New England Federalist ancestors of the Republicans had opposed the Louisiana Purchase to help Britain take New Orleans and sought to join the British Empire *via* the Hartford Convention, he strongly supported President Davis in hopes that a French-Confederate alliance would see "Louisiana restored to [its] original estate as a community whose heart, mind, and spirit were irrevocably French."[279] To that end, Gayarré poured his savings into Confederate bonds and established a journal which he termed *La renaissance Louisianaise: organe des populations Franco-Américaines du Sud*.[280]

Gayarré and many other French-American Democrats *cum* Confederates even went so far as to declare that they would prefer New Orleans, Mobile, and other French-inflected locales of

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[277] Quoted in Charles Gayarré, *History of Louisiana: The American Domination* (1854; reprint, New York: William J. Widdleton, 1866), 352-53.
[278] O'Brien, *Conjectures of Order*, 299. See ibid., 299.
[279] Quoted ibid., 299. Northern Whigs *cum* Republicans, in turn, usually regarded Gayarré's historical works with condescension and scorn when they deigned to notice them at all. See, for instance, *The North American Review*, vol. 80, no. 167 (April, 1855), 480-511.
[280] See Herbert H. Lang, "Charles Gayarre and the Philosophy of Progress," *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association*, vol. 3, no. 3 (Summer 1962), 251-61.

the Gulf South to become outright clients or colonies of Napoleon III's France rather than live in a Republican Union dominated by Anglo-Protestant abolitionists.[281] Charleston's Louis Rémy Mignot, for example, was one of the antebellum South's most famous artists as well as the son of a French Catholic immigrant who came to the Union after Napoleon I's downfall. Having re-located to New York City, he co-painted *Washington and Lafayette at Mount Vernon, 1784* in 1859 as a celebration of past and hopefully future alliances between the U.S. and France, to which latter country Mignot would move as an avowed Confederate sympathizer in July 1862.[282]

Anxious to disprove British claims as to the superiority of "Anglo-Saxons" *vis-à-vis* other whites, pro-Bonaparte French scientific racialists lent their authority to interregnum-era Democrats who rejected slavery-in-the-abstract by depicting blacks as "wolves held by the ear" in the Jeffersonian tradition; justifying slavery as a means to the end of white supremacy rather than as an end in itself.[283] Davis Democrats, after all, knew full well that positioning the South as a champion of slavery-in-the-abstract would, in Michael O'Brien's words, set "Paris against Charleston, though both racist, both complacently 'Caucasian.'"[284] They hence emphasized that they had no objection to Kansas decreeing the elimination of slavery but not white rule from a future state capital located at their stronghold of Lecompton, which was named in honor of Samuel D. LeCompte, a Maryland Democrat of Huguenot ancestry who obtained a federal

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[281] Louisiana still boasted over fifty French-language papers in the 1840s. See O'Brien, *Conjectures of Order*, 286.
[282] See Katharine E. Manthorne and John W. Coffey, *Louis Rémy Mignot: A Southern Painter Abroad* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1996).
[283] See Thomas Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia*, ed. William Peden (1781; reprint, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1955), 138-43; Julien-Joseph Virey, *Natural History of the Negro Race*, trans. J. H. Guenebault (Charleston: D. J. Dowling, 1837); William Stanton, *The Leopard's Spots: Scientific Attitudes Toward Race in America, 1815-1869* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960); Reginald Horsman, "Origins of Racial Anglo-Saxonism in Great Britain before 1850," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, vol. 37, no. 3 (July-September 1976), 387-410; Peter S. Onuf, *Jefferson's Empire: The Language of American Nationhood* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2000), 158; and O'Brien, *op. cit.*, 43, 232-34, 250. The Charleston botanist, doctor, banker, and founder of the *Southern Review* Stephen Elliott, moreover, was a friend of the French scientist François André Michaux, who sent books to the Charleston Library Society from the late 1810s to the late 1820s. See ibid., 216-17. Also see Lester D. Stephens, *Science, Race, and Religion in the American South: John Bachman and the Charleston Circle of Naturalists, 1815-1895* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013).
[284] O'Brien, *op. cit.*, 249.

judgeship in the Kansas territory under the Pierce administration thanks to Davis.[285] And they were also pleased to see southern French-Americans come to the fore during the 1850s as advocates of white supremacy who were willing to see the South eventually achieve complete ideological congruence with Napoleon III's France by phasing out slavery. Caroline Lee Whiting, for instance, was a New Englander who married the Democratic French immigrant Nicholas M. Hentz in 1824. A pro-Bonaparte scientist and artist who immigrated to the U.S. in 1816, Hentz taught French at various schools and colleges, slowly making his way south to Florida in the process. His wife rose to fame in 1850 by writing a novel titled *Linda; or, The Young Pilot of the Belle Creole*, which went through thirteen editions in its first three years of publication. She also disliked the institution of slavery, for she helped the enslaved poet George Moses Horton publish his 1829 *The Hope of Liberty* poem collection when living in Raleigh, North Carolina. But her influential 1854 *The Planter's Northern Bride* made it clear that she shared her husband's racial views. Featuring racially egalitarian northerners who come to reject abolitionism upon visiting the South, her novel held that the experience of encountering blacks *en masse* could not but elicit a "shudder of inexpressible loathing."[286] O'Brien accordingly observes that she was "formally racist, starkly so, [by] speaking much of the physical dimensions of race, of smells and revulsion," adding that "the book is almost more an argument for racial hierarchy than for slavery, which makes sense when one remembers that [Caroline Lee] Hentz was concerned to find ground upon which Southerners and Northerners could stand together."[287]

The visiting French scientist M. J. Raymond Thomassy notified Davis in 1856 that he hoped to establish a salt mine in Georgia with War Department support, having learned of the

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[285] See *PJD*, 6:519.
[286] Caroline Lee Hentz, *The Planter's Northern Bride* (1854; reprint, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1970), 41. See ibid., 84.
[287] O'Brien, *Conjectures of Order*, 771. See ibid., 267, 573, 740, 770, 773; and Jamie Stanesa, "Caroline Lee Whiting Hentz (1800–1856)," *Legacy*, vol. 13, no. 2 (1996), 130-41.

Union's and especially the South's salt production deficiencies from *De Bow's Review*.[288] James D. B. De Bow was a South Carolina Democrat of French descent who moved to New Orleans, where he edited his influential eponymous journal. He invited both Radical slavery-in-the-abstract theorists and Davis Democrat scientific racialists to contribute articles, but he framed his reviews to favor the latter while encouraging southern industrialization, internal improvements, and urban development – especially with regard to New Orleans.[289] The Radical *De Bow's Review* contributor Edmund Ruffin accordingly thought that "De Bow himself is a crafty & mean Yankee in conduct & principle, though a southerner by birth & residence…."[290] De Bow, after all, was an ardent supporter of Davis, who regularly perused *De Bow's Review* and helped put the French-American in charge of the U.S. census from 1853-57.[291] De Bow also asked Davis for information regarding French Catholics who had served in the U.S. army to discredit the Know-Nothings and help forge links with Bonapartist France, which he lauded as a modernization model for such Latins as the Spanish and actual or honorary Latins as the Union's Democrats to emulate.[292] De Bow wanted to preserve the French character of New Orleans without excluding any white immigrants as a result.[293] And he re-printed the French-American civil engineer S. T. Abert's article pertaining to Pensacola, which "stands in the same relation to the Gulf of Mexico as Toulon does to the Mediterranean." Abert therefore mused that "it would

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[288] Davis was enthused by the idea but informed Thomassy that his proposed site would interfere with a nearby fort's operations. The Frenchman went on to build a number Confederate salt works all the same. See *PJD*, 6:444.
[289] See, for instance, Nott, "Diversity of the Human Race," *De Bow's Review*, vol. 10, no. 2 (February 1851), 113-32; [J. D. B. De Bow], "The Approaching Rail-Road Convention at New-Orleans," *De Bow's Review*, vol. 11, no. 5 (November 1851), 543-48; and Samuel A. Cartwright, "Unity of the Human Race Disproved by the Hebrew Bible," *De Bow's Review*, vol. 29, no. 2 (August 1860), 129-36. Also see Otis Clark Skipper, *J. D. B. De Bow: Magazinist of the Old South* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1958); and John F. Kvach, *De Bow's Review: The Antebellum Vision of a New South* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 2013).
[290] Quoted in O'Brien, *Conjectures of Order*, 537.
[291] See *PJD*, 4:372; and *PJD*, 6:517. De Bow also requested patronage favors from Davis on behalf of Mississippi River dredging companies based in New Orleans. See *PJD*, 6:464.
[292] See [J. D. B. De Bow], "Literature of Spain," *De Bow's Review*, vol. 9, no. 1 (July 1850), 66-85; and *PJD*, 5:252, 456.
[293] See [James D. B. De Bow], "Sources of New Orleans Population," *De Bow's Review*, vol. 11, no. 1 (July 1851), 96.

seem to be the part of a wise, national policy, to imitate the example of Napoleon III. in having made Toulon the first arsenal and dockyard in the world."[294] De Bow went on to work for the Confederate Treasury Department, running the Produce Loan Agency from Richmond as well thanks to Davis. And when the Radical poet William J. Grayson asserted that the secession of the South marked a repudiation of Thomas Jefferson such that southerners might restore their hierarchical colonial social order while perfecting plantation slavery in emulation of Britain's great manorial estates, an angry De Bow opined that Confederates were actually re-capitulating the American Revolution against Republican neo-Loyalists.[295] Banning all future Radical-style pro-slavery articles, De Bow emphasized that the Confederacy stood not for slavery-in-the-abstract but rather white supremacy in the Jeffersonian Democratic tradition: "Let us away with all abstract reasonings, and go to work in developing the great political and industrial future which is before the South. The negro, except in his relations to these, is clearly used up."[296]

The French-American scientific racialists were echoed during the 1850s by the Union's French Catholic clergy, who usually supported the Democracy and were particularly influential in the South. For instance, when Baltimore's pro-slavery German-American Protestant Whig Brantz Mayer wrote an 1851 history of Mexico that sympathized with *Indios* as against *conquistadores* while attributing Mexico's failures as a republic to Catholicism, he was assailed by a host of Democratic critics led by Father Auguste Verot, who had sailed to Baltimore from

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[294] Quoted in [J. D. B. De Bow], "A Great Southern Port - Pensacola," *De Bow's Review*, vol. 29, no. 6 (December 1860), 780.

[295] See Jonathan B. Crider, "De Bow's Revolution: The Memory of the American Revolution in the Politics of the Sectional Crisis, 1850–1861," *American Nineteenth Century History*, vol. 10, no. 3 (September 2009), 317–32.

[296] J. D. B. De Bow, [editorial preface], in William J. Grayson, "The Legation of Thomas Jefferson: Is the Declaration of Independence at War with the Institution of Domestic Slavery?" *De Bow's Review*, vol. 31, no. 2 (August 1861), 136. Also see J. D. B. De Bow, *The Interest in Slavery of the Southern Non-Slaveholder* (Charleston: Evans & Cogswell, 1860). De Bow's position unsurprisingly drew Radical fire in the form of Joseph C. Addington's *Reds, Whites and Blacks, or the Colors, Dispersion, Language, Sphere and Unity of the Human Race, As Seen in the Lights of Scripture, Science and Observation* (Raleigh, NC: Strother & Marcom, 1862).

France in 1830 to teach theology and science at St. Mary's Seminary.[297] Verot instead blamed Mexico's problems on its overwhelmingly non-white racial composition and attributed what few Mexican accomplishments there were to the Catholic Church, which had instilled a degree of discipline in the supposedly savage indigenous population. Mayer conceded defeat by writing a revised edition of his book which was less hostile toward Catholicism, more laudatory of white Mexicans, and less sympathetic toward *Indios*.[298] Verot, for his part, went on to become the bishop of Florida in 1857 and, simultaneously, the bishop of Savannah in 1861. He converted several thousand southern whites by bringing seven more French priests over in 1859, building high-quality Catholic schools, and avidly supporting the Confederacy, which he urged to appeal to Napoleon III's France by enacting a gradual emancipation that would not confer citizenship upon any freed blacks even as he upheld the theological legitimacy of slavery as an institution.[299]

Davis befriended French-American settlers from Quebec and French Jesuit missionary priests on the northwestern frontier as a lieutenant in the U.S. army stationed at Prairie du Chien in the Wisconsin Territory.[300] The staunchly Democratic lay and clerical French-Americans of that region retained fond memories of him, and Secretary of War Davis reciprocated by allowing a Catholic church to remain on U.S. military land near Fort Brady, Michigan at the request of French-American Catholics living near British North America at Sault Ste. Marie.[301] The Mississippian, however, was even closer to southern Jesuits, one of whom he would ask in 1855

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[297] See Brantz Mayer, *Mexico, Aztec, Spanish and Republican: A Historical, Geographical, Political, Statistical and Social Account of that Country from the Period of Invasion by the Spaniards to the Present Time*, 2 vols. (1851; reprint, Hartford: S. Drake, 1853).
[298] See O'Brien, *Conjectures of Order*, 201-05.
[299] See Willard E. Wight, "Bishop Verot and the Civil War," *The Catholic Historical Review*, vol. 5, no. 2 (Summer 1951), 162-69; and Michael Gannon, *Rebel Bishop: Augustin Verot, Florida's Civil War Prelate* (1964; reprint, Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1997).
[300] See P. L. Scanlan, "The Military Record of Jefferson Davis in Wisconsin," *The Wisconsin Magazine of History*, vol. 24, no. 2 (December 1940), 174-82.
[301] See "To Robert McClelland," June 22, 1853, *PJD*, 5:205. Also see "To John W. French," Washington, D.C., November 9, 1856, *PJD*, 6:57; and "From Isadore D. Beaugrand," Fremont, Ohio, April 23, 1858, *PJD*, 6:568.

for tracts proving that U.S. Catholics were, unlike Know-Nothings, Republicans, Radicals, and other such militantly anti-Catholic Protestants, dedicated to the separation of church and state.[302]

Davis and his supporters were also bolstered during the 1850s by an influx of pro-Bonaparte French Jesuits in the Gulf South. Father Louis-Hippolyte Gache was born to a prosperous peasant family near Lyons, and he was one of more than a dozen French Jesuit priests who fled to the lower South from 1845-46 at the invitation of the bishop of Louisiana Louis Dubourg and the first-ever bishop of Mobile Michael Portier after Louis Philippe banned the Jesuit order in 1845.[303] Because the French revolution of 1848 unleashed an even worse wave of anti-Jesuit persecution emanating from the Left, French Jesuits hailed President Bonaparte for protecting their order, one of whose members was "affected by a sort of delirium on the subject of the ever increasing prosperity of the Church, thanks especially to the services rendered to it by the new Charlemagne, the idol of his heart."[304] Father Gache also hoped to further the efforts of the famous Lyons-based patroness of Catholic missionaries Pauline Jaricot, who extended her Society for the Propagation of the Faith into the Gulf South through Peter Mauvernay, a loyal soldier of Napoleon I's who became a missionary priest.[305] Mauvernay moved to Mobile from Lyons in 1836 to take over the Catholic college of Spring Hill's presidency, and he served in that capacity until his death in 1839. Known as the "soldier-president" of the college, he also started

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[302] See "To Rev. Charles Stonestreet, S.J.," July 16, 1855, *PJD*, 5:441. Also see Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 1:56, 568.

[303] See *A Frenchman, A Chaplain, A Rebel: The War Letters of Pere Louis-Hippolyte Gache, S.J.*, trans. Cornelius M. Buckley, S.J. (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1981), 8, 13, 15-17.

[304] Quoted in John W. Padberg, *Colleges in Controversy: The Jesuit Schools in France from Revival to Suppression, 1815-1880* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1969), 125. Napoleon III was uncomfortable with the ultramontane tendencies of Right-leaning Jesuits, but most French Jesuits strongly supported his new regime all the same. See ibid., 92-95, 123-24; and *A Frenchman, A Chaplain, A Rebel*, 29.

[305] See Michael Kenny, *Catholic Culture in Alabama* (New York: The America Press, 1931), 41-43. Also see Katherine Burton, *Difficult Star: The Life of Pauline Jaricot* (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1947).

Spring Hill's distinguished martial tradition by founding a student military cadet corps.[306] Indeed, quite a few of Spring Hill's French Creole students hailed from the nearby Louisiana town of Napoleonville, which one of Napoleon I's old soldiers living in the South had named.[307]

Spring Hill was beset by fiscal difficulties in the 1840s, but Father Gache and his fellow French Jesuits saved it as well as the Louisiana Catholic college of St. Charles in Grand Coteau, both of which were placed under the Jesuit authority of the Province of Lyons. Their efforts were facilitated by the Democratic "high church" Episcopalian governor of Louisiana Isaac Johnson, who signed an Act of Incorporation for the Jesuit Catholic Society for the Diffusion of Religious and Literary Education, the purpose of which was "founding and directing colleges and other literary and scientific institutions...."[308] Father Gache was one of the new corporation's four trustees, and he helped turn Spring Hill into one of the South's premier colleges as a professor of theology and philosophy there, rehabilitating President Mauvernay's cadet corps as a chaplain too.[309] His Jesuit colleagues taught French, mathematics, Latin, and Greek in addition to science at the "physics laboratory," while the French immigrant Dieudonné de Felhorn offered music instruction at a nearby girls' school in which the classes were conducted wholly in French.[310] Father Gache and his fellow French Jesuits, moreover, supported the Democrats, whom they hailed as Catholic-friendly champions of religious toleration. Before transferring to Spring Hill, after all, he had been president from 1849-52 of the new Jesuit College of Saints Peter and Paul in the Catholic-majority city of Baton Rouge, but that college foundered due to the efforts of a hostile Anglo-Methodist minority in the city affiliated with the

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[306] See "The Newsletter of the Friends of the Catholic Cemetery," *Archdiocese of Mobile, Alabama*, vol. 3. no. 3 (July 2008), 3.
[307] See *A Frenchman, A Chaplain, A Rebel*, 182.
[308] Quoted in ibid., 18. See ibid., 15, 17.
[309] See ibid., 18. Father Gache's Jesuit corporation also laid the basis for the future Loyola University of New Orleans. See ibid., 18.
[310] See "Louis-Hippolyte Gache to André Cornette, S. J.," Camp Lee's Mill, April 5, 1862, in ibid., 102; ibid., 32, 58; and Lonn, *Foreigners in the Confederacy*, 324-25.

Know-Nothings, who exerted their power to have a new street built right through the college's campus construction site. Tensions, in fact, had even flared there to the point that Father Gache and his Jesuit compatriots had once brandished firearms to ward off a mob of Know-Nothings.[311]

Spring Hill's faculty also included the French-born physician Francis J. B. Rohmer, whose father had been medalled by Napoleon I himself at the Battle of Austerlitz.[312] He and Father Gache melded Catholic theology with the French and American racial sciences at Spring Hill. Espousing both gradual emancipation and black racial inferiority, they denounced northern Anglophile abolitionist racial egalitarians as foes to both science and Catholicism, for abolitionists of that sort had expelled the Jesuits from Neuva Granada and would presumably do the same if they came to power within the Union.[313] Father Gache's educational corporation, after all, owned black slaves, and he would soon be impressed to witness "twenty Negroes" working under Confederate government auspices clear away a landslide which had obstructed a railroad as a Confederate chaplain who had personally received his commission from President Davis and often liked to boast as to "my influence with the President of the Confederacy…."[314]

The Decline of Southern Radical Political and Ideological Influence during the 1850s

The French-Americans of the Gulf South stood out as advocates of an ideological and geopolitical alliance between Democrats and Bonapartists in the 1850s, but enthusiasm for the Napoleon III's France was a key marker of Davis Democrats throughout the Union, encapsulating while focusing and firing their Anglophobic opposition to inequality among

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[311] See *A Frenchman, A Chaplain, A Rebel*, 18, 21-22. The college was also ruined by a yellow fever outbreak in Baton Rouge, which had three thousand Catholics among its five thousand white inhabitants. See ibid., 21, 24-25.
[312] See ibid., 37. Also see Stephen Mallory Le Baron, *Dr. F. Jean Baptiste Rohmer, 1812-1904* (S.I.: S. M. Le Baron, 1955).
[313] See *A Frenchman, A Chaplain, A Rebel*, 38.
[314] "Louis-Hippolyte Gache to Philip de Carrière," Camp Magruder near Williamsburg, September 11, 1861, in ibid., 44; and "Louis-Hippolyte Gache to Francis Gautrelet," Lynchburg, June 1, 1863, in ibid., 189. See "Louis-Hippolyte Gache to Philip de Carrière," Lynchburg, September 7, 1863, in ibid., 198; and "Louis-Hippolyte Gache to Philip de Carrière," Charleston, July 18, 1865, in ibid., 220. Also see ibid., 18, 152.

whites, racial equality, slavery-in-the-abstract, and Radical state's rights. Indeed, Davis even began likening his faction inside the Democracy to the Imperial Guard within Napoleon I's *Grande Armée* during the 1850s.[315] His followers, after all, were the Pierce administration's core supporters, and they made sure that President Buchanan would, with the partial exception of Floyd's disappointing War Department, sustain his predecessor's pro-French initiatives, buoying Davis's hopes in the process that the U.S. would fight a new War of 1812 as an equal or at least near-equal ally of Napoleon III's France in "this age of civilization and political progress."[316]

Senator Davis continued to recommend so many "true Democrat[s]" for consulships in France and French allies like the Papal States that he drew the ire of the Republican-leaning New York *Times*, which ironically accused him of improper interference in executive branch affairs.[317] His recommendations received respectful attention all the same from Secretary of State Lewis Cass, who at Davis's behest denied U.S. government protection to Felix Le Clerc, an American citizen who had emigrated from France and feared that Napoleon III's government would conscript him upon his return to French soil.[318] Cass had endorsed popular sovereignty as the Democracy's presidential candidate in 1848, and he had also befriended Louis Philippe as the U.S. ambassador to France from 1836-42.[319] Yet he was committed to white rule, unlike his even more Louis Philippe-friendly successor the prominent National Republican *cum* Democrat Richard Rush, who harbored reservations pertaining to white supremacy in addition to slavery given that his famous Pennsylvanian Federalist father Dr. Benjamin Rush had been one of the

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[315] See "To Eli Abbot," Washington, D.C., April 17, 1853, *PJD*, 5:9; "From John J. Pettus," Wahalak, June 5, 1857; *PJD*, 6:127; "Speech at Jackson," May 29, 1857, from the Raymond *Hinds Co, Gazette*, June 10, 1857, *PJD*, 6:123; "Speech at Mississippi City," October 2, 1857, *PJD*, 6:148; and "Reply to Stephen A. Douglas," May 17, 1860, *PJD*, 6:331.
[316] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the special message on affairs in South Carolina. Jan. 10, 1861," *JDC*, 5:19.
[317] "To Lewis Cass," August 31, 1857, *PJD*, 6:548. See *PJD*, 6:543; and New York *Times*, August 27, 1858. Also see "From 'Senex,'" Memphis, Tennessee, November 18, 1856, *PJD*, 6:61.
[318] See "To Samuel A. Cartwright," Brierfield, July 17, 1859, PJD, 6:260; and New York *Times*, June 17, 1859.
[319] See McCullough, *The Greater Journey*, 143-44.

few Founders to endorse black citizenship.[320] Cass, moreover, wrote a tract urging the French public to pressure Louis Philippe to reject an 1842 treaty with Britain that would have given the Royal Navy *de jure* permission to search any French vessel suspected of carrying slaves, and so while Davis had been precipitous to inform Quitman in 1850 that "Cass is heartily with us," he could confidently praise the Michigander as "one of our most distinguished & reliable citizens" during Buchanan's presidency because Cass repudiated popular sovereignty while appointing such Davis Democrats as Mirabeau Buonaparte Lamar to please France and perturb Britain.[321]

Lamar was a former president of the Republic of Texas who had fought alongside the 1st Mississippi Rifles at the Battle of Monterrey, where, "heedless of danger, [he] rushed into the fray… with the cry of 'Brave boys, Americans are never afraid!'"[322] Cass made Lamar the U.S. minister to Nicaragua, which the Texan sought to keep out of Britain's sphere of influence after William Walker's defeat in 1857 by facilitating Félix Belly's initial efforts to build a French transoceanic canal, which he also hoped would undermine Cornelius Vanderbilt's Nicaraguan transportation monopoly.[323] But he died in 1859, as did John Y. Mason, whom Cass had retained as the U.S. minister to France. Mason was replaced by Charles J. Faulkner, a western Virginian graduate of Georgetown University who consistently championed Davis's policies and reforms as a Democratic congressman from 1851-59 and the chairman of the House Committee on Military Affairs from 1857-59.[324] When the Republicans protested President Pierce's decision to

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[320] See McCullough, *The Greater Journey*, 179-82. Also see Donald J. D'Elia, "Dr. Benjamin Rush and the Negro," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, vol. 30, no. 3 (July-September, 1969), 413-22.

[321] "Jefferson Davis and others to John A. Quitman," Washington, D.C., January 21, 1850, from the Mississippi *Free Trader*, November 27, 1850, *JDC*, 1:180; and quoted in *PJD*, 6:534. See "Reply to Stephen A. Douglas," May 17, 1860, *PJD*, 6:305; and *PJD*, 6:135.

[322] Quoted in *PJD*, 3:66. After the Battle of Buena Vista, moreover, Lamar had accompanied a wounded Davis back to Monterrey. See ibid., 3:164.

[323] See Stephen Chicoine, *The Confederates of Chappell Hill, Texas: Prosperity, Civil War and Decline* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, 2005), 17.

[324] See "Jefferson Davis to C. J. Faulkner," War Department, Washington, D.C., June 24, 1854, *JDC*, 2:364-65; "Jefferson Davis to C. J. Faulkner," War Department, Washington, D.C., December 20, 1854, *JDC*, 2:429-30; "To

use federal troops to enforce Lecompton territorial government laws in Kansas by letting Congress adjourn without passing a $3 million appropriation for the U.S. army, moreover, Davis notified his confidante Faulkner in an August 1856 letter that the congressional Republicans would tender the money in a special session, bowing to popular pressure after he, Faulkner, and many other Democrats accused them of traitorously leaving the Union at the mercy of the British Empire and its non-white allies.[325] Appointed by Cass at Davis's request in 1860, Faulker was recalled by the Lincoln administration in August 1861. And upon returning to the Union, "Mr. Faulkner, a former minister of the United States to France," was, in President Davis's words, "perfidiously arrested and imprisoned in New York," for he was suspected of having negotiated arms contracts between Bonapartist France and the fledgling Confederate States of America.[326]

Alarmed by the fact that Davis and his supporters were exercising nearly as much influence over President Buchanan as they had over Pierce, the pro-Republican New York *Tribune* averred that the Buchanan administration was, like its predecessor, "as much feared as loved, and perhaps more so."[327] A nervous New York *Times*, moreover, observed that Davis had never been more popular within the South, reporting in 1857 as to how he led procession in an open coach pulled by four horses through "massive iron portals" toward the Mississippi legislature, which was bedecked "with a garlanded banner bearing the inscription, 'Welcome Jeff. Davis,'" to address a cheering and thousands-strong crowd.[328] Davis Democrats, after all, had come to dominate the southern Democracy to the point that Radical Whigs who returned to

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Charles J. Faulkner," May 15, 1856, *PJD*, 6:471; "To Charles J. Faulkner," May 22, 1856, *PJD*, 6:474; "From Charles J. Faulkner," August 28, 1856, *PJD*, 6:497; "From Charles J. Faulkner," February 22, 1857, *PJD*, 6:512; and "To Charles J. Faulkner," February 27, 1857, *PJD*, 6:512.

[325] Protests were also held at the Springfield Armory, which had temporarily closed alongside other U.S. arsenals for want of funds. See "To Charles Faulkner," Washington, D.C., August 27, 1856, *PJD*, 6:40; and ibid., 6:41.

[326] "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, November 18, 1861, *JDC*, 5:172.

[327] New York *Tribune*, February 27, 1858.

[328] New York *Times*, June 18, 1858. Davis, for his part, noted in that speech that "such was his reception… that it made the flowers of his youthful memory bloom again." "Speech at Jackson," May 29, 1857, from the Raymond *Hinds Co, Gazette*, June 10, 1857, *PJD*, 6:12.

the fold during the 1850s often had to make ideological concessions to the Mississippian and his followers to be accepted – let alone influential – within the party. Observing that Davis "knows so much more than I do about all military and Army matters," the Radical Whig *cum* Democrat Maryland U.S. senator James Pearce, for instance, allowed – albeit grudgingly – that "[w]e are compelled to have armies. It is a national necessity, and one to be deplored, I think; for although it has been said they are the pillars of the State in war, they are also caterpillars in peace."[329]

Few Radicals dared to offend pro-Bonaparte southern Democrats during the interregnum between the Napoleonic regimes by going so far as to wholly denounce the French Revolution, for even the pioneering slavery-in-the-abstract theorist Thomas Roderick Dew refrained from condemning the initial stages of the French Revolution and spared a some kind words for Napoleon I. An influential College of William and Mary political economist, Dew endorsed the enslavement of whites in the ancient world as a positive good, disparaged scientific racialism, and sympathized with the Tyler Whigs as a champion of Radical state's rights.[330] Yet he and other Anglophile Radicals could argue during the interregnum that even if pro-Bonaparte southern Democrats were not willing to follow them by repudiating *égalité* and *fraternité* in favor of their new pro-slavery versions of evangelical Protestantism and Burkean conservatism, southerners had to come to terms with a world dominated by a cotton-hungry British Empire rather than look back nostalgically at Napoleon I's long-defunct French empire while dreaming of new wars against Britain. Charleston's Hugh Swinton Legaré, for example, was a famous classicist, lawyer, pro-slavery paternalist, and Whig politician of French Huguenot ancestry who nettled Calhoun, championed Radical state's rights, objected to U.S. expansion, and informed

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[329] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Army Appropriation bill. June 2, 1860," *JDC*, 4:389, 391. Pearce, however, stayed loyal to the Union until his death in 1862.

[330] See Thomas R. Dew, "The French Revolution," *Southern Quarterly Review*, vol. 5, no. 9 (January 1844), 1-103. Also see Thomas R. Dew, *A Digest of the Laws, Customs, manners, and Institutions of the Ancient and Modern Nations* (New York: D. Appleton, 1853), 605; and O'Brien, *Conjectures of Order*, 491, 558, 607-09, 612-13, 618.

Congress in 1837 that the U.S. ought to placate Britain, for all other modern powers, including Napoleonic France, "sink into the shades of the deepest eclipse by the side of England."[331] Legaré also famously scorned democratic equality among whites as follows: "The politics of the immortal Jefferson! Pish!"[332] Yet his Swinton ancestry on his mother's side was Scottish. A devotee of British and German Romanticism who defended English common law when South Carolina once considered switching to French-style civil law, Legaré preferred Edinburgh to Paris when travelling in Europe.[333] Southern Whigs and Democrats of the Yazoo Library Association had thus debated the following question merely as a matter of historical interest and vindication in 1838: "Was the career of Napoleon in its consequences a benefit to his country?"[334] But that question became much more politically and ideologically salient during the 1850s as Napoleon III's France moved from one triumph to the next, and Radical Whigs soon found themselves on the defensive. William J. Grayson, for instance, was appointed port collector at Charleston by President Tyler as a Radical Whig, and he sought to advance slavery-in-the-abstract ideas in his 1855 *The Hireling and the Slave*. But expecting a barrage of criticism from the Davis Democrats who had prevailed upon President Pierce to strip him of the lucrative Charleston collectorship, Grayson conceded that "I do not say that Slavery is the best system of labour, but only that it is the best, for the negro, in this country." Affirming that all whites belonged to "a master race" irrespective of ethnicity, he also criticized the treatment of poor

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[331] "Spirit of the Sub-Treasury," in *Writings of Hugh Swinton Legaré*, ed. Mary Swinton Legaré, 2 vols. (Charleston, SC: Burges & James, 1845-46), 1:304.
[332] Quoted in Wilentz, *The Rise of American Democracy*, 375.
[333] See O'Brien, *Conjectures of Order*, 112, 117, 290, 331, 371, 533, 535. Also see Michael O'Brien, *A Character of Hugh Legaré* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1985).
[334] Quoted in O'Brien, *Conjectures of Order*, 423.

whites and especially Irish laborers in the North and Britain while praising Napoleon III's France for its religious tolerance and initiatives to alleviate poverty among destitute French workers.[335]

Grayson's patron John Tyler, after all, more or less became a Davis Democrat after Henry Clay drove him out of the Whig Party. He had a cordial meeting with Davis at a Cincinnati steamboat landing in 1847 when the latter was returning from the capital, and the Virginian would help keep Dew and his fellow Radical Whig professor N. Beverley Tucker in line as a William and Mary Visitor.[336] Having taken pleasure throughout the 1850s impressing slaves owned by Whig neighbors to labor on internal improvements for the Virginia state government even though he was himself a wealthy planter, Tyler was elected to the Confederate Congress as a pro-Davis candidate in 1861 but passed away in early 1862. The Confederate president himself presided over the former U.S. president's funeral, for Tyler had, as Varina Davis put it, often graced the executive "mansion at Richmond" before his death with his "dignified, majestic presence" and young, "beautiful wife."[337] And in 1863 Varina Davis's younger sister Jane Kempe Howell famously married Tyler's grandson Robert, whose daughter had hoisted the first Confederate flag over the capitol at Montgomery in March 1861.[338] Robert Tyler's younger brother John, moreover, was a Confederate officer who became a Davis administration Assistant Secretary of War, and he wrote an influential 1864 *De Bow's Review*

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[335] William J. Grayson, *The Hireling and the Slave*, 2nd ed. (Charleston, SC: John Russell, 1855), viii. See ibid., ix, 28, 87-90. "What gentle rule," Grayson quipped, "in Britain's Isle prevails, / How rare her use of gibbets, stocks, and jails! / How much humane, than a master's whip, / Her penal colony and convict ship!" Ibid., 48. See *Witness to Sorrow: The Antebellum Autobiography of William J. Grayson*, ed., Richard James Calhoun (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1990).

[336] See *PJD*, 2: 133-34, 372; and *PJD*, 3:246. Tyler proudly named his plantation Sherwood Forest to indicate that he had been "outlawed" by the Whig Party. The Confederate government destroyed Sherwood Forest in August 1861, however, to prevent it from being used by approaching U.S. forces as a refuge and school for "contrabands." And it did eventually became a school site for 2,500 black children, most of whom had been born into slavery. See Jordan, *Black Confederates and Afro-Yankees in Civil War Virginia*, 85, 104.

[337] Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 2:36.

[338] See Beringer and Hattaway, *Jefferson Davis, Confederate President*, 40-41.

article urging Radical Confederates to curb their opposition to President Davis and hostility to Napoleon III's France so as to save the Confederacy and hence white supremacy in the South.[339]

Despite his endorsement of the Davis administration, John Tyler found the Confederate government's impressment of over half of his constituents' slaves in August 1861 to be excessive.[340] But his grandson was, to the horror of Confederate Radicals, even willing to sacrifice the institution of slavery if doing so would secure a pro-Confederate French military intervention. Insisting that the British had engineered the war in response to the growing threat posed by "American democracy" to their "monarchical and aristocratical establishment of government," Major John Tyler, Jr. held that while northern Democrats would be oppressed by Britain's Republican abolitionist proxies in the future, Confederates of all varieties would be slaughtered *en masse*, for the Republicans were seeking not just the "emancipation of the negroes of the South, *but… the complete subjugation and political annihilation of the South*." Asserting that "Old England allies with New England in the policy of subverting the institutions of the South," he told Radicals that they would be fools to place their hopes in a British government that was bound to "continue in friendly alliance with the government at Washington," the triumph of which would see "[a]nother century of power and wealth… assured to the British people, and another century vouchsafed to British political institutions." Tyler instead urged them to follow Davis by looking to "Louis Napoleon in the line of recognition and intervention." The French were hostile to slavery, to be sure, but they were, unlike Britain,

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[339] Robert Tyler was a Confederate Treasury official. Another younger brother, Dr. Tazewell Tyler, was a Confederate army surgeon. Tyler's eldest son by his second wife, David Gardiner Tyler, moreover, dropped out of Lynchburg's Washington College to serve as a Confederate soldier. His younger brother John Alexander Tyler also ran away from home at the age of fourteen to join the army. At least his younger brother Lyon Gardiner Tyler, who was born in 1853, did not do the same, but the youngest Tyler scion would restore William and Mary to financial health as the president of that devastated college after the war. See Brugger, *Beverley Tucker*, 138-39.

[340] See "John Tyler and Hill Carter to the Secretary of War," August 26, 1861, in *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, 128 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1880–1901), series I, 4:636 (hereinafter cited as *OR*).

committed to white supremacy, having "already a coolie and modern apprentice system in Algeria." Estimating that Napoleon III now had "fully one hundred thousand men" in Mexico, where his forces had created "a stable government" by re-establishing white rule, the Virginian was convinced that the French had "[p]enetrat[ed] the designs of Great Britain" because "[s]eated upon the throne of this wonderful people is the proudest statesman of modern times, alike thoughtful, reticent and sagacious, and whose ambition it is to re-establish the empire of his illustrious uncle with a wiser forecast and upon principles more enduring." The French emperor, Tyler observed, had "throw[n]… off" British objections to his Mexican policies, and Napoleon III would surely save a pro-French Confederacy from suffering "subjugation, confiscation, and annihilation" at British abolitionist hands. To do so, after all, would be "the master-stroke of policy that shall strike down his hereditary enemies and elevate France to the topmost round of influence and power among the nations." Tyler accordingly hoped that the Radicals would accede to Davis's bid to align the Confederacy with "*the Catholic powers*," all of which France was bringing "*into closer union*" against the pro-abolitionist "Protestant powers." Envisioning an even larger war breaking out between an "Anglo-Saxon alliance" of "New England and Old England on the one side, and… the South, France, and Spain on the other side," he also beseeched the Radicals to cease obstructing Davis's efforts to emulate the Bonapartist example "in the direction of slavery," for a white supremacist Confederate gradual emancipation would allow the "Franco-Mexican army" that "stand[s] in readiness… almost at our doors and within our call, to advance, in conjunction with Confederate forces…." With French forces assisting in "raising the blockade of New Orleans and clearing out the Mississippi…," Tyler explained, "the power of the North will be destroyed, the sceptre of the British lion will be broken, and France will again loom up among the nations of the earth more grandly than she did before… the snows

of Russia enveloped the Grand Army in its icy pall." And when the Republican armies had been destroyed, he added, "the Democratic masses of the North" would rise in revolution and "*everywhere abolition sentiment would expire*," "terminating Black Republican rule, and with that the war between the sections." Northern Democrats, Tyler averred, knew that the "moneyed classes of the North have leagued themselves with Seward and Lincoln to enslave the twenty millions" of working-class white Americans "and prostrate their government" as Anglophile foes to equality among whites, which ideal of the French Revolution "Napoleon Bonaparte, with an analytic power of thought never surpassed," had upheld by rejecting the racial egalitarianism of both the *ancien régime* and the *amis des noirs*; as well as by selling Louisiana to thwart British designs and bolster Democrats similarly committed to white rule and equality among whites.[341]

Major Tyler's article helped sway one of the most famous Radicals, namely, Edmund Ruffin, who had refused to emulate his friend John Tyler during the 1850s by drawing close to the Davis Democrats, whom he continued to scorn as insufficiently pro-slavery, false champions of state's rights, and "demagogues" who advocated equality for even Catholic immigrants.[342] Ruffin, moreover, hoped that Britons would come to realize that southern slavery was much like British aristocratic paternalism, and he would only learn enough French – "never acquiring a correct or grammatical knowledge" – to read "agricultural or scientific articles from French authors."[343] Blasting Davis for building a Confederate polity starkly different from that which he had envisioned in his 1860 *Anticipations of the Future, to Serve as Lessons for the Present Time: In the Form of Extracts of Letters from an English Resident in the United States, to the* London

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[341] John Tyler Jr., "Our Confederate States: Foreign and Domestic," *De Bow's Review*, vol. 34, no. 1 (July and August, 1864), 5, 8-10, 12, 18-21, 23. See ibid., 13-14. The territorial governor of Louisiana, moreover, had once informed President Jefferson that while French forces in Mexico might pose a threat to U.S. independence, they would at least not endanger white supremacy in either Mexico or the South under Napoleon. See "From William C. C. Claiborne," New Orleans, Septr. 1st. 1808, Papers of Thomas Jefferson, Library of Congress.
[342] *Incidents of My Life: Edmund Ruffin's Autobiographical Essays*, ed. David F. Allmendinger, Jr. (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1990), 111. See ibid., 35, 56, 61-62, 149, 170, 245, 251.
[343] Ibid., 30.

Times, *from 1864 to 1870*, he also attributed Britain's unwillingness to recognize the Confederacy to "the imbecility of President Davis."[344] Yet as the forces of Napoleon III, whom he had denounced in 1859 as an "iniquitous tyrant and usurper," poured into Mexico, he began to reluctantly place his hopes not in Britain but rather with "Louis Napoleon's far-seeing mind," for unlike the British, "the Emperor & France are not influenced by anti-slavery fanaticism."[345] "If France would," Ruffin mused, "by intervention, establish a right to exclusive commercial benefits from the Confederate States, it would be perfectly safe (from all danger of Yankeedom making war,) as well as in the highest degree profitable."[346] He was encouraged as well by rumors that the French were planning to directly attack the U.S. Pacific coast so as to "obtain the declaration of independence of California, & a commercial treaty giving great advantages, if not absolute free trade to France."[347] And the old Fire-Eater Radical would even go so far as to second the Davis Democrats *cum* Confederates who "write to me daily that they would rather, by ten thousand times, be the subjects of the Emperor of France, than of Abraham Lincoln."[348]

Major Tyler, however, failed to convince such Radical Confederate ex-Whigs as Missouri's Hugh A. Garland, a protégé of John Randolph who wrote a popular 1851 biography of his mentor in which he praised the Virginian for siding with Britain against Napoleon I's France.[349] Garland allowed that Randolph's enemies within the Democracy had been correct to

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[344] *The Diary of Edmund Ruffin*, ed. William Kauffman Scarborough, vol. 2 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1970), 460. See Edmund Ruffin, *Consequences of Abolition Agitation: From De Bow's Review* (Washington: Lemuel Towers, 1857), 2, 3, 11, 12, 13-14, 25; and Edmund Ruffin, *Anticipations of the Future, to Serve as Lessons for the Present Time: In the Form of Extracts of Letters from an English Resident in the United States, to the* London Times, *from 1864 to 1870* (Richmond: J. W. Randolph, 1860).
[345] Quoted in Fox-Genovese and Genovese, *The Mind of the Master Class*, 699; entry for December 8, 1861, in *The Diary of Edmund Ruffin*, 2:183; and entry for December 21, 1862, in ibid., 2:517.
[346] Entry for December 21, 1862, in ibid., 2:183.
[347] Entry for February 19, 1863, in ibid., 2:582.
[348] *The Diary of Edmund Ruffin*, ed. William Kauffman Scarborough, vol. 3 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1989), 358.
[349] Garland's son grew up in St. Louis after his father moved there from Virginia; he was a captain in a Missouri Confederate regiment and rose to the rank of colonel before perishing in the 1864 Battle of Franklin. See *Guide to Missouri Confederate Units, 1861-1865*, ed. James E. McGhee (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 2008),

claim that New England's "monarchists and tories" were "friends of England" during the War of 1812.[350] Yet he also pointed to "the rapacity of France" under Napoleon, who had been, despite his "humble origin," even more of a threat to the U.S. than Britain, for Bonaparte had supposedly schemed to revoke the Louisiana Purchase and treated the Union as a puppet rather than as a peer or even a protégé.[351] "The crusade of Bonaparte" had indeed sought "the overthrow of those rotten dynasties that sat like a leaden weight on the hearts of the people...," and so it was understandable that "the old partialities for our ancient ally" had been rekindled among Anglophobic Democrats "by the daring exploits and brilliant successes of Napoleon; [and] the secret consciousness that his irresistible power would always be interposed between them and any hostile movements of England...."[352] Yet Garland lamented that more Americans had not heeded Randolph's warnings to fear rather than hail "the rapid strides of Napoleon towards universal conquest," condemning the "young, ardent, [and] ambitious" Calhoun in particular for having "plunged the nation headlong into a ruinous war" on Bonaparte's behalf. The War of 1812, he explained, had seen Randolph's governmental philosophy of "wise abstinence" superseded by Calhoun's consolidation-minded version of state's rights, Britain adopt abolitionism as a justifiable though "vindictive punishment" of the South for backing Calhoun's war of "aggression and conquest," and Napoleon leave the U.S. in the lurch after he "had been conquered by the frosts of Russia, and was an exile on the shores of Elba."[353] Yet Calhoun had still continued down the same ruinous path as one of "the statesmen of Mr. Monroe's administration."[354] Garland accordingly predicted that if southerners were to finally follow

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148; and Bruce S. Allardice, *Confederate Colonels: A Biographical Register* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2008), 158.

[350] Hugh A. Garland, *The Life of John Randolph of Roanoke*, 1:232.

[351] Ibid., 1:221, 1:307. See ibid., 1:146, 1:148-50, 1:154-55, 1:157, 1:194, 1:213, 1:221, 1:262, 1:264, 1:285-87.

[352] Ibid., 1:274, 1:232. See ibid., 1:307.

[353] Ibid., 1:273, 1:306, 1:308, 2:50, 2:73, 2:50. Also see ibid., 1:303, 1:305, 1:308, 2:72, 2:117, 2:131.

[354] Ibid., 2:117.

Randolph by ignoring Calhoun's ideological heirs and the siren songs of Louis-Napoleon's France alike, they would discover that Britain was a magnanimous and "wise nation" that was yearning to jettison abolitionist New England, which was fast becoming an industrial rival to England, in favor of the agricultural South.[355] He therefore hoped without much confidence that "Gallomania" would eventually dissipate along with all sympathy for the "levelling doctrines of the French Revolution" among southern Democrats, so many of whom did not seem to care that English, not French, was the "mother tongue" of the South, the inherited national soul of which was "the indomitable Saxon spirit of England" rather than the "military despotism" of France.[356]

Garland's reservations as to Davis Democrats and French Bonapartists, however, paled in comparison to those of Conscience Whigs. Like their idol the famous historian and pro-abolitionist British Whig politician Thomas B. Macaulay, who had expressed "my horror at his conduct" with reference to Napoleon I in 1815 and was just as averse to Napoleon III, Conscience Whigs abhorred the second French empire and its predominantly Democratic admirers in the Union.[357] Virginia's John M. Botts, for instance, had supported John Quincy Adams in Congress, sided with Henry Clay against his old friend John Tyler, and joined the Know-Nothings as preferable by far to the Democratic "Good for Nothings."[358] An implacable and increasingly pro-abolitionist opponent of the Confederacy who became a Republican after the war, Botts likened the Davis Democrats who ran the Confederate government to the Bonapartists, for they "said, 'Now you can vote for secession or against it, as you choose, *but we advise you to vote for the Emperor*,' as was said in France when Louis Napoleon was voted an

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[355] Ibid., 1:79. See ibid., 1:57, 1:237, 2:139.
[356] Ibid., 1:56, 1:3, 1:276, 1:273.
[357] Quoted in Clive, *Macaulay*, 34. See ibid. 22, 41.
[358] Quoted in William A. Link, *Roots of Secession: Slavery and Politics in Antebellum Virginia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 123. See *The South in the Building of the Nation*, ed. Walter L. Fleming, *et al*., vol. xi (Richmond: The Southern Historical Publication Society, 1909), 104-05.

imperial diadem." Comparing the Democrats of the 1850s to an "army under the lead of the great Napoleon" as well, he exulted in 1866 that the Republican Party had defeated them electorally in the North and militarily in the South. And Botts described Davis as an "unscrupulous despot" because the Confederate president had briefly imprisoned him under martial law in 1862, after which he had been subject to house arrest as a condition of release.[359]

Davis's Democratic Virginian ally James A. Seddon had also narrowly beaten Botts in the congressional elections of 1845 and '49. Seddon went on to become President Davis's longest-serving Secretary of War, in which capacity he would organize the First Foreign Battalion in late 1864 by instructing Confederate prison camp commandants "to prefer Irish and French" volunteers among a thousand or so potential Democratic Catholic U.S. prisoner-of-war recruits.[360] Many of those recruits, moreover, came from the notorious Confederate prison camp at Andersonville, Georgia, a camp which was commanded by the Democratic immigrant Henry Wirz. Born in Switzerland to a German-speaking Protestant family, Wirz became fluent in French and converted to Catholicism after immigrating to Louisiana in 1849. When his arm was shattered by shrapnel at the 1862 Battle of Seven Pines, Davis promoted him to captain and personally tasked him with conveying secret dispatches to Confederate diplomats and agents in France. Upon returning to the Confederacy in 1864, Wirz was promoted to major and placed in charge of Andersonville, where he and the former Spring Hill instructor Father Anselm

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[359] John Minor Botts, *The Great Rebellion; Its Secret History, Rise, Progress and Disastrous Failure* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1866), 210, 98, 379. See ibid., 227. Botts often claimed that the "Democracy was the whole and sole cause" of the war. Quoted in Varon, *Southern Lady, Yankee Spy*, 129.

[360] "James A. Seddon to Robert E. Lee," War Department, Richmond, Va., November 17, 1864, *OR*, series IV, 3:825. There were in fact hardly any French U.S. prisoners of war from whom to recruit but many Irish-Americans. See Lonn, *Foreigners in the Confederacy*, 129-30. Francis Dana of Massachusetts, in contrast, was the progenitor of an influential family in the New England Federalist-to-Republican political tradition, and he had once informed President John Adams that "[i]n my opinion Norfolk and Middlesex are the most antefederal Frenchified Counties in the whole Commonwealth," adding that "I have wished for an opportunity… of suggesting the expediency of something being done under the Alien Act; to rid ourselves of *every* Frenchman not naturalized, and of certain Irishmen, who have been and still are busy in scattering among our people their pestiferous principles." "Francis Dana to John Adams," Cambridge Saturday Eveng. Nov: 3d 1798, Adams Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.

"Hosannah" Usannez eagerly recruited Irish Catholic Democrat prisoners for Confederate service while making Republican captives rend animal byproducts from their scanty rations into useful products for the Confederacy. Having been accused of war crimes by the Union, Wirz was so loyal to Davis that he refused to dodge the death penalty by implicating the former Confederate president in the abuses at Andersonville. Despite or perhaps because of Father Usannez's legal efforts on his behalf, Wirz was executed by the U.S. government in late 1865.[361]

Pro-Bonaparte "Cotton Whigs" who became Prominent Davis Democrats in the 1850s

Thomas S. Grimké resembled his fellow South Carolinian Hugh S. Legaré in that he too had a French surname but did not identify with France, let alone Napoleon III's France. An ardent Protestant Whig who loathed Calhoun and had more German than Huguenot ancestors, Grimké supported the Conscience Whigs of the North rather than the Radical Whigs of the South. Indeed, he was notorious for critiquing democratic white equality, as when he insisted upon innate class and ethnic hierarchies among whites in debates with Jefferson's old Democratic friend Dr. Thomas Cooper, an atypical Englishman who represented British supporters of the French Revolution in France until 1794, immigrated to Pennsylvania, condemned the trans-Atlantic slave trade but justified southern slavery as a means to the end of white rule, and held that all whites within a nation and all white nations were essential equal and equally superior to blacks as the secular-minded and pro-Calhoun president of South Carolina College.[362] Cooper, after all, had admired many of the reforms commenced "under the directions of Buonaparte," argued for "*permanent* protection in favour of our infant manufactures" as a "necessity" for national "protection and defence" against "the malignancy of british competition

[361] See "Major Henry Wirz," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, vol. 27, no. 3 (January 1919), 145-53; *A Frenchman, A Chaplain, and a Rebel*, 187; and Ovid L. Futch, *History of Andersonville Prison*, ed. Michael P. Gary (1968; reprint, Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2011), 60.
[362] See "From Dr. Thomas Cooper," South Carolina College, July 24th 1823, *PJCC*, 8:176.

in our own market," denounced Britain's "modern doctrine of blockade" which had "declar[ed] all the ports of France in a state of blockade in respect of provisions of any kind, brought in the vessels of whatever power," and detested "the haughty sarcastic insulting stile of John Randolph's Phillipics."[363] He moved far closer to the Radicals than did Calhoun during the interregnum as a pro-secession champion of Radical state's rights who toyed with slavery-in-the-abstract ideas, but he and Grimké were both careful not to anger Davis Democrats by endorsing racial equality of any sort.[364] Grimké's famous sisters Sarah and Angelina, in contrast, were driven from South Carolina to the North not so much for criticizing slavery as an institution or insisting that equality among whites should apply to white women, but rather for transmuting their brother's views on inequality among whites into an abolitionist call for racial equality.[365]

Unsurprisingly, the Grimké sisters' racial egalitarianism was met with an equally hostile reception from northern Democrats, but they were disappointed to see their brother Frederick meet with a far warmer reception among northern Whigs in general and cotton Whigs in particular. Frederick Grimké moved of his own volition to Ohio, where he became an influential anti-abolitionist Whig judge who objected to not just immediate emancipation but also racial equality under any circumstance. He also differed from his siblings by regarding the Bonaparte emperors as enlightened military dictators who, despite their demagogic tendencies, stood for both progress and stability in contrast to both the French Left and Right.[366] And Davis was

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[363] "Thomas Cooper to Thomas Jefferson," Northumberland, [Pennsylvania], December 4. 1808, Thomas Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress; and "Thomas Cooper to Thomas Jefferson," Northumberland, [Pennsylvania], August 9th. 1807, Thomas Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress. See O'Brien, *Conjectures of Order*, 698. Also see "Thomas Cooper to Thomas Jefferson," Northumberland, [Pennsylvania], Feb. 5, 1809, Papers of Thomas Jefferson, Library of Congress.

[364] See Ernest M. Lander, Jr., "Dr. Cooper's Views in Retirement," *The South Carolina Historical Magazine*, vol. 54, no. 4 (October 1953), 173-84; and Daniel Kilbride, "Slavery and Utilitarianism: Thomas Cooper and the Mind of the Old South," *The Journal of Southern History*, vol. 59, no. 3 (August 1993), 469-86.

[365] See O'Brien, *op. cit.*, 268-69, 272.

[366] See Frederick Grimké, *The Nature and Tendency of Free Institutions*, ed. John William Ward (1856; reprint, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1968), 282, 360, 498, 555, 657, 688-89.

encouraged by the fact that many other northern Cotton Whigs came to see Bonapartists and his own supporters in a similar light during the 1850s, for while they remained averse to mass democratic equality among whites, they were far more discomfited by Conscience Whigs who would endanger the Union by flirting with abolitionist "immediatism" and racial egalitarianism.

As the Whig Party crumbled, Davis began to hope that many northern "Cotton Whigs" would follow in the footsteps of Pennsylvania's Robert Walsh. A Pennsylvania Federalist whose influential *American Review of History and Politics* had lauded the British for shielding the Union from the tyranny of Napoleon I, Walsh changed his tune after the War of 1812. His famous 1819 *Appeal from the Judgment of Great Britain respecting the United States* excoriated abolitionist Britain for violating all civilized norms by cynically attempting to foment St. Domingue-style slave rebellions within the Union. In 1837, moreover, Walsh moved for reasons of health to France, where he became increasingly sympathetic to both Democrats and Bonapartists as the U.S. Consul General in Paris from 1844-51.[367] Davis's hopes that northern Cotton Whigs would end up as supporters of his within the Democracy due to their lack of a viable political alternative, disenchantment with abolitionist Britain, and growing admiration for Napoleon III's France were also raised by the prestigious Appleton family, one of whose members was Franklin Pierce's wife and Varina Davis's close friend, Jane Means Appleton. Davis also eagerly furnished biographical details of his Federalist *cum* Cotton Whig father-in-law ("an officer in the War of 1812, served on the Canada frontier, Grand Father was an officer in the revolutionary War, subsequently Governor of New Jersey") to the *New American Cyclopaedia* project in 1859 even though he had to correspond with the former New York

[367] See Joseph Eaton, "From Anglophile to Nationalist: Robert Walsh's 'An Appeal from the Judgments of Great Britain,'" *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. 132, no. 2 (April 2008), 141-71.

Tribune correspondent Robert Carter in the process.[368] The *Cyclopaedia*, after all, was being printed by the influential New York City publishing house D. Appleton & Company, which had already issued a multivolume edition of Secretary of War Calhoun's papers as compiled by the War Department clerk Richard K. Crallé, who had been Calhoun's personal secretary and received Secretary of War Davis's blessing for the project in 1853.[369] Indeed, D. Appleton & Company published the first U.S. edition of Louis-Napoleon's *Des idées Napoléoniennes* in 1859; and the book was translated by James Augustus Dorr, an ardent Davis Democrat, Harvard graduate, and New York City lawyer who maintained in his preface that "it is probable that in studying French methods we shall learn many things useful and applicable to ourselves."[370]

Fittingly, the progenitor of the Appleton clan had himself been a Bonaparte sympathizer. A wealthy Boston Federalist merchant whom President John Adams appointed U.S. consul at Florence, Thomas Appleton was willing to serve in that capacity under Jefferson. Informing Secretary of State Madison in 1802 that "the glory of France" had reached new heights thanks "to the fertile imagination of Buonaparte," Appleton explained that "he who now governs an hundred millions of Men with so much Wisdom" had reported the Directory-established Cisalpine Republic, which "never [en]joyed for a moment even the Appearance of liberty" because "[t]he Princes under that form held still the power [and] the means of oppression," with an "Italian Republic" that the masses had "received with universal joy, since it reduces [to] their own level a priviledged [*sic*] order of tyrants." At "the dawn of a free Constitution," moreover, a president had been selected who was "famed for his republican [vir]tues," and the "senators were

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[368] "To [Robert Carter], Senate Chamber, February 9, 1859, *PJD*, 6:240.
[369] See *The Works of John C. Calhoun*, ed. Richard K. Crallé, 6 vols. (New York: D. Appleton & Company, 1854-1857); and *PJD*, 5:239.
[370] Napoleon III, *Napoleonic Ideas*, 6. See *Catalog of the Officers and Students of the University in Cambridge*, ed. Henry Wadsworth Longfellow (Cambridge: Hilliard and Brown, 1829), 18; James Augustus Dorr, *Objections to the Act of Congress, Commonly Called the Fugitive Slave Law Answered, in a letter to Hon. Washington Hunt, Governor Elect of the State of New York* (New York: n.p., 1856); and James Augustus Dorr, *Justice to the South! An Address by James A. Dorr, a Member of the New-York Bar, October 8, 1856* (New York: n.p., 1856).

"acknowledged among the [wa]rmest advocates for Democracy." Yet the new republic was, Appleton elaborated, also acceptable to the Catholic Church thanks to "the high respect shewn of late by the government of france to the church," as well as due to the fact that both "the temporal power" of the Papacy and "the fate of the Kingdom of naples" were now in Napoleon's hands.[371]

The hostility emanating toward the Catholic Church from the atheist Left and Protestant Right was frowned upon by Robert Walsh, who had graduated from Georgetown in 1801, and most other northern Cotton Whigs, but anti-Catholicism was still more off-putting to the southern Cotton Whigs who were becoming "high church" Episcopalians *en masse* and lauding Davis for dismissing Know-Nothing claims regarding anti-U.S. Papal schemes as "a fantastic nothing."[372] The South's Cotton Whigs sympathized with gradual emancipation as heirs to southern Federalism, but they were even more hostile to abolitionist racial equality than to democratic equality among whites. They were hence nearly as averse to Whig Radicals as to Conscience Whigs, abhorring the slavery-in-the-abstract Protestantism, Radical state's rights, and secessionist sympathies of southern Radicals. And when prospects for a Cotton Whig-dominated Whig Party controlling the U.S. dimmed, they began to liaison with Davis Democrats, who were excessively committed to equality among whites in their view but shared their pro-Catholic sympathies, enthusiasm for internal improvements, desire to preserve a Union open to gradual emancipation but committed to white rule, and approbation for Napoleon III's France. Davis, in turn, was eager to welcome them into the Democracy given that "[t]he Southern and Western Whigs are understood to be with us on the War question...." But he made it clear to N.

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[371] "Thomas Appleton to James Madison," Leghorn, 20th: February 1802. R.G. 59, U.S. National Archives and Records Administration. See "Thomas Appleton to Thomas Jefferson," Leghorn 17 Octr 1822, Thomas Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress; and "Florence. – T. Bigelow Lawrence, *Consul General*," September 30, 1862, in *Executive Documents Printed by Order of the House of Representatives, During the Third Session of the Thirty-Seventh Congress, 1862-'63* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1863), 513.
[372] "Speech at Jackson," May 29, 1857, *PJD*, 6:121.

Beverley Tucker that he was only eager to bring Cotton Whigs ("the better caste of that party") into the fold, for both Conscience and, to a lesser degree, Radical Whigs were incompatible "ultras" to be "driven off" rather than welcomed until they made ideological concessions.[373]

Cotton Whigs were to be found throughout the 1850s South, and many of them did in fact become Davis Democrats – and then pro-Davis Confederates.[374] Henry Johnson, for instance, moved in 1809 from Virginia to Louisiana, where he lavishly welcomed the visiting Marquis de La Fayette as governor from 1824-28. A "high church" Episcopalian, Johnson became a Whig congressman and U.S. senator, but he joined the Democrats when Davis's pro-internal improvements faction rose to power within the Democracy even as Conscience Whigs drew closer to the "abolishionests [*sic*]."[375] He thus wrote to Davis in 1854 declaring that he wanted his son to have the "discipline" of a Catholic education by sending him "to the Catholick [*sic*] College of George Town D. C.... having understood it was an excellent school I was actuated in doing so, as preparatory to his entering the Military academy at West Point."[376] When the forces of Napoleon III and Pius IX routed Garibaldi's army at the 1867 Battle of Mentana, moreover, one company of Papal Zouaves was led by Henry Bentivoglio Van Ness Middleton of Charleston. Middleton was born in 1843, began his education at Charleston's Citadel military academy, and completed his studies in Paris, where he followed in the footsteps of his southern Federalist namesake Henry Middleton, who had studied at Napoleon I's Lycée Imperiale from

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[373] "To Beverley Tucker," Washington, April 12, 1848, *JDC*, 1:180.

[374] Father Gache was accordingly pleased to be invited to temporarily minister to the Confederacy's 5th Louisiana Infantry, a "predominantly Protestant regiment" with an Irish contingent. His "sermon was well received, and the Protestant preacher and colonel vied with one another in making me welcome. "Louis-Hippolyte Gache to Philip de Carrière," Camp Magruder near Williamsburg, September 11, 1861, in *A Frenchman, A Chaplain, A Rebel*, 48.

[375] "Henry Johnson to Jefferson Davis," Lake Washington, October 20, 1854, *JDC*, 2:386. Governor Johnson founded the Louisiana State Bank and Lousiana's Internal Improvement Board. Johnson also warned Davis in that "*the late elections are ominous of a dissolution of the union, and it is now needless for any true Southern man to go for the union – but to go at once for a separation and a final one*...," and he went on to become a strong supporter of the Davis administration until his death in 1864. Ibid., 2:386. See Joseph G. Tregle, Jr., "Henry S. Johnson," in *The Louisiana Governors: From Iberville to Edwards*, ed. Joseph G. Dawson (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1990), 98-103.

[376] "Henry Johnson to Jefferson Davis," Lake Washington, October 20, 1854, *JDC*, 2:386.

1805-09. Having converted to Catholicism and gallantly served the Confederacy as a cavalry lieutenant, he moved to Italy in 1866 and married into the family of the future Pope Leo XIII.[377]

Cotton Whigs *cum* Davis Democrats, however, were especially prevalent in Virginia, where their influence in elite social circles was inadvertently bolstered by N. Beverley Tucker, who recruited Charles Minnigerode to teach at William and Mary. Minnigerode had become notorious in Philadelphia among his fellow German-American immigrant Lutherans as an Episcopalian convert who praised slavery, and Tucker hoped that he would preach Radical pro-slavery Protestantism with a strong dose of German Romanticism in Virginia. But he instead taught "high church" Episcopalian doctrines which pleased Cotton Whigs and Davis Democrats more than Radicals. Unbeknownst to Tucker, the young Minnigerode had idealized Napoleon I's Kingdom of Westphalia, which had been ruled by Jerome Bonaparte under a model constitution, abolished serfdom, and granted equal rights to Catholics, Protestants, and Jews. Despite the heroic feats of Bonaparte's Westphalian troops, Prussia conquered the kingdom in 1815 and expelled Minnigerode for Bonapartist-inflected revolutionary activity in 1839. Minnigerode eventually become the rector of Richmond's prestigious St. Paul's Episcopal Church, in which capacity he presided over the 1858 re-burial of James Monroe and extended a rather cold welcome to the Prince of Wales when the future British monarch deigned to visit the Old Dominionin 1860. In contrast, he informed his communicant the Confederate president in February 1862 that "[y]our whole course has impressed me," and that "I look upon you as God's chosen instrument."[378] He also convinced Davis to finally undergo baptism in May at St. Paul's by suggesting that doing so along "high church" Episcopalian rather than Catholic lines would still appeal to Napoleon III's France and Catholic northern Democrats without alienating

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[377] See O'Brien, *Conjectures of Order*, 92-93, 95; and Coulombe, *The Pope's Legion*, 108.
[378] "Charles Minnigerode to Jefferson Davis," Richmond, February 18, 1862, *JDC*, 5:194.

Confederates who subscribed to one variety of another of pro-slavery Protestantism, for Davis's harsh critic the Radical newspaperman John Moncure Daniel had been excoriating the Confederate president for "telling his beads," and Edmund Ruffin was airing suspicions that Davis was a kind of crypto-Catholic.[379] Yet Minnigerode administered communion to an imprisoned Davis at Fort Monroe anyway, accompanying him upon his 1867 release as well.[380]

Thanks in no small measure to Minnigerode, Father Gache would be pleasantly surprised to learn in 1861 upon coming to overwhelmingly Anglo-Protestant Virginia for the first time as a Confederate chaplain that the Old Dominion not only contained more Catholics than he had expected but was also full of Francophile Protestants who were so friendly to Catholics as to be on the verge of conversion.[381] He was thus even more pleased to meet a young French-speaking couple of Anglo-Catholic converts by William and Mary than he was to say a mass in Norfolk on one occasion for "more than thirty [immigrant] Frenchmen… (and all of them practicing Catholics too!)" Upon conducting a funeral for the Spring Hill graduate and French-Catholic Confederate lieutenant Michel Prud'homme at Williamsburg in November 1861, he also observed with both pride and irony that "[t]his was probably the first time the city of King William of Orange ever witnessed a Catholic priest, fully vested in cassock, surplice and stole, walking in procession down its historic streets." Even though Lieutenant Prud'homme had contracted typhus, he had been cared for by the family of Albert Gallatin Southall, a printer and former ward of John Tyler's who let Father Gache say mass in his home, using the piano for an altar. Southall's wife and daughters attended dressed "in their Sunday best" ("[i]ndeed, one

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[379] Richmond *Examiner*, February 17, 1862. See *The Diary of Edmund Ruffin*, ed. Scarborough, 2:460.

[380] See ibid., 5:194; Samuel Phillips Day, *Down South: Or, An Englishman's Experience at the Seat of the American War*, 2 vols. (London: Hearst and Blackett, 1862), 71; *Sermons by the Reverend Charles Minnigerode, D. D., Rector of St. Paul's Cathedral, Richmond, VA* (Richmond: Woodhouse & Parham, 1880); Lonn, *Foreigners in the Confederacy*, 318-19; Rose, *Victorian America and the Civil War*, 61; and Cooper, Jr., *Jefferson Davis, American*, 387-88, 417.

[381] See "Louis-Hippolyte Gache to Father D. Yenni, S.J.," Camp Lee's Mill, November 22, 1861, in *A Frenchman, A Chaplain, A Rebel*, 62-63, 66.

would think from their respectful attention that they were model students of the Madames of the Sacred Heart"), but when Father Gache gave a holy card to one of the Southall girls at her request, he feared that it "would prove offensive to the Episcopalian sensibilities of the parents." They told her to cherish the card forever instead, firing his hopes that they would all "become Catholics" in the end.[382] Southall's sons Travis and Tyler, moreover, were arrested in Washington, D.C. as suspected spies when the war broke out. Travis Southall managed to escape and joined the 3rd Virginia Cavalry, but he was soon incarcerated as a suspected U.S. spy in North Carolina. Confederate congressman John Tyler, however, explained the situation on Southall's behalf to President Davis, who released the Catholic-friendly Confederate soldier.[383]

Quite a few southern Cotton Whigs disappointed Davis in 1860 by spurning Breckinridge to support a new electoral alliance with their northern counterparts called the Constitutional Union Party. The influential northern Cotton Whig columnist Charles A. Davis, after all, had assured Davis in 1855 that he would back "a sound *National democracy*" if necessary to ensure that "this black republican party and *all its branches*" were "for ever" destroyed, insisting that "I have a personal regard and respect for all the members of the present administration who I have the honor to know...."[384] But the new party collapsed after its members failed to induce the Republicans to accept constitutional amendments conciliatory enough to bring Davis Democrats back from the brink of secession in early 1861. The Constitutional Union Party's southern Cotton Whigs and Radical members who feared that disunion would endanger rather than save slavery usually endorsed secession at that point, reluctantly joining the southern Cotton Whigs who had become *de facto* or even *de jure* Davis Democrats during the 1850s and would prove to be some of the Confederate president's most loyal, effective, and Bonaparte-friendly supporters.

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[382] Ibid., 63, 68-70. See ibid., 60-61.
[383] See *A Frenchman, A Chaplain, A Rebel*, 80-81.
[384] "Charles A. Davis (Major Jack Downing) to Jefferson Davis," New York, October 31, 1855, *JDC*, 2:545.

Like his original Democratic followers within the Confederacy, Davis's Cotton Whig *cum* Democrat allies sought to model the Confederate armies and navies after French models, hoping to secure Napoleon III's military intervention as well by urging Confederate Radicals to accede to gradual emancipation under Confederate terms of sustained white rule. Alfred Cabell Rives, for instance, was a member of one of Virginia's most prominent families and served as President Jackson's minister to France from 1829-33. He returned in that capacity in 1848 as a Taylor-appointee who was averse to Whigs of both the Radical and Conscience variety, but he was removed by President Pierce anyway in favor of John Y. Mason. His Paris-born son Alfred Landon Rives built upon his Virginia Military Institute education in an elite French engineering academy. He declined an offer to help build France's grand "Du Nord" railroad in 1854 to design railroads in Virginia, after which he worked under Montgomery Meigs renovating the U.S. capital and later selected the location for Cabin John Bridge as President Pierce's secretary of the interior. Colonel Rives went on to become the commander of the Confederate Engineer Bureau, which would apply his French engineering techniques throughout the Confederacy. And he spent his last years helping Ferdinand des Lesseps design a Panamanian transoceanic canal.[385]

Virginia's John M. Brooke, moreover, was son to the Federalist U.S. army colonel and eventual brigadier general George Mercer Brooke, who fought the British in the War of 1812 and the Seminoles under Andrew Jackson but harbored hostile suspicions toward the French even after Napoleon I's downfall, passing away as a "low church" Episcopalian Cotton Whig in 1851.[386] Indeed, Colonel Brooke had once publicly opposed Secretary of War Calhoun's

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[385] See *Encyclopedia of Virginia Biography*, ed. Lyon Gardiner Tyler, vol. 3 (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, 1915), 167-68; and Allardice, *Confederate Colonels*, 324.

[386] See James W. Covington, "The Establishment of Fort Brooke: The Beginning of Tampa, *The Florida Historical Quarterly*, vol. 31, no. 4 (April 1953), 273-78. Brooke, for instance, claimed that French merchants were smuggling manufactured goods into Pensacola to buy discounted cotton and skirt the U.S. tariff. See "From Edmund P. Gaines," Moultrieville, S.C., January 3rd 1821, *PJCC*, 5:527.

directive to cease flogging U.S. army soldiers for disciplinary purposes, during which controversy the War of 1812 hero Edmund P. Gaines urged Calhoun to cite Napoleon's example in support of the policy change. "The Cats, and the Rattan," Gaines observed in an 1820 letter, "have long been applied very freely to the British soldiery…. In France, however, this mode of punishment was not in use, to any considerable extent, at a time when that Nation achieved great and brilliant conquests over the armies of all the rest of Europe most celebrated for their discipline." Calling for the Union to "adopt the French systems of discipline during that period," Gaines insisted that the elimination of flogging would not only improve order in the U.S. army, but also raise morale among the soldiers by vindicating the quintessential American principle of equality among whites, for the flogging of whites "strike[s] at the vitals of our… national character." Louis XVIII, after all, had immediately re-instituted flogging in the French army.[387]

Yet when the young Brooke, Jr. expressed a desire to enter the Democrat-dominated U.S. navy in 1841, his father acquiesced while informing him "how necessary it will be, for you, to understand & speak the French and Spanish languages...."[388] He soon became fairly fluent in French through self-study as a result, having picked up a smattering as a boy from an old Bonapartist soldier who regaled him with tales of Napoleon campaigns as his *de facto* guardian and tutor at Ford Howard on the northwestern frontier. Brooke received an immediate appointment to the rank of acting midshipman thanks to an 1841 war scare with Britain. Serving onboard the U.S.S. *Cyane*, he and his fellow sailors confronted British warships off the Chilean coast in 1842 but always received a warm welcome at Valparaiso's Marine Hotel, which was run by a French immigrant. Brooke, moreover, was transferred later that year to Commodore Thomas ap Catesby Jones's *United States*, on which vessel he was happy to obey orders to

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[387] "From Edmund P. Gaines," Moultrieville, S.C., December 11th 1820, *PJCC*, 5:475, 477.
[388] Quoted in Brooke, Jr, *John M. Brooke*, 14.

thwart actual or perceived British schemes by taking over Matamoros and promptly sailing for Hawaii to foil Lord George Paulet even though Jones was acting solely on his own initiative.[389]

Brooke soon perfected his French at the U.S. Naval Academy thanks to Arsène Napoleon Girault, whose arms-manufacturing father had been devoted to Napoleon I and fallen into poverty after the Battle of Waterloo thanks to the antipathy of Louis XVIII. Girault immigrated to Philadelphia in the mid-1820s at the invitation of Joseph Bonaparte, who sold him some land in New Jersey to establish a girl's school specializing in French, for which purpose Girault wrote his *Vie de George Washington*.[390] Unfortunately for both Bonaparte and Girault, the school was a financial failure, and Girault joined the faculty of the new U.S. Naval Academy in 1845 as the French instructor.[391] Brooke also studied mathematics and navigation there under the celebrated French-American Catholic scientist William Chauvenet, who had risen to prominence as an instructor at Philadelphia's Girard College. That institution denied admission to all but "poor male white orphan children" until the late 1960s per the will of its founder Stephen Girard, a French captain who settled at Philadelphia in 1776 after his merchant ship was bottled up there by the Royal Navy.[392] He was also a friend of the U.S. consul at Marseilles Stephen Cathalan, Jr., who exclaimed in an 1804 letter to Jefferson that "Napoleon will soon or late humble The English; he is indeed a wonderfull man!"[393] Girard became a rich Democratic merchant who

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[389] See Brooke, Jr, *John M. Brooke*, 6-7, 9, 13-15, 17.

[390] See A. N. Girault, Vie de George Washington. Pris de l'anglais, et dédié a la jeunesse américaine, 4th ed. (Philadelphia: Henry Perkins, 1836).

[391] Girault even named one of his sons Joseph Bonaparte Girault. See William P. Leeman, *The Long Road to Annapoolis: The Founding of the Naval Academy and the Emerging American Republic* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 214. Also see A. N. Girault, *The French Student's Manual; or, Colloquial and Grammatical Exercises, Intended to Impart to the Student Both a Theoretical and Practical Knowledge of the French Language* (Philadelphia: Henry Perkins, 1848).

[392] "The Will of the Late Stephen Girard, Esq.," in Stephen Simpson, *Biography of Stephen Girard, with his Will Affixed* (Philadelphia: Thomas L. Bonsal, 1832), 11.

[393] "Stephen Cathalan, Jr. to Thomas Jefferson," Marseilles 4th. January 1806, Coolidge Collection, Massachusetts Historical Society. See "Stephen Cathalan, Jr. to Thomas Jefferson," Marseilles 4th. January 1806, Coolidge Collection, Massachusetts Historical Society; and "Thomas Paine to Thomas Jefferson," New Rochelle N.Y. Janry 30 '06, Papers of Thomas Jefferson, Library of Congress.

helped saved the U.S. from fiscal ruin during the War of 1812, and his biographer called him "the *Napoleon* of the monied world" in 1832, for unlike "the common mass of rich men," he used his wealth to help poor whites.[394] Girard College, moreover, was a very Catholic-friendly institution because President Pierce's postmaster general James Campbell was a school trustee and sent students there from Philadelphia's Saint Joseph's Orphan Asylum, of which he was the vice-president. Chauvenet, for his part, sat the Civil War out as the chancellor of Washington University in St. Louis, where he would help design the first bridge spanning the Mississippi.[395]

Pressured in 1849 by his family to wed his distant relation Elizabeth "Lizzie" Garnett, Brooke ended up in an unhappy marriage because he and his wife bickered over politics and ideology, for she was a pro-secession Virginia Radical who was anti-Catholic, dedicated to hierarchy among whites, and committed to slavery-in-the-abstract. Brooke, in contrast, would endorse secession only if northerners were to repudiate not just slavery but also white supremacy. A fervent "low-chuch" Episcopalian, Lizzie Garnett also pestered her secular-minded husband to become a devout Protestant, and she was horrified when he befriended the nephew of a Catholic bishop while serving upon the rather ironically-named coastal survey ship *Legaré* in 1849. As her health failed in 1860, she even told him the following with regard to their daughter: "[a]bove all bring Anna up a Christian never let her be subjected to Roman Catholic influence...." Garnett, moreover, had applauded the Kingdom of Naples's notoriously cruel champion of hierarchy among whites "King Bomba." After King Bomba fired upon U.S. sailors mingling with a crowd of revolutionaries in Messina, however, Brooke wrote the following to her in 1848 from a U.S. navy warship patrolling the Mediterranean: "I think the

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[394] Simpson, *Biography of Stephen Girard, with his Will Affixed*, 13.
[395] See F. P. Matz, "Biography: William Chauvenet," *The American Mathematical Monthly*, vol. 2, no. 2 (February 1895), 33-37; Wm. H. Roever, "William Chauvenet," *Science*, vol. 64, no. 1645 (July 9, 1926), 23-28; Brooke, Jr., *John M. Brooke*, 8, 21-22, 24; and George Wilson, *Stephen Girard: America's First Tycoon* (Cambridge, MA: De Capo Press, 1995).

people would do right if they hung the King and his advisers at the palace door… thus establishing the rights which these tyrants withold [*sic*] from them." Venerating slavery as a divine institution, Garnett also viewed blacks as child-like pets and deplored white supremacists like her husband who disdained slavery but regarded blacks as brutes. Writing to her from the U.S. Africa Squadron's *Porpoise* in 1850, Brooke asserted that blacks were "naturally inferior and as a race can not arrive at anything like the perfection of government or civilization at least in this era of the world. What they will become in the course of 1 000 000 000 000 000 years I could not say though perhaps they will change somewhat." His wife, however, was far more appalled by his belief that blacks were undeserving of indulgent treatment from whites as vicious savages. After gawking at the imprisoned African king Quacco Acco, who had nailed his mother and sister to his palace's walls, Brooke declared in his journal that "I should really experience pleasure in seeing him hanged." He hoped that the U.S. navy would ultimately suppress the African slave trade as well, although certainly not in conjunction with the black-friendly British; and he preferred to hire rather than purchase slaves when home in Virginia. Slavery, indeed, was, in his view, a curse which Africa had inflicted along with blacks themselves upon America, for "of all associations I think that of kidnapping prejudices me most against Africa."[396]

In 1853, Brooke was assigned to the U.S.S. *Fenimore Cooper*, the namesake of which had ironically been a New England Federalist, to carry out President Pierce's directive to challenge Britain in the process of vastly expanding the U.S. navy's global presence. Brooke's ship and its fellow U.S. navy vessels were thus the first Union warships to visit Australia in eleven years. Receiving a cold reception from the British authorities, Brooke and his compatriots made their sympathy for the Irish convict laborers there clear in the name of equality

[396] Quoted in Brooke, Jr., *John M. Brooke*, 223, 32, 45, 44, 45. See 31-32, 37, 40, 43-46, 48, 85, 95, 137, 225-26. Brooke also conducted mesmeric experiments upon a mulatto steward named Nathaniel Bishop. See ibid., 29.

among whites. Brooke, too, informed his wife that he visited "the French Cafe" in Sydney to "smoke a *segar*." Having visited a Sydney Jewish family as well, he noted in his journal that "I do like the Jews more and more." As the commander of a contingent of civilian scientists on the *Fenimore Cooper*, the mission of which was to map the western Pacific's coasts, Brooke also took astronomical observations at Commodore Perry's coal depot on Okinawa after his ship and the *Vincennes* landed fifty sailors and marines to intimidate an unfriendly Japanese governor. "[T]he sight of a revolver," he remarked in an early 1855 journal entry, "produces excellent effects." Brooke, after all, subscribed to the standard French racial theories, deeming the eastern Asians he encountered ranging from Hong Kong Chinese to Chukchi nomads in Kamchatka inferior to whites yet far superior to blacks in terms of both mental capacity and temperament.[397]

Returning to Washington, D.C. on the *Star of the West* by way of Nicaragua in 1856, Brooke was next tasked with selecting a model for five new shallow-draft steam-powered war sloops. He also helped design coastal fortifications and naval installations from Norfolk to Pensacola, for Pierce administration officials claimed that the South had not received a fair share of military infrastructure. When the Navy Department convinced the Georgia legislature to sell part of Blythe Island to the U.S. government to build a naval depot, moreover, Brooke called for the purchase of the entire island in 1857 to thwart "the extortion of land owners."[398] He also correctly predicted that the Newfoundland-to-Ireland telegraph cable undertaken by Samuel F. B. Morse in conjunction with the British-dominated Atlantic Telegraph company would prove a failure. Brooke, too, blasted Morse for collaborating with the British in the Democratic New York *Herald*, echoing Davis's fears as to the cable enhancing British "political influence" within

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[397] Quoted in ibid., 53, 91, 107. See ibid., 76-78, 88, 90, 97, 103-06, 117, 124, 130, 186. Caleb Cushing, for his part, came to a similar conclusion after President Tyler made him the first U.S. ambassador to China. See *PJD*, 5:32. Also see "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the naval appropriation bill. June 18, 1860," *JDC*, 4:527.
[398] Quoted in Brooke, Jr., *John M. Brooke*, 140.

the Union. Morse, after all, was a Know-Nothing son to a New England Federalist minister.[399] Brooke therefore urged Davis Democrats to champion the creation of a U.S. government-controlled cable that would be free of Britain's influence and might well terminate in France.[400]

With the strong support of Davis's ally the Democratic California U.S. senator William M. Gwin, Brooke took the *Fenimore Cooper* on another Pacific mission with several former William Walker filibusters among his crew in 1858 to locate guano islands, survey the Japanese coast, and find coal depot sites. Britain and France were competing for influence in Hawaii by that point, with each power keeping at least one warship at Honolulu at all times; and when the *Fenimore Cooper* arrived there in poor condition in late 1858, the French *Eurydice* leapt out of the harbor to make "offers of service." The captain of the British *Calyso*, however, was distinctly "cool" and unhelpful. President Fillmore, after all, had denounced Napoleon III for ostensibly violating the Monroe Doctrine by sending French warships to Hawaii. Davis, in contrast, welcomed the French presence in the Pacific as a blow to British power, celebrating the fact that France's ability to "fit out expeditions of great magnitude to operate on a distant enemy" was now at least equal to Britain's.[401] He hence ordered a reluctant John E. Wool to allow the soldiers under his command at San Francisco to return salutes offered by French warships as an "exchange of national courtesy."[402] Brooke, for his part, struck up an hours-long conversation pertaining to naval scientific equipment with the "polite" and "kind" Captain Pichou of the

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[399] See Humphrey J. Desmond, *The Know-Nothing Party: A Sketch* (Washington, D.C.: The New Century Press, 1904), 23; and James K. Morse, *Jedidiah Morse: A Champion of New England Orthodoxy* (Brooklyn, NY: AMS Press, 1939). Also see New York *Herald*, May 13, 1857; John M. Brooke, "Failure to Lay the Atlantic Telegraph Cable," *U.S. Nautical Magazine*, vol. 6 (September 1857), 464-71; and "Speech of Jefferson Davis at State Fair at Augusta, Me.," from the *Eastern Argus*, September 29, 1858, *JDC*, 3:312. The U.S. army engineer Henry W. Benham, moreover, warned Secretary of War Davis that Morse's Atlantic cable would endanger U.S. national security as a conduit for British propaganda and espionage even as he endorsed the building of a suspension bridge at Niagara for military purposes. See "From Henry W. Benham," Boston, January 6, 1857, *PJD*, 6:527-28.
[400] See Brooke, Jr., *John M. Brooke*, 134, 139-41, 148, 151, 153-54.
[401] "To Franklin Pierce," War Dept Dec 1, 1856, *PJD*, 6:77. See "Speech at Philadelphia," July 12, 1853, *PJD*, 5:30.
[402] See *PJD*, 5:452. Also see ibid., 6:543.

Eurydice. In the Hawaiian capital, moreover, he befriended the famous former U.S. navy surgeon, explorer, *de facto* diplomat, and anti-flogging advocate Charles Fleury Bien-aimé Guilloû, who was running the U.S. Seaman's Hospital in Honolulu and agreed with Brooke that white sailors were degraded and demoralized by the lash. Guilloû belonged to a Catholic family of St. Domingue sugar planters who had escaped the massive slave rebellion there by fleeing to Philadelphia, and he became a U.S. navy surgeon in 1837. Having served on an Antarctic exploration voyage as well as a diplomatic mission to China from the early-to-mid 1840s, Guilloû treated Pius IX for sea-sickness in 1849 when the pontiff visited the U.S.S. *Constitution* as it cruised the Mediterranean, marking the first time a pope ever set foot upon U.S. "soil." A grateful Pius IX bestowed rosaries and medallions upon Guilloû and other *Constitution* crewmembers, whom Conscience Whigs soon accused of violating U.S. neutrality in the war then raging between Garibaldi's Roman Republic and Pius IX's protector President Bonaparte.[403]

Brooke's fondness for Guilloû increased all the more when Congressional Republicans refused to support the claim he staked on behalf of the U.S. for the guano island known as French Frigate Shoal, and his Anglophobia reached new heights when he encountered a well-to-do British abolitionist missionary in Hong Kong named Mrs. McGrath, who had established an orphanage for Chinese Protestants. "She seems to rely implicitly upon Mrs. Stowe's cabin," he informed his wife in an 1859 letter, "and pitched into me unmercifully about darkies." Brooke had "laughed at some of her notions" and told her "the fact is I am bored by these English notions about slaves," for the French-led racial sciences had, in his view, discredited racially egalitarian British abolitionism. Brooke hence informed the Briton that the true atrocity was

[403] Quoted in Brooke, Jr., *John M. Brooke*, 169. See ibid., 167-69; New York *Times*, January 3, 1899; and Harold D. Langley, "An American Surgeon and his Papal Patient: Notes from the Papers of Charles Fleury Bien-aime Guillou," *Fugitive Leaves from the Historical Collections / Library of the College of Physicians of Philadelphia*, vol. 9, no. 2 (February 1994), 5-8.

inequality among whites in Britain: "I had read that when a committee was appointed by Parliament to investigate the condition of the miners in England that they found underground people twelve years of age that did not know what the word God or Creator meant. The English have the most extraordinary notions about slavery." Brooke, in contrast, delighted in the company of the young Spanish colonel of engineers and governor of Guam Don Felipe de la Corte, befriending as well two scientific-minded French Catholic missionary priests who resided at Okinawa in a home which had recently been built for them by the French navy. They all concurred that southern slavery was commendably mild though still inherently atavistic, and they all scorned British abolitionist views toward non-whites and especially blacks as unscientific.[404]

Despite obstruction from local samurai warlords hostile to the modernizing initiatives of the Shogun's pro-French government, Brooke was able to survey much of the Japanese coast. He also befriended the New York City merchant Townsend Harris, whom President Pierce had appointed as the first U.S. Consul General for Japan in 1856. Harris informed Brooke that the British were striving to wrest Japan from both France and the U.S. so as to re-assert control over the Sea of Japan, and he encouraged Brooke to accompany the first official Japanese delegation to Washington, D.C. to help thwart Britain's plans. Fearing that Japan would be lost to the U.S. as an anti-British client state and future cotton export market, Brooke assented to Harris's plan. The Japanese, however, insisted upon escorting their diplomats, who were travelling on the powerful U.S. steam frigate *Powhatan*, across the Pacific with their own relatively primitive warship. The *Karin Maru* managed to complete the first Japanese trans-Pacific voyage thanks in part to Brooke, who commented in a February 1860 journal entry that "I am astonished at the intelligence of these people." Brooke showed the Japanese delegates shipyards, ironworks, fortifications, and the U.S. branch mint at San Francisco. After travelling through Central

[404] Quoted in Brooke, Jr., *John M. Brooke*, 180. See ibid., 171, 175, 178, 184-84.

America to reach Washington, D.C., the Japanese envoys put the finishing touches to the Treaty of Yedo, which would allow U.S. citizens to reside in Japan's principal cities by the mid-1860s. They also lavished presents upon such prominent U.S. senators as Jefferson Davis, who had already received a small Japanese dog named Bonin from President Pierce as a gift in 1854.[405]

Brooke's more or less optimistic hopes for the future foundered, however, when the Buchanan administration removed Guilloû on corruption charges and the Republicans won the 1860 election. He offered his sword to the Confederacy with a heavy heart, and the Confederate Navy Department appointed him to a board to design a naval uniform in the autumn of 1861 after Davis selected the colors. Yet more important were the May 1861 letters he wrote to convince leading Confederates to adopt the *jeune école* naval strategy, suggesting as well that "an iron plated ship might be purchased in France loaded with arms and brought into port in spite of the wooden blockade." Davis, for his part, needed little convincing. He had expressed an interest in "submarine armor" while serving as the acting Secretary of the Navy in 1853, and he had declared in 1858 that he wanted to see the hulls of U.S. ships in the future "changed from wood to iron."[406] He had also called in 1856 for the Union to build iron-armored floating batteries as pioneered by the French during the Crimean War, and the Confederacy would field such a battery at Charleston in early 1861.[407] After his Navy Department submitted a May report to the Confederate Congress arguing that the Confederacy should not even try to build wooden

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[405] Quoted in ibid., 201. See Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 1:568; and Brooke, Jr., *John M. Brooke*, 196-97, 199, 200, 202, 213, 217. Also see *The Complete Journal of Townsend Harris: First American Consul General and Minister to Japan*, ed. Mario Emilio Cosenza (New York: Doubleday, Doran & Company, 1930). Bonin was one of the Japanese curiosities which Commodore Perry brought back to the Union. Davis left Bonin with a trusted friend in the capital after resigning from the Senate in 1861, but Bonin died upon being fed too many "dainties" by a crowd at a D.C. fair that learned Davis was the dog's owner. Varina Davis, *op. cit.*, 1:543.

[406] "To Thomas F. Wells & John E. Gowan," June 2, 1853, *PJD*, 5:212; and "Speech of Jefferson Davis at the Portland Convention. August 24, 1858," *JDC*, 3:288. Davis had also asserted in June 1858 that "iron steamers" would be requisite in the future. "Remarks on an Appropriation for Warships," June 7, 1858, *PJD*, 6:186.

[407] See *PJD*, 6:450. Also see "To Edouard Stoeckl," War Department, Washington, D.C., May 14, 1855, *PJD*, 5:106. The Confederates, moreover, built a shore battery at Charleston protected by angled railroad iron in 1861. See Brooke, Jr., *op. cit.*, 234.

warships because it lacked the expertise to do so, and because such warships were obsolete anyway due to Paixhans guns, Davis secured a $2 million appropriation to buy "one or two war steamers of the most modern and improved description" in France, where he had already sent Lieutenant James H. North to purchase *Gloire*-class ironclads.[408] And when the Confederate Congress authorized him to build as many ironclads as possible in the spring of 1862, he gave the navy priority access to iron which had been newly produced or "seized" through impressment to build the vessels, of which a dozen were underway across the Confederacy by May 1862.[409] The Confederates managed to construct several dozen ironclads, and their "large class of iron boatmen" came to dwarf their complement of "ordinary seamen," but they never had enough iron to build as many ironclads as Davis wished, let alone engines sufficiently powerful to field oceangoing rather than coastal or river-bound ironclads.[410] When a number of Mississippi women urged him in August 1862 to "encourage the ladies of Mississippi to build a gun boat," he accordingly lauded their patriotism even as he regrettably notified them that "[t]he difficulty of getting Engines and iron for armor would render the prompt completion very difficult."[411]

The first Confederate ironclad, the C.S.S. *Virginia*, was built in 1861 at Norfolk's Gosport Navy Yard, which was commanded by Maryland's French Forrest, a Mexican War hero who had "humbled the pride of England and disputed with her the sovereignty of the seas" under

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[408] Quoted in Brooke, Jr., *John M. Brooke*, 231. See ibid., 231-32, 239. See "From Stephen R. Mallory," February 27, 1862, *PJD*, 8:66; and William N. Still, Jr., "Confederate Naval Strategy: The Ironclad," *The Journal of Southern History*, vol. 27, no. 3 (August 1961), 330-43.

[409] "Jefferson Davis to Messrs. Hiram Roberts and others, Savannah, Ga.," Richmond, July 31, 1862, *JDC*, 5:205. See "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, February 25, 1862, *JDC*, 5:205; "Jefferson Davis to Govr. Moore of La., New Orleans, La.," "Telegram," Richmond, April 24, 1862, *JDC*, 5:235; "Jefferson Davis to Brig. Genl. M. L. Smith," Vicksburg, Miss.," "Telegram," Richmond, June 14, 1862, *JDC*, 5:278; "Jefferson Davis to Mrs. Davis," Richmond, July 6, 1862, *JDC*, 5:291; "Jefferson Davis to General E. K. Smith," Richmond, July 14, 1863, *JDC*, 5:553-54; and Brooke, Jr., *John M. Brooke*, 255-56.

[410] "Jefferson Davis to Govr. J. J. Pettus, Jackson, Miss.," "Telegram," Richmond, July 22, 1862, *JDC*, 5:296.

[411] "From Columbus, Miss., Women," August 19, 1862, *PJD*, 8:348. Quoted in *PJD*, 8:348. Davis, incidentally, had solicited a Brooklyn inventor for suggestions to improve naval steam propulsion as the acting Secretary of the Navy in 1853. See "To Abraham Taylor," October 10, 1853, *PJD*, 5:262.

Commodore Oliver Perry's command during the War of 1812.[412] Following the design for the *Virginia* developed in part by Brooke even before congressional approval had been received, Forrest contracted the Tredegar Iron Company, which employed over 1,200 hired-out slaves and free blacks throughout Virginia in addition to hundreds of higher-paid white workers, to turn iron confiscated from the B & O Railroad into two-inch-thick bolted armor plates.[413] Brooke, too, developed an amiable relationship with Tredegar's owner Joseph R. Anderson, who had served in the U.S. army's Engineer Bureau as an outstanding West Point graduate and worked under Virginia State Engineer Claudius Crozet. Anderson became a Democrat in 1853 as well, and Secretary of War Davis rewarded him by selecting Tredegar to make vital iron plates for the new Capitol dome.[414] Having been commissioned a Confederate brigadier general in September 1861, Anderson resigned after he was wounded in 1862 to devote his full attention to Confederate ordnance. His giant central foundry in Richmond produced more than a thousand cannons during the war as a result, many of which were the *Canon obusier de 12* models that Davis and virtually everyone else had come to term "Napoleon guns" or simply "Napoleons."[415]

The Confederate navy found itself in a similar situation *vis-à-vis* the Union as had the French navy in relation to Britain when the U.S. navy quickly responded to the *Virginia* by building ironclads of its own. The Confederate and Union ironclads were equally inferior to those of France and Britain, for while Brooke had disappointed his superiors and Confederates

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[412] Richmond *Southern Illustrated News*, May 30, 1863.

[413] See Kathleen Bruce, *Virginia Iron Manufacture in the Slave Era* (New York: The Century Co., 1939), 355; Charles B. Dew, *Ironmaker to the Confederacy: Joseph R. Anderson and the Tredegar Iron Works* (1966; reprint, Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1999), 115-16; and Jordan, *Black Confederates and Afro-Yankees in Civil War Virginia*, 51.

[414] See Jordan, *op. cit.*, 51.

[415] "Jefferson Davis to Genl. R. E. Lee, Comdg. Army of N. Virginia, Fredericksburg, Va.," *JDC*, 5:385; and "Jefferson Davis to General R. E. Lee, Comdg. Army of N. Va., Orange C. H., Va.," *JDC*, 6:35. See Brooke, Jr., *John M. Brooke*, 236-37, 239, 241, 243, 261, 271, 275, 286; Jennings Cropper Wise, *The Long Arm of Lee: The History of the Artillery of the Army of Northern Virginia, Volume 1: Bull Run to Fredericksburg*, ed. Gary W. Gallagher (1915; reprint, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1991), 30; and Hazlett, Olmstead, and Parks, *Field Artillery Weapons of the Civil War*, 107.

more generally by dispelling their hopes that the *Virginia* might be turned into an oceangoing vessel like the French and British ironclads, U.S. ironclads were also at risk of sinking when heading out to sea.[416] Yet like their French and British equivalents, Union and Confederate ironclads were unable to destroy other ironclad warships due to the fact that Paixhans guns were ineffective at piercing iron armor. Commander Brooke, however, broke that impasse by inventing the armor-piercing Brooke Rifle. Having been placed in charge of the Confederate navy's Office of Ordnance and Hydrography, Brooke helped Tredegar focus upon making "Napoleons" for army use by building up the Selma Naval Ordnance Works, which was supplied by a plantation that two Alabama planters had transformed into the slave labor-powered Brierfield Iron Furnace in 1861. Brierfield, in turn, was impressed outright by the Confederate government in 1863, re-named the Bibb Naval Furnace, and sent high-quality iron to the Selma arsenal by rail until it was razed by Union cavalry in March 1865. Brooke, after all, preferred all Confederate arsenals to be owned directly by the C.S. government to assure "uniformity of construction and excellence of workmanship." Using Alabama-produced iron, the Selma works forged such weapons as a triple-banded 11-inch smoothbore gun weighing 28,000 pounds in 1864, for Brooke had designed new 10-inch and 11-inch Paixhans guns to destroy wooden U.S. warships even more effectively.[417] The Brooke Rifle, however, was such a revolutionary breakthrough that the Confederate president himself gave a congratulatory speech in October 1863 at the Selma arsenal, which began manufacturing dozens of Brooke Rifles in early 1864.[418]

Most of the Brooke Rifles were actually utilized for coastal defense rather than mounted upon Confederate ironclads. But they devastated U.S. ironclads all the same at the May 1862

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[416] See Richmond *Examiner*, April 11, 1862.
[417] See Brooke, Jr., *John M. Brooke*, 262, 273, 281-82.
[418] Quoted in ibid., 272. See ibid., 240, 243-44, 262, 264, 269, 272-275, 281-82; and Beringer and Hattaway, *Jefferson Davis: Confederate President*, 264.

Battle of Drewry's Bluff, at which Thomas ap Catesby Jones's nephew Commander Catesby ap Roger Jones, who had been unable to harm the Union's first ironclad with Paixhans guns as the acting captain of the C.S.S. *Virginia* at the famous but inconclusive March 1862 Battle of Hampton Roads, placed the first Brooke Rifle batteries in accordance with Brooke's tactical scheme.[419] At Charleston, moreover, a massive Union assault led by seven ironclads against Captain John Mitchel, Jr.'s Fort Sumter garrison was eviscerated by Brooke Rifles on April 7, 1863.[420] The C.S. president was hence pleased to inform the governor of South Carolina a few months later that "[o]ne large triple banded 7 in. Brooke gun will, it is reported, be completed this week when it can also be sent. These guns are for naval armament, but are not immediately required for that purpose and I hope will in the meantime prove serviceable at Charleston."[421]

Ironclads, however, were but one aspect of the *jeune école*. The Davis administration accordingly sought to build combat submarines even though the Confederacy could only hope to field submersibles that were small and primitive compared to France's *Le Plongeur*. The Confederate president's interest in submarines was stoked by the New Orleans inventor Edward Jegou, who wrote a letter in French to Davis on the subject in early 1862.[422] Brooke had been working to design a submarine that would be built by Tredegar in the future, but the primary Confederate submarine-building effort came to center around Jegou and his compatriot Horace L. Hunley, for Davis had remarked in response to Jegou's letter that "it would be well to have an

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[419] Brooke had collaborated with his old commander's nephew to design the armor for the *Virginia*, on which Jones had obtained his prominent position thanks in part to Brooke's influence. Davis, moreover, had reserved one of the *Virginia's* officer positions for his old protégé John Royall Eggleston, whom he had once recommended to the new U.S. Naval Academy as a cadet, complaining that "we of Mississippi have had less than our proportionate share of Navy appointments...." "To George Bancroft," December 12, 1845, *PJD*, 2:381. See ibid., 2:382.

[420] See "Speech of President Davis in Charleston," from the Charleston *Daily Courier*, November 3, 1863, *JDC*, 6:76; "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, December 7, 1863, *JDC*, 6:94; "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, May 2, 1864, *JDC*, 6:244; and Brooke, Jr., *John M. Brooke*, 258, 261, 269-70.

[421] "Jefferson Davis to Govr. M. L. Bonham, Governor of S. Carolina," Richmond, July 21, 1863, *JDC*, 5:572.

[422] See "From Edward Jegou," January 18, 1862, *PJD*, 8:20.

examination made at N. O. & report on this project."[423] Conducting field tests at Mobile Bay under direct C.S. government supervision, Hunley unsuccessfully sought to power his *American Diver* submarine with a steam engine. He moved a new submarine to Charleston by rail in August 1863 but drowned in October when testing his hand-cranked prototype, which was salvaged as C.S. government property and named the *Hunley*.[424] And the *Hunley* became the first submarine to ever sink an enemy warship when it destroyed the wooden U.S. warship *Housatonic* in February 1864 (the semi-submersible C.S.S. *David* failed to sink a Union ironclad in October 1863 even though it managed to penetrate the armor of the U.S.S. *New Ironsides*).[425]

Much like *Le Plongeur* and its *Nautilus* forerunner, Confederate submersibles attacked targets by surreptitiously attaching sea mines, which were known as torpedoes at the time, to the hulls of enemy vessels, doing so either by means of a trailing line-towed torpedo or a spar-mounted torpedo protruding from the bow. As "the learned Dr. [Thomas] Cooper" had once informed Secretary of War Calhoun in 1823, "[a]bout 10 or 12 years ago, I spent some time with Mr. Fulton in perfecting his locks, hammer and exploding powder for his torpedoes," each of which was "a subaqueous magazine of powder."[426] And while the Confederacy's submarines were primitive compared to those of the French, Confederate torpedo technology was second-to-none thanks to Brooke and his mentor Commander Matthew Fontaine Maury, a Virginia Cotton Whig *cum* Davis Democrat who was in charge of the U.S. Naval Observatory from 1844-61.

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[423] Quoted in *PJD*, 8:20. See Brooke, Jr., *John M. Brooke*, 257.
[424] See Beringer and Hattaway, *Jefferson Davis, Confederate President*, 295.
[425] The Confederate navy fielded over a dozen semi-submersibles throughout the war. See Herbert Ravenel Sass, *The C.S.S.* David*: The Story of the First Successful Torpedo Boat* (Columbia, SC: The R.L. Bryan Company, 1970). Also see Albert L. Kelln, "Confederate Submarines," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. 61, no. 3 (July 1953), 293-303; Milton F. Perry, *Infernal Machines: The Story of Confederate Submarine and Mine Warfare* (1966; reprint, Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1985); and Tom Chaffin, *The H. L. Hunley: The Secret Hope of the Confederacy* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2008).
[426] "From Dr. Thomas Cooper," South Carolina College, July 24, 1823, *PJCC*, 8:176.

Brooke had once wiled away many a spare hour at sea reading Maury's star charts, and his request to work with him at the Naval Observatory was granted in October 1851. With Maury's help, Brooke developed his famous deep-sea sounding lead, which allowed a ship to measure the ocean's depth as well as to bring up samples from the ocean floor. And thanks to President Pierce's pressuring of Congress to bestow monetary rewards upon inventors who developed important but un-remunerative products, the Buchanan administration eventually paid Brooke $5,000 in February 1861, which sum the Virginian promptly spent purchasing Confederate bonds. Maury, for his part, rose to fame on a global scale as an oceanographer by supplying special Naval Observatory logs and Brooke deep-sea sounding leads to U.S. navy vessels and more than a thousand American merchant ships to produce the world's first map of the ocean floor. Maury, moreover, seconded Brooke's prediction that the trans-Atlantic cable would fail because Morse and his British partners had not used Brooke's sounding lead to map the ocean floor along their route. Brooke continued to send hydrographical and astronomical reports to Maury after he was transferred from the Naval Observatory, and with Davis having recently called for the replacement of "The Nautical Almanac of England" with a Union-produced equivalent, he was happy to learn that Maury's U.S. chronometers were just as good as their British equivalents.[427] Yet while Brooke's sounding lead is still used to acquire ocean floor samples, he and Maury both surmised that sonar would become the most accurate way to gauge the ocean's depth by 1854, for they were both familiar with the pioneering work in electro-magnetic waves of the brilliant French mathematician François Arago, an École polytechnique professor who had helped perfect the metric system as one of Napoleon I's favorite scientists.[428]

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[427] "Remarks on Purchasing Astronomical Instruments," January 12, 1849, *PJD*, 4:4.

[428] See Brooke, Jr., *John M. Brooke*, 48, 51-52, 55-59, 79, 91, 100, 133, 138, 143-46. Brooke also invented a new boat hook to more safely secure ships to tackles in 1861, as well as a new cat hook to move cargo to or from ships more effectively. See ibid., 137-39.

The aged Arago also abolished flogging in the French navy and slavery in France's colonies as the Second Republic's minister of war and colonies.[429] He resigned from the Bureau des Longitudes in 1852, however, to protest Napoleon III's directive that all government officials were to swear an oath of allegiance, although he was granted a dispensation and allowed to openly critique the new regime until his death in 1853, after which 15,000 mourners attended his funeral.[430] Maury disliked slavery nearly as much as Arago, but he lacked the increasingly Left-leaning Frenchman's racially egalitarian sympathies, for he hoped to eventually see all of the Union's slaves sold to new "safety-valve" plantations in the Amazon; gradually ending the "curse" of slavery and blacks in the South to avert "the horrors of that war of races which, without an escape, is surely to come upon us."[431] Maury, after all, liked Napoleon III far more than Arago. On one deep-sea sounding voyage, Maury met the famous Jesuit astronomer Pietro Angelo Secchi of the Papacy's new astronomical observatory. He also helped design naval flags for the fledgling Papal States navy as a Catholic-friendly "high church" Episcopalian, for which service he received a medal from Pius IX. And on that same voyage he befriended an Austrian navy officer who would in 1864 become the French-backed emperor of Mexico, Maximilian I.

Maury had been in the process of becoming a Davis Democrat ever since his brother-in-law perished during the Mexican War as a 1st Mississippi Rifles captain.[432] Davis, moreover, lauded Maury's achievements throughout the 1850s, during which decade he also strove to increase the U.S. Naval Observatory's funding. The Mississippian, to be sure, opposed Maury's

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[429] See François Arago, *Histoire de ma jeunesse, précédée d'une preface par Alex. de Humboldt* (Bruxelles et Leipzig: Kiessling, Schnée et Cie, 1854), 176.
[430] See entry for October 5, 1853, in Baron D'Ambès, *Intimate Memoirs of Napoleon III*, ed. and trans. A. R. Allison, vol. 2 (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1912), 36.
[431] "To Mrs. Blackford," Observatory, 24th Dec., 1851, in Diana Fontaine Maury Corbin, *A Life of Matthew Fontaine Maury, U.S.N. and C.S.N.*, ed. Nannie Corbin (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, & Rivington, Limited, 1888), 130, 132. See Whitfield J. Bell, Jr., "The Relation of Herndon and Gibbon's Exploration of the Amazon to North American Slavery, 1850-1855," *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, vol. 19, no. 4 (November 1939), 494-503.
[432] See "To Elizabeth Maury Holland," Mouth of Rio Grande, December 8, 1846, *PJD*, 3:92-93.

1858 initiative to transfer the Coast Survey, which used U.S. navy officers, from the Treasury Department to the Navy Department.[433] The Coast Survey, after all, was headed by his Philadelphian friend Alexander Dallas Bache, who was a nephew of George M. Dallas, great-grandson of Benjamin Franklin, trustee of Girard College, and grateful to Davis for insisting that the Coast Survey be well-funded because it was "necessary for national defence," as well as for selecting him to contribute to the Capitol renovation project as acoustics and ventilation expert.[434] Maury, however, did not hold that episode against Davis, for he continued to write articles praising such Davis initiatives as the trans-continental railroad. Indeed, his nephew John Walker Maury was a popular Washington, D.C. mayor who collaborated with Secretary of War Davis to build public works for the capital and hired Clark Mills to undertake his famous Andrew Jackson statue in Lafayette Square. Having been defeated by a Know-Nothing in 1854, John W. Maury rapidly declined, and President Pierce himself attended his funeral a year later.[435]

Maury's orphaned nephew Dabney H. Maury, moreover, was raised by his uncle and wounded in the Mexican War shortly after graduating from West Point, where he was an instructor and member of the prestigious Napoleon Club from the late 1840s to 1852. Rising to command the U.S. Cavalry School in 1858 thanks in part to Senator Davis, Dabney H. Maury attained the rank of Confederate major general in late 1862. As the commander of the Department of the Gulf at Mobile, he made a point of employing a free black as his body servant rather than a hired-out slave, supervised Hunley's submarine experiments, and faciliated the

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[433] See "To Alexander D. Bache," Washington D.C., October 22, 1858, *PJD*, 6:225-26.

[434] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on bill to remit the duties and make free the navigation of the Louisville and Portland Canal. Dec. 23, 1850," *JDC*, 2:11. See "Jefferson Davis to Franklin Pierce: Report of the Secretary of War," War Department, Washington, D.C., December 1, 1853, *JDC*, 2:331; Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 1:38; *PJD*, 3:6; *PJD*, 4:321-22; *PJD*, 5:35; *PJD*, 6:126-27, 201; and Hugh Richard Slotten, *Patronage, Practice and the Culture of American Science: Alexander Dallas Bache and the U.S. Coast Survey* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994). According to Varina Davis, Bache "[i]nherited the common-sense [of Franklin] and the power to apply science to the utilities of life...." Varina Davis, *op. cit*., 1:40.

[435] See William A. Maury, "John Walker Maury, His Lineage and Life," *Records of the Columbia Historical Society, Washington, D.C.*, vol. 19 (1916), 160-71.

construction of the formidable *Tennessee* and *Nashville* ironclads.[436] Indeed, the Confederate president trusted General Maury to the point of informing him that "[a]t this distance from the field of operations, the condition of which so constantly changes, I… rely upon your judgement and more accurate information to determine what is best under all the circumstances."[437]

Maury himself would re-unite with Brooke in Confederate service. Striving to develop such new ironclad-killing weapons as underwater guns and primitive flamethrowers in addition to the Brooke Rifle, Brooke improved the innovative electric torpedo which Maury invented in 1862 by developing both a magnetic variant and "the turtle," which was a stationary version resistant to U.S. mine-sweeping grapnels. Most Confederate torpedoes were placed in harbors or "in the stream[s]," but Brooke also convinced his superiors to use spar-mounted rather than line-towed torpedoes on all Confederate submarines, semi-submersibles, and wooden torpedo boats, one of which was nimbly sailed by the former *Virginia* officer Hunter Davidson down the James River at night to attack and nearly sink the wooden steam frigate U.S.S. *Minnesota* at Newport News in 1864.[438] Davidson was promoted to commodore for that feat – and for using "cables and batteries" to perfect the torpedoes created by "the distinguished Captain M. F. Maury" and "Captain J. M. Brooke," whom Davidson would later hail as the "inventor of the Merrimac, the Brooke Gun, and the deep-sea sounding apparatus…." "The results of this system," he proudly

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[436] See "Jefferson Davis to General B. Bragg, Comdg. &c. near Chickamauga, Tenn.," Atlanta, October 29, 1863, *JDC*, 6:70; "Jefferson Davis to Admiral F. Buchanan, Care of General Maury, Mobile, Ala.," "Telegram," Richmond, February 19, 1864, *JDC*, 6:181-82; "Jefferson Davis to Maj. Gen. D. H. Maury, Comdg. Mobile, Ala.," Richmond, March 28, 1864, *JDC*, 6:214; Jordan, *Black Confederates and Afro-Yankees in Civil War Virginia*, 193; and Chaffin, *The H. L. Hunley*, 83.

[437] "Jefferson Davis to Maj. Genl. D. H. Maury, Meridian, Missi.," "Telegram," Richmond, September 4, 1864, *JDC*, 6:331. See "Speech of Jefferson Davis at Montgomery," from the Charleston *Daily Courier*, October 3, 1864, *JDC*, 6:345. Also see "To Dabney H. Maury," Memphis, Tennessee, August 2, 1875, *PJD*, 13:304-05; Dabney Herndon Maury, *Recollections of a Virginian in the Mexican, Indian, and Civil Wars* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1894); and the New York *Times*, January 12, 1900.

[438] "Jefferson Davis to Lt. Genl. T. H. Holmes, Trans-Missi. Dept.," Richmond, February 26, 1863, *JDC*, 5:440. See "Jefferson Davis to General R. E. Lee, Comdg. Army N. Va.," Richmond, September 21, 1863, *JDC*, 6:46; and "Jefferson Davis to General E. K. Smith, Comdg., &c.," Richmond, November 19, 1863, *JDC*, 6:86.

declared in 1876, "were that the *first* vessels ever *injured or destroyed in war*, by electrical torpedoes, were by the torpedo department operating under my immediate command…."[439]

Fearing by 1865 that he would be executed by the U.S. government for treason, Matthew Fontaine Maury headed to Mexico after the Confederacy's demise to offer his services to his old friend Maximilian I, who bestowed the "Our Lady of Guadeloupe" medal upon him and made him the director of the new Imperial Astronomical Observatory. His sister Nora Fontaine Maury Davidson, after all, had come perilously close to incurring the wrath of U.S. army administrators shortly after the Confederacy's collapse by taking her young female students to visit Confederate soldiers' graves at Petersburg, Virginia. A well-known advocate of white women's education, she served the Confederacy as a hospital matron and charitable funds-raiser for Confederate soldiers' families. And she founded the Ladies Memorial Association in 1866 to re-bury Confederate soldiers and decorate their graves throughout the South.[440] At the same time, her brother had become the Mexican emperor's Imperial Commissioner of Immigration, in which capacity he was directed to "whiten" Mexico by encouraging ex-Confederates and northern Democrats to move there. Maximilian I did not want blacks to enter Mexico as either free persons or slaves as a result, and Maury made sure to enforce the emperor's ban upon slavery at the New Virginia colony, in which the largest settlement near Veracruz housed several hundred ex-Confederate immigrants and was named in honor of Maximilian I's wife Carlota, who was the daughter of Belgium's king Leopold I. Carlota's brother Leopold II, moreover, would eventually go on to extirpate the institution of slavery in the Congo Free State even as he

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[439] Hunter Davidson, "Electrical Torpedoes as a System of Defence," *Southern Historical Society Papers*, vol. 2, no. 1 (July-December 1876), 2-3. See Brooke, Jr., *John M. Brooke*, 238, 268, 283.

[440] See Caroline E. Janney, "The Right to Love and Mourn: The Origins of Virginia's Ladies' Memorial Associations, 1865-1867," in *Crucible of the Civil War*, 171.

ruthlessly ruled and exploited the black African natives there.[441] Carlota colony, however, was abandoned when it was raided by anti-Maximilian mestizo peons. As a result, Maury moved from Mexico to France, where he taught French naval officers how to manufacture his famous torpedoes. Napoleon III was hence pleased to make Maury a "Commander of the Legion of Honor," and, in the words of Maury's daughter, "the Emperor himself… exploded a torpedo," after which "Maury was invited to become a Frenchman, and accept service under Napoleon."[442]

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[441] See Melvin E. Page, "The Manyema Hordes of Tippu Tip: A Case Study in Social Stratification and the Slave Trade in Eastern Africa," *The International Journal of Africa Historical Studies*, vol. 7, no. 1 (1974), 69-84. Tippu Tip was an enemy of the Congo Free State and an African slaveholder of mixed Arab and black descent who owned more than ten thousand slaves by 1895.

[442] Corbin, *A Life of Matthew Fontaine Maury*, 258. See Carl C. Risterm "Carlota, a Confederate Colony in Mexico," *The Journal of Southern History*, vol. 11, no. 1 (February 1945), 33-50; and A. J. Hanna, "The Role of Matthew Fontaine Maury in the Mexican Empire," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. 55, no. 2 (April 1947), 105-25. Also see Charles Lee Lewis, *Matthew Fontaine Maury: The Pathfinder of the Seas* (1927; reprint, New York: Arno Press, 1980).

Chapter 4
Jefferson Davis's American Revolution: The Confederate States of America and Northern Davis Democrats

"La carrière ouverte aux talents – here it is. Napoleonic. No mudsills in America."[1]
Mary Chesnut, 1865

Jefferson Davis mused in the Senate on January 10, 1861 that "[t]here is a strange similarity in the position of affairs at the present day to that which the colonists occupied" in 1776.[2] He had hoped throughout the 1850s that a thoroughly Democratic Union would soon fight a new War of 1812 against Britain, preferably with Napoleon III's France as an ally. The Republican victory of 1860, however, indicated to him that the heirs of New England Federalism could control the U.S. government as a sectional majority even though they were still a nation-wide minority. Sadly concluding that he would have to follow through with his secession threats, Davis held that all true Americans were now obligated to launch a new revolution by following the lead of the lower South, the Democrat-dominated states of which were, he claimed, seceding to save American independence and national identity from the abolitionist Republican "Yankee" Anglophiles whom Virginia's H. K. Douglas soon began to call "loyalists" as a "rebel" officer.[3] And because white supremacy and equality among whites were the essence of the Declaration of Independence for Davis, he sought to reify those ideals in his new Confederate States of America not just as means to the end of victory but also as ends in themselves. He was therefore immensely disappointed when his old allies among the northern Democrats generally failed to side with the Confederacy and rebel against the ruling Republicans as he had expected.

Jefferson Davis's Portrayal of the C.S.A. as a new American Revolution

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[1] Entry for February 27, 1865, in *Mary Chesnut's Civil War*, 741.
[2] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the special message on affairs in South Carolina. Jan. 10, 1861," *JDC*, 5:31.
[3] Quoted in Mark A. Snell, *West Virginia and the Civil War: Mountaineers are Always Free* (Charleston: The History Press, 2011), 184.

"Confederate leaders," Aaron Sheehan-Dean has noted, "aggressively used the rhetoric of the American Revolution to channel prewar patriotism into support for the Confederacy."[4] Davis was foremost among them.[5] He explained in his January Senate speech that southern Democrats, "through whose veins flows the blood of the Revolution," were escaping from the "consolidated Government" which the Republicans would soon create to build a new Union, "commenc[ing] the erection of another on the same plan on which our fathers built this."[6] By seeking to wield the same "powers which the British Crown exercised over the colonies," the Republicans had, he explained, forced true Americans to recapitulate the Patriot secession from the British Empire.[7] Having informed the Senate that deep South Democrats had "merely asserted a right which the Declaration of Independence of 1776 had defined as inalienable" in defiance of "the power of the lion," he declared a month later upon arriving at Montgomery to assume the provisional presidency of the new C.S.A. that Confederate Americans would "again baptise in blood the principles for which our fathers bled in the Revolution...."[8] And his message stayed the same throughout the war, as when he declared in January 1863 that the C.S. cause was the same as that of the American Patriots who "fought to be free from the usurpations of the British Crown…."[9]

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[4] Sheehan-Dean, *Why Confederates Fought*, 28.

[5] See Emory M. Thomas, "Jefferson Davis and the American Revolutionary Tradition," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, vol. 70, no. 1 (February 1977), 2–9; Robert F. Durden, "The American Revolution as Seen by Southerners in 1861," *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association*, vol. 19, no. 1 (Winter 1978), 33-42; Anne Sarah Rubin, "Seventy-six and Sixty-one: Confederates Remember the American Revolution," in *Where These Memories Grow: History, Memory, and Southern Identity*, ed. W. Fitzhugh Brundage (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000), 85-105; and Benjamin L. Carp, "Nations of American Rebels: Understanding Nationalism in Revolutionary North America and the Civil War South," *Civil War History*, vol. 48, no. 1 (March 2002), 5-33.

[6] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the special message on affairs in South Carolina. Jan. 10, 1861," *JDC*, 5:29, 27.

[7] Ibid., 5:19-20. See ibid., 5:8, 44.

[8] "Farewell Address," January 21, 1861, *PJD*, 7:47; "Speech of Jefferson Davis on retiring from the Senate. Jan. 21, 1861," *JDC*, 5:44; and "Arrival of President Davis at Montgomery – His Speech," from the Charleston *Mercury*, February 19, 1861, *JDC*, 5:48.

[9] "Speech of Jefferson Davis in Richmond," from the Richmond *Enquirer*, January 7, 1863, *JDC*, 5:391. See "Jefferson Davis to the People of the Confederate States of America," Danville, Virginia, April 4, 1865, *JDC*, 6:531.

Asserting that Confederates embodied "Americanism," Davis predicted that they would drive back any Republican invaders just as "their fathers… threw off the authority of the British Crown," and he encouraged them to liken the strategic situation of the South *vis-à-vis* Britain during the American Revolution and War of 1812 to the Confederacy's current position in relation to the Union.[10] When the U.S. secured Fort Monroe, he noted that "Great Britain, when invading her revolted colonies, took possession of the very district of country near Fortress Monroe, now occupied by troops of the United States."[11] He also observed that "[t]he Union flag" first flew when the Royal Navy attacked Fort Moultrie, rendering the U.S. navy akin to "the British fleet" if it attacked Charleston.[12] When the U.S. navy launched a major assault against Charleston in 1863, he accordingly urged Confederates to recall "how the Palmetto logs of Moultrie… resisted the then dreaded British fleet, and we can point to the defence now against the still more formidable attack on Sumter as but the renewal of the deeds of the past."[13]

The Confederacy's formation did not mark the creation of a new southern nationality and hence a rupture with the American past for Davis, but rather a new and necessary "revolution" in continuation of 1776, which was when "our country's history" began.[14] Indeed, he had long identified the South as the "planting States" among "the slaveholding States" – as the seven original Confederate states that were particularly Democratic and hence American in character.[15] The slaveholding states bordering the Mason-Dixon Line in which Davis Democrats had usually

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[10] "The Commissioners in Reply to Mr. Seward," Washington, April 9, 1861, *JDC*, 5:91-92. See "Inaugural Address of the President of the Provisional Government," Montgomery, February 18, 1861, *JDC*, 5:50; "Arrival of President Davis at Montgomery – His Speech," from the Charleston *Mercury*, February 19, 1861, *JDC*, 5:48; and "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Montgomery, April 29, 1861, *JDC*, 5:68.
[11] "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, July 20, 1861, *JDC*, 5:114.
[12] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the special message on affairs in South Carolina. Jan. 10, 1861," *JDC*, 5:11. See "Speech of Jefferson Davis on the resolutions concerning the relations of the states. May 8, 1860," *JDC*, 4:277.
[13] "Speech of President Davis in Charleston," from the Charleston *Daily Courier*, November 3, 1863, *JDC*, 6:76.
[14] "Ibid., 6:76. See ibid., 6:77.
[15] "Jefferson Davis to B. D. Nabors and Others," Jackson, November 19, 1850, from the *Mississippi Free Trader*, November 30, 1850, *JDC*, 1:599. See "Speech of Jefferson Davis at Aberdeen, Mississippi, May 26, 1851," *JDC*, 2:73.

been less powerful were thus not truly part of "the South" for the C.S. president.[16] He was nevertheless pleased to claim nearly all of the slaveholding states as *de facto* or at least *de jure* members of what he emphatically called "the Confederate States of America" by 1862.[17] Davis administration propagandists therefore claimed that the C.S.A. stood for and included far more than "the South," and the pro-Davis Richmond *Enquirer*, which had been a leading Democratic newspaper before the war, derisively dismissed "the 'Southern people'" notion of the Radicals in order to stake the Confederacy's exclusive claim to the American nation's past and future.[18]

Many Confederates from Virginia and the other slave states which joined or were claimed by the C.S.A. after April 1861 also thought that their states were not truly part of the South. David Funsten of the 11th Virginia Infantry, for instance, referred to the lower South as "the Southern States," as did the Richmond *Examiner*, which was another influential antebellum Democratic paper.[19] Confederates often concurred with Davis that they were not Southrons forging a new nation but rather Americans "in arms to renew such sacrifices as our fathers made to the holy cause of constitutional liberty."[20] Soldiers throughout the Confederacy, in fact, invoked 1776 with company names like the "Continental Guards" or the "Minute Men" in the belief that they were fighting for the same cause as that for which "our fathers of the revolution

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[16] See, for instance, "Arrival of President Davis at Montgomery – His Speech," from the Charleston *Mercury*, February 19, 1861, *JDC*, 5:48; "Jefferson Davis to Hon. R. M. T. Hunter, Lloyds P. O., Essex Co., Va.," Richmond, April 14, 1864, *JDC*, 6:226; and "Jefferson Davis to General R. E. Lee, near Petersburg, Va.," Richmond, January 18, 1865, *JDC*, 6:453.

[17] "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, May 2, 1864, *JDC*, 6:240.

[18] Charles Frédéric Girard, *A Visit to the Confederate States of America in 1863: Memoir Addressed to His Majesty Napoleon III*, trans. Wm. Stanley Hoole (1864; reprint, Tuscaloosa: Confederate Publishing Company, 1962), 47; and Richmond *Enquirer*, October 1, 1861. For the antebellum partisan affiliations of the *Enquirer* and other leading C.S. newspapers, see Amy R. Minton, "Defining Confederate Respectability: Morality, Patriotism, and Confederate Identity in Richmond's Civil War Public Press," in *Crucible of the Civil War*, 101-02.

[19] Quoted in Sheehan-Dean, *Why Confederates Fought*, 58; and Richmond *Examiner*, May 25, 1861. According to Sheehan-Dean, "most Virginians seem to have adopted the perspective advocated by Confederate leaders, that the Confederacy represented the true intent of the Founding Fathers and should rightly be considered 'America.'" Sheehan-Dean, *op. cit.*, 61.

[20] "Inaugural Address," Richmond, February 22, 1862, *JDC*, 5:202. See "Jefferson Davis to the People of the Confederate States," Executive Office, Richmond, April 10, 1863, *JDC*, 5:473; and "Jefferson Davis to J. W. Harmon, Secty, of the 'Confederate Society,' Enterprise, Miss.," Richmond, September 17, 1863, *JDC*, 6:40.

shed their blood."[21] Like Davis himself, many of them would have liked to stay in a Union that was devoted to true Democracy and hence properly American, but as a C.S. song explained, "Northern treachery" had necessitated a new American Revolution: "As long as the Union / Was faithful to her trust, / Like friends and like brothers / Both kind were we and just…."[22]

A popular Confederate poem therefore likened the Union's "Rebel" moniker for the Confederates to the Patriots of 1776: "*Rebels* before, / Our fathers of yore, / *Rebel*'s the righteous name / *Washington* bore. / Why, then, be ours the same."[23] Reminding C.S. "rebels" that his own father had "fought through the first Revolution," Davis also lauded them as "patriots engaged in a most sacred cause" and strove to associate himself with Washington.[24] It was Washington, after all, who "cut the cord which bound the colonies to Great Britain," led "the ill clad, unshod, but victorious army with which he achieved the independence we enjoy...," and "formed the Union."[25] Davis had always admired the "great and glorious" Washington for winning "battles which must remain on the page of history a wonder to all posterity," and he had even endeavored to thwart Winfield Scott's brevet promotion to lieutenant general by claiming that it would be an insult to Lieutenant General Washington.[26] Seeking to emulate Washington's

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[21] "Speech of Jefferson Davis in Columbia," from the Charleston *Daily Courier*, October 6, 1864, *JDC*, 6:350. See "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, December 7, 1863, *JDC*, 6:108, 127; "Speech of Jefferson Davis at Augusta," from the Richmond *Dispatch*, October 10, 1864, *JDC*, 6:357; "Jefferson Davis to the Army of Tennessee," Headquarters, Army of Tennessee, October 14, 1863, *JDC*, 6:61; *A Frenchman, A Chaplain, A Rebel*, 185; and Charles B. Dew, *Apostles of Disunion: Southern Secession Commissioners and the Causes of the Civil War* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2001), 69.
[22] Quoted in Beringer and Hattaway, *Jefferson Davis, Confederate President*, 41.
[23] Quoted in ibid., 24.
[24] "Speech of Jefferson Davis in Macon, Georgia," from the Richmond *Enquirer*, September 29, 1864, *JDC*, 6:341; and "Jefferson Davis to the People of the Confederate States of America," Danville, Virginia, April 4, 1865, *JDC*, 6:529-30.
[25] "Speech of Jefferson Davis at the Grand Ratification Meeting, Faneuil Hall, Monday evening, Oct. 11, 1858," *JDC*, 3:329; and "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the special message on affairs in South Carolina. Jan. 10, 1861," *JDC*, 5:22.
[26] "Speech of Jefferson Davis at the Grand Ratification Meeting, Faneuil Hall, Monday evening, Oct. 11, 1858," *op. cit.*, 3:322; and "Jefferson Davis's Speech at Trenton, N. J.," July 16, 1853, *JDC*, 2:241. See "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the joint resolution to confer the title of lieutenant-general by brevet on Major General Scott. Feb. 12, 1851," *JDC*, 2:23; "Speech at Fayette," [July 11, 1851], *PJD*, 4:208; and "From Military Academy Cadets," West Point, New York, May 7, 1855, *PJD*, 5:105.

famously austere republican virtue, he curtailed *soirées* in the C.S. executive mansion or delegated them to his wife even though he had been fond of such events before the war.[27] Eight of the fourteen C.S. stamps, moreover, bore Davis's visage, but one of them was reserved for Washington, whose February 22 birthday became a national holiday in the C.S.A. alongside July 4.[28] Davis, in fact, was inaugurated as president of the permanent rather than provisional C.S. government in front of Richmond's grand new Washington equestrian statue on February 22, 1862. Approaching it in a "coach drawn by four white horses" in emulation of Washington's inauguration, he declared that "we hope to perpetuate the principles of our revolutionary fathers" upon "this the birthday of the man most identified with the establishment of American independence, and beneath the monument erected to commemorate his heroic virtues and those of his compatriots...."[29] Images of Richmond's Washington statue thenceforward adorned C.S. bonds and newspapers, as well as the Great Seal of the Confederacy itself. The last person to own Mount Vernon, after all, was the C.S. colonel John A. Washington, who was a direct descendant of Washington's brother John and martyred at the 1861 Battle of Cheat Mountain.[30]

Davis had noted in an 1853 speech that Washington's "genius controlled both the armies and the councils of his country."[31] He fully intended to do the same as the C.S. president, having confessed his "great abhorrence" in 1858 for legislative politicking and procedural minutiae.[32] Davis, in fact, had particularly wanted to emulate Washington's military role by leading a C.S. field army. He was promptly made a Mississippi militia major general after resigning from the

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[27] See George C. Rable, *The Confederate Republic: A Revolution Against Politics* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994), 64, 68-69, 166; and Gordon, "'To Comfort, To Counsel, To Cure'; Davis, Wives, and Generals," in *Jefferson Davis's Generals*, 108.
[28] See Beringer and Hattaway, *Jefferson Davis, Confederate President*, 248.
[29] Entry for February 25, 1861, in *Mary Chesnut's Civil War*, 8; and "Inaugural Address," Richmond, February 22, 1862, *JDC*, 5:198.
[30] See Snell, *West Virginia and the Civil War*, 48.
[31] "Speech at Washington," November 8, 1853, *PJD*, 5:49.
[32] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the civil appropriations bill. May 28, 1858," *JDC*, 3:258.

Senate, and his primary *carte de visite*, which circulated in both the Confederacy and Union, displayed him wearing a major general's uniform. It was therefore with "sincere regret" that he tendered his "resignation of the office of Major Genl. of the Army of Mississippi" to become the president of the Confederacy, and he stated on several occasions thereafter that he would have preferred to have been a general, "advert[ing] to… his repugnance to the office of chief, and his desire for the field, incident to a military ambition, and some faith in his capacity for arms."[33]

Few officers in either the Union or Confederacy had ever led a regiment, and so Davis was indeed qualified to lead an army in the field thanks to his Mexican War experience. Yet he probably would not have lasted long in that role due to his nagging health problems, all of which were, to his immense frustration, worsened by the stress of the war. Lieutenant Davis nearly died from pneumonia on the frontier, and he contracted the same malaria bacilli which killed his first wife in 1835.[34] He went to Cuba to speed his recovery, and it took him years to recuperate from "malarial fever."[35] Yet intense exertions on his part could still bring on bouts of malaria, which also permanently weakened his eyes. And Davis developed laryngitis in 1858, when his "left eye became intensely inflamed. He lay speechless, and blind, only able to communicate his thoughts by feeling for the slate and writing them, more or less intelligibly, for four weeks."[36] His left eye never fully recovered its vision or natural coloration, a fact which he sought to

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[33] "Jefferson Davis to J. J. Pettus," Executive Office, Jackson, Mississippi, February 12, 1861, *JDC*, 5:46; and "Speech of Jefferson Davis at Montgomery," from the Charleston *Daily Courier*, October 3, 1864, *JDC*, 6:346. See entry for March, 1861, in *Mary Chesnut's Civil War*, 25; "Jefferson Davis to Genl. Beauregard, Manassas, Va.," "Telegram," Richmond, Va., July 18, 1861, *JDC*, 5:111; and "Jefferson Davis to W. M. Brooks," Richmond, March 13, 1862, *JDC*, 5:218-19. One Georgian admirer of Davis also noted in 1861 that "a military life would be far better for him and more according to his own desires." Quoted in Harold Holzer, "The Image of Jefferson Davis as Commander in Chief," in *Jefferson Davis's Generals*, 135.
[34] See *PJD*, 1:6, 408; and Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 1:81.
[35] See Varina Davis, *op. cit.*, 1:198.
[36] Ibid, 1:575.

conceal by presenting the right side of his face in portraits.[37] The C.S. government clerk John B. Jones, in fact, learned that Davis was nearly "blind of an eye" only upon meeting him in person for the first time.[38] Davis, to be sure, acknowledged that he was suffering from health problems in antebellum speeches and public letters, but he would de-emphasize their severity and recurrent nature at the same time.[39] He would only allow relatives and "generous friends who have stood by me in all the changes of my fortune, and drawn closest when their aid was most needed," to know the true extent of his ailments, as when he told Pierce that he had been "suffering under a painful illness which has closely confined me for more than seven weeks, and leaves me at this time quite unable to read or to write...."[40] "I will not return home," he added, "to encounter malarial exposure during the summer, or fall."[41] And when Seward visited him in that condition, he came away "with moist eyes," declaring, as Varina Davis recollected, that he "could not bear to see him disfigured, he is a splendid embodiment of manhood, he must not lose his eye."[42]

Davis's friends knew that he was perturbed by his health problems. "Knowing you as I do," one of them remarked in 1858, "I take it for granted that, you both chafe & fret under the combined influence of sickness & inactivity."[43] Davis, however, insisted that a sojourn in New England had bought about a "restoration of health" even as he admitted that "[t]ime and disease have frosted my hair, impaired my physical energies, and furrowed my brow, but my heart

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[37] Davis only wore his "goggle-glasses" in private, though, when running for the Mississippi governorship in 1850. See ibid., 1:470; "To Margaret Kempe Howell," Brierfield, March 28, 1859, *PJD*, 6:242; and "To J. L. M. Curry," Washington D.C., June 4, 1859, *PJD*, 6:254.

[38] Entry for August 16, 1861, in John B. Jones, *A Rebel War Clerk's Diary*, ed. Earl Schenck Miers (1958; reprint, Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1993), 41.

[39] See "Jefferson Davis to H. R. Davis and Others," Warren County, Mississippi, October 6, 1848, from the *Mississippi Free Trader*, October 26, 1848, *JDC*, 1:213; "Jefferson Davis to the People of Mississippi," Warren County, Mississippi, January 26, 1852, from the *Mississippi Free Trader*, February 1, 1852, *JDC*, 2:137; and "Jefferson Davis to Messrs. John Robbins, Jr., Jesse Johnson, F. Campbell, Peter Rambo, George B. Berrell, Committee," Washington D.C., July 1, 1858, *JDC*, 3:270.

[40] "Jefferson Davis to Stephen Cocke," Washington, D.C., January 6, 1856, *JDC*, 2:585. See "Jefferson Davis to Stephen Cocke," Washington, D.C., December 19, 1853, *JDC*, 2:335.

[41] "Jefferson Davis to Franklin Pierce," Washington, D.C., April 4, 1858, *JDC*, 3:214.

[42] Quoted in Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 1:578. See ibid., 1:578.

[43] "Thomas F. Drayton to Jefferson Davis," Charleston, April 9, 1858, *JDC*, 3:216.

remains unchanged...."[44] Yet he told Pierce in September 1859 that while he was "now free of disease my strength has not been restored and there is therefore constant apprehension of a relapse."[45] A reporter therefore observed in May 1860 that Davis had "the face of a corpse, the form of a skeleton…. Look at the haggard, sunken weary eye – the thin… wrinkled lips clasped close upon the teeth in anguish. That is the mouth of the brave but impatient sufferer."[46] Davis, in fact, had barely been able to deliver his last Senate speech because, as his wife recalled, he "had been ill for more than a week, and our medical attendant thought him physically unable to make his farewell to the Senate."[47] The C.S. president could not conceal his precarious state of health as he lay in bed ill for days on end in 1861, for he began receiving letters in which Confederates "sincerely hope[d] you have yr. Health re-instated."[48] But his health did not improve. Rumors were even spreading that he was on the verge of death by 1862, in which year one of his nieces averred that "I fear he cannot live long if he does not get some rest and quiet."[49]

Yet the C.S. president was able to cultivate a considerable military reputation all the same. His supporters de-emphasized the extent and duration of his spells of poor health, although few of them went so far as one editor who claimed in 1861 that Davis appeared "brighter, more cheerful and in better health than we have seen him for many years."[50]

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[44] "Speech of Jefferson Davis before the Mississippi Legislature. November 16, 1858," *JDC*, 3:339. See "H. J. Harris to Jefferson Davis," Vicksburg, June 7, 1859, *JDC*, 4:56.
[45] "Jefferson Davis to Franklin Pierce," Oakland, Maryland, September 2, 1859, *JDC*, 4:93.
[46] Quoted in Cooper, Jr., *Jefferson Davis, American*, 309.
[47] Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 1:696. See ibid., 1:687.
[48] "J. Fowlkes to Jefferson Davis," Memphis, Tennessee, September 29, 1861, *JDC*, 5:138.
[49] Quoted in Cooper, Jr., *op. cit.*, 387. See entry for April 17, 1863, in *A Rebel War Clerk's Diary*, 190. When Davis nerved himself to attend a wedding in early 1865, moreover, an attendee noted that he was "thin and careworn... his hair and beard were bleaching rapidly; and his bloodless cheeks... gave him almost the appearance of emaciation." Quoted in Michael J. Ballard, *A Long Shadow: Jefferson Davis and the Final Days of the Confederacy* (Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, 1986), 4-5.
[50] Quoted in Beringer and Hattaway, *Jefferson Davis, Confederate President*, 78. See "The Journey of President Davis to Richmond," from the Richmond *Enquirer*, May 30, 1861, *JDC*, 5:102. Also see "Jefferson Davis to Genl. J. E. Johnston, Manassas, Va.," Richmond, September 8, 1861, *JDC*, 5:130; "Jefferson Davis to Mrs. Davis," Richmond, June 23, 1862, *JDC*, 5:284; and "Speech of Jefferson Davis in Columbia," from the Charleston *Daily Courier*, October 6, 1864, *JDC*, 6:355.

Memories of his Mexican War feats also helped, for he had been greeted as a military hero on his initial journey to Mississippi even though he was not yet a general or president. "All along the route," he told his wife, "the people at every station manifested good-will and approbation by bonfires at night, firing by day; shouts and salutations in both. I thought it would have gratified you to have witnessed it...."[51] On his way to Montgomery to assume the presidency, moreover, he "made no less than twenty-five speeches upon the route.... There were military demonstrations, salutes of cannon, &c., at the various depots." Upon reaching the capital, "[t]wo fine companies… formed an escort," "[s]alvos of artillery greeted his approach," and "a very large crowd assembled at the depot, hailing his appearance with tremendous cheering."[52] When the capital was moved to Richmond in May, Davis's voyage there was also "one continuous ovation." At each station, "throngs of men, women, and children" cheered for "'*Jeff Davis!*' '*the old hero!*'" with "the wildest enthusiasm," a fact which prompted the Richmond *Enquirer* to exult that "the confidence manifested in our President, in the many scenes which transpired on this trip, shows that the mantle of Washington falls gracefully upon his shoulders."[53]

Popular songs therefore predicted that C.S. soldiers would win great battles with "Davis by their side," and generals urged him to take up "the position Genl. Washington occupied during the revolution. Be assured it would be worth many thousands of good troops to us. Civil

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[51] "To Varina Davis," Montgomery, February, 20, 1861, in Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 2:33. See ibid., 2:6.

[52] "Arrival of President Davis at Montgomery – His Speech," from the Charleston *Mercury*, February 19, 1861, *JDC*, 5:47-48. Similar scenes occurred during Davis's inauguration, as well as when he first opened the C.S. Congress. See "To Varina Davis," Montgomery, February 20, 1861, in Varina Davis, *op. cit.*, 2:33; and Beringer and Hattaway, *Jefferson Davis, Confederate President*, 76-77.

[53] "The Journey of President Davis to Richmond," from the Richmond *Enquirer*, May 30, 1861, *JDC*, 5:102-03. "Never were a people," the *Enquirer* added, "more enraptured with their Chief Magistrate than ours are with President Davis.... The eagerness of young and old and of all classes to catch a glimpse of him, or take him by the hand, is beyond description." Ibid., 5:103. See Richmond *Dispatch*, May 30, 1861; and entry for June 17, 1861, in *A Rebel War Clerk's Diary*, 27.

affairs can be postponed – or left to the Vice President."[54] C.S. newspapers accordingly urged "President Davis [to] give Virginia the advantage of his presence" in May 1861, declaring that "[i]t would be worth an army of fifty thousand men…. Why do the wheels of the chariot tarry?"[55] Davis was not in fact present at the war's first major battle, but he hastened to Bull Run after re-opening the C.S. Congress in Richmond and ordered his train to press forward when its engineer concluded that the battle had been lost upon seeing wounded C.S. soldiers behind the lines. Even though he had merely lauded the soldiers and conferred with officers there, rumors quickly reached Richmond that "Jeff Davis led the center" during the battle in a military uniform, and prints to that effect soon began to circulate in the Confederacy and Union alike.[56]

Those rumors and prints helped sustain Davis's martial reputation throughout the war. Yet it also survived thanks to the fact that, as one admirer put it, "[h]is worst enemies will allow that he is a consummate rider, graceful and easy in the saddle...."[57] And Davis deliberately sought to cultivate such impressions on military reviews, informing his wife in 1862 that "[t]he Green-Briar horse which was to be so gentle as to serve your purposes is a fretful rearing animal which is troublesome for me to ride in the presence of troops."[58] When the Army of the Potomac, which was the principal U.S. field army, reached the C.S. capital's vicinity in May

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[54] Quoted in *Songs of the Civil War*, ed. Irwin Silber (New York: Columbia University Press, 1960), 197; and "From Joseph E. Johnston," Winchester, Virginia, June 26, 1861, *PJD*, 7:213.
[55] Richmond *Examiner*, May 25, 1861.
[56] Entry for July 22, 1861, in *Mary Chesnut's Civil War*, 105. See Holzer, "The Image of Jefferson Davis as Commander in Chief," in *Jefferson Davis's Generals*, 129-56; ibid., xv; and Harold Holzer, "With Malice toward Both: Abraham Lincoln and Jefferson Davis in Cariacature," in *Wars within a War: Controversy and Conflict over the American Civil War*, eds. Gary W. Gallagher and Joan Waugh (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009), 116, 118. "I have always thought he would avail himself of his prerogative as commander-in-chief," John B. Jones observed, "and direct in person the most important operations in the field.... I have faith in President Davis, and believe he will gain great glory in this first mighty conflict." "[I]ndeed," he added, "I have always supposed he was selected to be the Chief of the Confederacy… as it was generally believed he possessed military genius of a high order. In revolutions like the present, the chief executive occupies a most perilous and precarious position, if he be not… present on every battle-field of any magnitude." Entry for July 21, 1861, in *A Rebel War Clerk's Diary*, 34.
[57] Entry for June 29, 1861, in *Mary Chesnut's Civil War*, 84
[58] "Jefferson Davis to Mrs. Davis," Executive Department, Richmond, June 11, 1862, *JDC*, 5:271.

1862, moreover, the Richmond matron Constance Cary Harrison was impressed to see Davis ride off "with a martial aspect" to the front "clad in Confederate gray," for his "inclination" was "to be with the army, and at the first... sound of a gun, anywhere within reach of Richmond, he was in the saddle and off on the spot."[59] Davis did in fact wear a military-style gray overcoat during his trips to the front or rides about Richmond to encourage Confederates. Taking advantage of a period of good health, he also told his wife on May 16, 1862 that he had "returned this evening from a long ride through rain and mud, having gone down the James River to see the works… on which we rely to stop the gun-boats."[60] He braved sniper fire several times as well, and he even ran across U.S. soldiers on one occasion, for he and an accompanying "cavalcade of sight-seers, who I supposed had been attracted by the expectation of a battle," stumbled upon a "little squad of infantry, about fifteen in number," who "fled over the bridge, and were lost to sight."[61]

Davis spent so much time "on the lines of the Army" during the Seven Days Battles that he admitted that "[m]y office work fell behind while I was in the field," although "no *public* interest, I hope, was seriously affected."[62] The Army of the Potomac fell back, but U.S. cavalry raids would menace Richmond on several occasions in 1863 and '64. Davis went to "look after [the] defence" each time.[63] On May 4, 1863, he left for the front alongside his *aide-de-camps*,

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[59] Quoted in Holzer, "The Image of Jefferson Davis as Commander in Chief," in *Jefferson Davis's Generals*, 135, 146.

[60] "Jefferson Davis to his wife," Richmond, May 16, 1862, *JDC*, 5:245. See "Jefferson Davis to Mrs. Davis," Richmond, May 19, 1862, *JDC*, 5:248.

[61] "Jefferson Davis to Mrs. Davis," Richmond, May 28, 1862, *JDC*, 5:253. "I hastily dispatched my office business," he also told his wife a few days before the Battle of Seven Pines, "and rode out… to see the action commence." "I thought we would engage the enemy," he added, but "[t]he report was incorrect as I verified in the afternoon by a long ride in that locality. I saw nothing more than occasional cavalry videttes, and some pickets with field artillery." Ibid., 5:253; and "Jefferson Davis to Mrs. Davis," Richmond, May 31, 1862, *JDC*, 5:264. See Beringer and Hattaway, *Jefferson Davis, Confederate President*, 160.

[62] "Jefferson Davis to Mrs. Davis," Richmond, June 13, 1862, *JDC*, 5:277; and "Jefferson Davis to Genl. R. E. Lee," Richmond, July 5, 1862, *JDC*, 5:290. See "Jefferson Davis to Mrs. Davis," Richmond, June 3, 1862, *JDC*, 5:266.

[63] "Jefferson Davis to General R. E. Lee, via Guinea's Station, Va.," "Telegram (in cipher)," Richmond, May 11, 1864, *JDC*, 6:250.

who were usually attired in dress uniforms complete with swords and sashes.[64] Davis had to take a carriage because he was too unwell to ride, but he cut a better figure at the May 1864 Battle of Yellow Tavern even though he had been so ill a week earlier that his wife had had to spoon-feed him as he lay resting in bed.[65] He grabbed "his pistols, and rode out to the front."[66] And the North Carolinian Democrat and C.S. general Robert Ransom, Jr. recalled that Davis "was upon the field... he was an inspiration to every soul who saw him... demonstrating his readiness, and I have often thought his purpose, to assume control should the desperate moment arrive."[67]

Ransom, Jr. likely exaggerated Davis's feats, but when the Army of the Potomac neared Richmond again later in 1864, "the President rode out toward the battle-field" once more, inspecting fortifications and soldiers within U.S. artillery range.[68] Having urged Confederates to "believe that every faculty of my head and my heart is devoted to your cause, and… that I shall, if necessary, give my life," he also personally supervised military construction at Danville after Richmond's fall in April 1865.[69] Varina Davis, for her part, was always eager for her husband to win glory on the battlefield even as she hoped that he would not have to risk his life in the process.[70] And she informed him that he ought to take command in the field now: "I who know

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[64] See entry for May 3, 1864, in *A Rebel War Clerk's Diary*, 200; and Cooper, Jr., *Jefferson Davis, American*, 470. The residents of Marietta, Georgia, moreover, were impressed by Davis's horsemanship, the martial polish of "his own personal staff," and by the fact that he came "so close to the enemy" at the front. "President Davis's Visit to Gen. Bragg – Addresses," from the Charleston *Daily Courier*, October 10, 1863, *JDC*, 6:58. See "Speech of Jefferson Davis in Macon, Georgia," from the Richmond *Enquirer*, September 29, 1864, *JDC*, 6:342, 344; and "Speech of Jefferson Davis at Augusta," from the Richmond *Dispatch*, October 10, 1864, *JDC*, 6:356, 359.
[65] See Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 2:496.
[66] Ibid., 2:498.
[67] Quoted in ibid, 2:911.
[68] Entry for August 17, 1864, in *A Rebel War Clerk's Diary*, 410. See "Jefferson Davis to General R. E. Lee," Richmond, June 9, 1864, *JDC*, 6:269; "Jefferson Davis to General R. E. Lee, Petersburg, Va.," "Telegram," Drewry's Bluff, Virginia., June 21, 1864, *JDC*, 6:276; and Varina Davis, *op. cit.*, 2:519.
[69] "Speech of Jefferson Davis in Columbia," from the Charleston *Daily Courier*, October 6, 1864, *JDC*, 6:355. See Ballard, *A Long Shadow*, 61-62.
[70] See "Varina Banks Howell Davis to Margaret K. Howell," [Washington, D.C.], June 6, 1846, *PJD*, 2:642. As Varina Davis wrote to her husband in May 1862, "I tremble for you in a battle – for my sake take care of yourself, and don't expose yourself – you may do much for the cause living, it is lost I fear if you fell a sacrifice." "From Varina Howell Davis," Raleigh, North Carolina, May 30, 1862, *PJD*, 8:205.

that your strength when stirred up is great, and that you can do with a few what others have failed to do with many, am awaiting prayerfully the advent of the time when it is Gods will to deliver us through his own appointed agent, I trust it may be you as I believe it is."[71]

Many Confederates were disappointed in the end that Davis never did command in the field. Yet some of them were still willing to, in the 1861 words of the University of Virginia student Harry Dixon, "follow such a man as Jeff Davis, *anywhere*."[72] His reputation as the Confederate Washington, after all, survived even his humiliating capture by U.S. troops on May 9, 1865. Most Confederates dismissed U.S. press reports that the C.S. president had been caught in women's clothing as slander, believing instead the narrative put forth by Davis, who insisted that he had been wearing his gray overcoat, and that he was about to attack a Union cavalryman when his wife, "who witnessed the act, rushed forward and threw her arms around me, thus defeating my intention, which was, if the trooper missed his aim, to try to unhorse him and escape…."[73] The C.S. veteran Sam Watkins therefore declared that "Jefferson Davis perhaps made blunders and mistakes but I honestly believe that he ever did what he thought best for the good of his country. And there never lived on this earth, from the days of Hampden to George Washington, a purer patriot… than Jefferson Davis; and, like Marius, grand even in ruins."[74]

The Davis Administration's Ideological Rejection of Radical State's Rights

C.S. Radicals saw the war as a conflict between two hostile yet internally homogeneous nations, but the Confederates who believed they were re-launching the American Revolution on

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[71] "Mrs. Jefferson Davis to Jefferson Davis," [Charlotte, N.C.], April 7, 1865, *JDC*, 6:538.

[72] Quoted in Berry II, *All That Makes a Man*, 156. See "President Davis's Visit to Gen. Bragg – Addresses," from the Charleston *Daily Courier*, October 10, 1863, *JDC*, 6:58; "Speech of President Davis in Charleston," from the Charleston *Daily Courier*, November 3, 1863, *JDC*, 6:75-76; "Speech of Jefferson Davis in Macon, Georgia," from the Richmond *Enquirer*, September 29, 1864, *JDC*, 6:344; entry for October 7, 1864, in *Mary Chesnut's Civil War*, 650; "Jefferson Davis to Mrs. Davis," Danville, Virginia., April 5, 1865, *JDC*, 6:533; Beringer and Hattaway, *Jefferson Davis, Confederate President*, 391, 412; and Cooper, Jr., *Jefferson Davis, American*, 419-20, 458-61.

[73] "Autobiography of Jefferson Davis," [Beauvoir, Mississippi, November, 1889], *PJD*, 1:lxiii.

[74] Sam Watkins, "*Company Aytch," or, A Side Show of the Big Show, and Other Sketches*, ed. M. Thomas Inge (1882; reprint, New York: Penguin Putnam, 1999), 210.

a continental scale saw themselves as fighting de-Americanized "Yankee" Republicans who were, as the North Carolina *University Magazine* put it in late 1860, "blacken[ing] our motives, strip[ping] us of the glories earned in the dark hours of the Revolution and on the plains of Mexico, and... even cast[ing] a reproach upon the fame of Washington."[75] They did not regard all northerners as inveterate foes because Davis identified "Yankees" as the only irredeemable enemy within the North.[76] John Adams, after all, had once observed that "the Southern Men have been actuated by an absolute hatred of New England and have been joined in it most cordially by the Germans Irish and Dutch in all the middle States." "[W]ere they not restrained by their Negroes," he added, "they would reject Us from their Union, within a Year."[77] New York's Dutch-Americans, in fact, were the first to call Federalist-leaning New England migrants "Yankees," but while they did not always use that word as an insult, the Hartford Convention prompted Democrats in all sections of the Union to begin referring to "damned Yankees."[78]

Davis used the term from his West Point days onward to disparage descendants of the New England Federalists who had settled most of the upper North *via* upstate New York and had never been part of the Democracy, excepting the National Republican interlude.[79] Not all or even most of the northern cadets there were "Yankees" in his view, but he despised what he took to be the snobbery and parsimony of "[*t*]*he Yankee part of the corps*," informing his older

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[75] Quoted in Bernath, *Confederate Minds*, 67.

[76] See "Jefferson Davis to Mrs. Davis," Richmond, June 3, 1862, *JDC*, 5:266; "Jefferson Davis to Mrs. Davis," Richmond, June 13, 1862, *JDC*, 5:278; "Jefferson Davis to Genl. T. H. Holmes, Comdg. Trans-Missi. Dept. (By Genl. J. C. Tappan)," Richmond, January 28, 1863, *JDC*, 5:426; "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, December 7, 1863, *JDC*, 6:102; and "Speech of Jefferson Davis in Columbia," from the Charleston *Daily Courier*, October 6, 1864, *JDC*, 6:351.

[77] "John Adams to John Quincy Adams," Mount Wollaston Jan. 8. 1805, Adams Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.

[78] See "Isaac Smith to Alexander Hamilton," Trenton April 16th: 1799, Alexander Hamilton Papers, Library of Congress; "Francis Adrian van der Kemp to John Adams," Olden barneveld 18 Febr. 1812, Adams Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society. Also see Henri Logeman, "The Etymology of 'Yankee,'" in *Studies in English Philology: A Miscellany in Honor of Frederick Klaeber*, ed. Kemp Malone (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1929), 403-13; and Adrian Jaffe, "A Nineteenth-Century French View of the Origin of 'Yankee,'" *American Speech*, vol. 28, no. 3 (October 1953), 231-32.

[79] See, for instance, "To David L. Yulee," P.O. Palmyra, Mississippi, July 18, 1851, *PJD*, 4:218-19.

brother Joseph that "you cannot know *how pittiful* [*sic*] *they generally* are…."[80] He also thought that the "Yankee" cadets were favored by his nemesis Ethan A. Hitchcock, a West Point instructor from Vermont who was son to one of President Adams's Federalist "Midnight Judges." When Cadet Davis snuck off to the nearby Benny Havens tavern, Hitchcock arrested him.[81] Returning to Benny Havens once more, he staggered off into the night to avoid another arrest upon being warned of Hitchcock's approach. But he fell down a steep river bank and suffered severe injuries which incapacitated him for months.[82] Hitchcock also tried to expel him for organizing the Christmas drinking party that became the 1826 "Eggnog Riot," which resulted in the expulsion of a dozen or so cadets under President John Quincy Adams. Davis was not among them because he had missed the riot, having passed out in "a state of intoxication" when Hitchcock confined him to quarters.[83] Yet he still ended up in the bottom quartile of graduating cadets in terms of demerits, an outcome for which he blamed Hitchcock's unabated animosity.[84]

Unsurprisingly, Secretary of War Davis exacted vengeance upon the Vermonter, who had irritated him all the more by zealously seizing William Walker's *Arrow* vessel on the eve of the filibuster's invasion of Sonora in November 1853.[85] Taking advantage of the fact that Hitchcock had become unpopular among U.S. army officers for decrying the Mexican War, Davis ordered Winfield Scott to rescind a leave-of-absence which Hitchcock had been granted. Scott defied

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[80] "To Joseph Emory Davis," West Point, January 12, 1825, *PJD*, 1:18.
[81] See "Orders No. 95," U.S. Military Academy, West Point, August 1, 1825, *PJD*, 1:30.
[82] See *PJD*, 1:53.
[83] "Proceedings of a Court of Inquiry – Fifth Day Case of Seventy Cadets," West Point, January 12, 1827, *PJD*, 1:71. See "Battalion Order No. 98," West Point, December 26, 1826, *PJD*, 1:55-56; "Proceedings of a Court of Inquiry – First Day Case of Seventy Cadets," West Point, January 8, 1827, *PJD*, 1:61; and "Proceedings of a Court of Inquiry – Fourth Day Case of Seventy Cadets," West Point, January 11, 1827, *PJD*, 1:68-69. Also see James B. Agnew, *Eggnog Riot: The Christmas Mutiny at West Point* (New York: Presidio Press, 1979).
[84] See "Yearly Conduct Report," [U.S. Military Academy], June [30], 1828, *PJD*, 1:102.
[85] See *PJD*, 5:274.

Davis's vindictive order, but Hitchcock resigned anyway.[86] He returned to service, however, when his friend General Scott secured him a major general's commission in 1862. Hitchcock filled several key administrative positions, and he was particularly hated in the C.S.A. for his harsh treatment of captured Confederates as the U.S. commissary general for prisoners-of-war.[87]

Most Confederates thought that the Republicans would use a consolidated U.S. government for the exclusive benefit of New England "Yankees" in the upper North. And they nearly all believed that the C.S.A. ought to stand for state's rights in contrast to "Yankee" consolidation. Davis's supporters, however, did not want the Confederacy to espouse Radical state's rights, particularly in light of the fact that the Union was mobilizing vast armies. The C.S. president therefore maintained that "[t]he Constitution framed by our fathers is that of these Confederate States," differing only "in so far as it is explanatory of their well-known intent...."[88] He had, after all, declared in 1859 that if the U.S. government was to "ever be possessed by an unclean presence, from which they [*i.e.* Democrats] cannot expurgate it, then it will devolve upon them to construct another which shall not shame the example they emulate."[89] Davis accordingly maintained that the Confederacy was simply the American nation's third successive federal government, for "in 1861, eleven of the States again thought proper, for reasons satisfactory to themselves, to secede from the second Union and to form a third one…."[90]

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[86] See "Jefferson Davis to Winfield Scott," War Department, Washington, D.C., December 20, 1855, *JDC*, 2:572; and *PJD*, 5:115, 6:103, 409-10.

[87] See *PJD*, 1:35; and Bernard I. Cohen, *Ethan Allen Hitchcock: Soldier – Humanitarian – Scholar, Discoverer of the 'True Subject' of the Hermetic Art* (Worcester, MA: American Antiquarian Society, 1952). Also see "Jefferson Davis to Genl. W. N. R. Beall," Beauvoir, Missi 25th Oct. 1880, Private Collection of Edward and Jean George, Frostburg, Maryland.

[88] "Inaugural Address of the President of the Provisional Government," Montgomery, February 18, 1861, *JDC*, 5:52-53. See "Inaugural Address," Richmond, February 22, 1862, *JDC*, 5:199; and "Jefferson Davis to R. Hawes, Provl. Govr. of Kentucky, Nelly's Ford P. O., Nelson Co., Va.," Richmond, January 21, 1864, *JDC*, 6:157.

[89] "Speech of Jefferson Davis before the Democratic State Convention at Jackson, Miss., July 6, 1859," from the New York *Daily Tribune*, August 31, 1859, *JDC*, 4:86.

[90] "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, January 12, 1863, *JDC*, 5:399.

To emphasize that the C.S. Constitution embodied the "true meaning" of the U.S. Constitution, the Confederate government issued a stamp and several treasury notes bearing Calhoun's likeness.[91] "[H]ere I am," Davis declared as well in an 1864 Charleston speech, "among the disciples of him from whom I learned my lessons of State Rights – the great, the immortal John C. Calhoun."[92] Indeed, Calhoun's image was so prevalent in the C.S.A. that his body was re-buried in a new location for fear that it would be desecrated by U.S. forces.[93] Insisting that Radical state's rights doctrines were both suicidal and unconstitutional, Davis urged the Confederate states to respect the "moral and physical power" of the C.S. government by allowing it to exercise its delegated powers in a "prompt and energetic" manner.[94] And military affairs were of course foremost among those powers. The C.S. Constitution, after all, copied the U.S. Constitution by specifying that "[t]he President shall be Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of the Confederate States, and of the militia of the several States, when called into the actual service of the Confederate States…." Yet Davis encountered immediate opposition from Radicals who wanted the states to retain complete control over their militias and opposed the creation of a C.S. army. He therefore averred in his inaugural address that while the Confederacy could "rely mainly upon the militia" under "ordinary circumstances," "it is deemed

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[91] "Inaugural Address of the President of the Provisional Government," Montgomery, February 18, 1861, *JDC*, 5:53. One pro-Davis paper in Milledgeville, Georgia even styled itself the *Union*. See Bernath, *Confederate Minds*, 251.

[92] "Speech of Jefferson Davis in Columbia," from the Charleston *Daily Courier*, October 6, 1864, *JDC*, 6:354.

[93] See Jno. N. Gregg, "Exhumation of the Body of John C. Calhoun, 1863," *The South Carolina Historical Magazine*, vol. 57, no. 1 (January 1956), 57-58. Nicholas and Peter Onuf have accordingly observed that Calhoun should "not to be dismissed as reactionary and antidemocratic. Quite to the contrary, the great Carolinian was a forward-looking Southern nationalist – and was honored as such by the founders of the new Confederacy." Onuf and Onuf, *Nations, Markets, and War*, 314.

[94] "Inaugural Address of the President of the Provisional Government," Montgomery, February 18, 1861, *JDC*, 5:49; and "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, July 20, 1861, *JDC*, 5:112. Just like the U.S. government *vis-à-vis* Washington, D.C., Davis insisted that the C.S. government could do as it pleased within the "[t]he Capital of the Government." "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," February 3, 1864, *JDC*, 6:166. See Mark E. Neely, Jr., "The Police State of Richmond," in *Lincoln and the Triumph of the Nation: Constitutional Conflict in the American Civil War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011), 275-308.

advisable, in the present condition of affairs, that there should be a well-instructed and disciplined army, more numerous than would usually be required on a peace establishment."[95]

The Confederate Congress responded by establishing a permanent C.S. army and navy. It also authorized Davis to call up 100,000 soldiers from state militias to serve for a year at the same pay rate as regulars; declared that states could not deny requisitioned militia regiments to the C.S. government; and insisted that all non-requisitioned militia were subject to the orders of Confederate generals as appointed by Davis and confirmed by the Senate.[96] The states, in turn, usually complied, for Davis was delighted by the June 1861 "tender to the Confederate States, by regiments, of all the volunteer forces which have been, or may be, mustered into the service of Virginia," and he praised that state's governor as well for acknowledging that the security of the states was "an obligation of the Government of the Confederate States."[97] Insisting that the C.S. government could "tender the use of all the public property, naval stores, munitions of war &c &c, acquired from the United States" by state governments and requisition "all quartermaster and commissary stores" owned by the states, he also made a point of federalizing "the machinery for the manufacture of arms captured at Harpers Ferry," not to mention his own pet pre-war military projects such as the marine hospitals on the Mississippi and the unfinished Ship Island fortress.[98]

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[95] "Inaugural Address of the President of the Provisional Government," *op. cit.*, 5:51-52.

[96] See "An Act to raise Provisional Forces for the Confederate States of America, and for other purposes," February 28, 1861, in *The Statutes at Large of the Provisional Government of the Confederate States of America*, ed. James M. Matthews (1864; reprint, Holmes Beach, FL: William W. Gaunt and Sons, 1970), 43-44; and "An Act to provide for the Public Defence," March 6, 1861, in ibid., 45-46. Also see "Jefferson Davis to John R. Chambliss," Richmond, June 24, 1861, *JDC*, 5:106-07; Mobile *Register*, October 25, 27, 1863; "Jefferson Davis to Governor A. G. Magrath, Columbia, S. C.," "Telegram," Richmond, January 4, 1865, *JDC*, 6:436. Davis, however, did point to the lack of a "general militia law" in late 1864, remarking that "[t]he great diversity in the legislation of the several States on this subject, and the absence of any provision establishing an exact method for calling the militia into Confederate service, are sources of embarrassment which ought no longer to be suffered to impede defensive measures." "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, November 7, 1864, *JDC*, 6:393.

[97] "Jefferson Davis to Govr. Letcher of Va.," Richmond, Va. June 2, 1861, *JDC*, 5:101; and "Jefferson Davis to John Letcher," Richmond, September 13, 1861, *JDC*, 5:131.

[98] "Jefferson Davis to Govr. Letcher of Va.," Richmond, June 2, 1861, *op. cit.*, 5:101; and "Jefferson Davis to John R. Chambliss," *op. cit.*, 5:106, 108.

The C.S. Constitution allowed the Confederate Congress to "raise and support armies," and Davis inflamed Radicals from 1861 onward by insisting that calling state militia regiments into C.S. service was not the only way it might do so. In May 1861, the C.S. Congress not only authorized him to enlist more than 100,000 soldiers, but also allowed him to bypass the states altogether by receiving new regiments created by citizens themselves.[99] Yet the state governors still generally heeded his advice to draft citizens into not-yet-requisitioned militia units for terms of service even longer than a year so as to "promote voluntary enlisting" in the C.S. army.[100] And in light of the encouraging fact that many a volunteer regiment pledged to serve for the length of the war anyway, he urged the C.S. Congress in March 1862 to directly conscript citizens, all of whom would ideally serve for the war's duration.[101] The resulting April 16, 1862 law "calling citizens of the Confederate States between the ages of 18 and 35 into military service" gave an important role to the states in implementing conscription as a concession to the Radicals, but Davis signed it on the same day anyway.[102] He deemed state cooperation in that regard deficient by late 1862, however, and his congressional allies overcame Radical opposition in March 1863 to establish a new Bureau of Conscription "charged with a general supervision over the officers employed in enrolling and instructing the conscripts in the several States."[103]

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[99] See "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Montgomery, April 29, 1861, *JDC*, 5:82; and Beringer and Hattaway, *Jefferson Davis, Confederate President*, 57.

[100] "Jefferson Davis to Gov. Letcher, Richmond, Va.," Richmond, December 20, 1861, *JDC*, 5:182. See "Jefferson Davis to Govr. Letcher of Va., Richmond, Va.," Richmond, February 14, 1862, *JDC*, 5:191-92; and Cooper, Jr., *Jefferson Davis, American*, 333.

[101] See "Jefferson Davis to John Duncan, Jackson, Miss.," "Telegram," Richmond, November 9, 1861, *JDC*, 5:161; "Jefferson Davis to W. M. Brooks," Richmond, March 13, 1862, *JDC*, 5:218; and "Jefferson Davis to Governor John Milton, Tallahassee, Florida," Richmond, September 1, 1863, *JDC*, 6:20.

[102] "Jefferson Davis to the Honbles. Secty of the Navy, Secty of War, Secty of State, Secty of the Treasury, Attorney Genl., Postmaster Genl.," Richmond, April 26, 1862, *JDC*, 5:235. See Beringer and Hattaway, *op. cit.*, 162.

[103] "Jefferson Davis to Govrs. J. E. Brown, of Ga., R. Hawes of Ky., H. M. Rector, of Ark., F. R. Lubbock, of Texas, C. J. Jackson, of Mo., I. G. Harris, of Tenn., John Letcher, of Va., J. G. Shorter, of Ala., J. J. Pettus, of Miss., F. W. Pickens, of S.C., John Milton, of Fla., Z. B. Vance, of N.C., and Thos. O. Moore, of La.," Executive Office, Richmond, November 26, 1862, *JDC*, 5:377. See ibid., 5:378; and "Jefferson Davis to Jonathan Davis, Albany, Georgia," Richmond, March 10, 1863, *JDC*, 5:445.

At the same time, Davis never denied that the Confederate Constitution had reserved many jurisdictions to the states, of which the C.S. government was merely a "limited and special agent."[104] He also wanted the states to be active and strong in their correct jurisdictions, for he urged them to build non-military infrastructure, establish public schools, and vigorously suppress crime.[105] "The fate of the Confederacy," he insisted, "depends upon the harmony, energy, and unity of the States."[106] The state jurisdictions, however, mostly pertained to "*domestic* affairs," and the C.S. government would, he thought, not only be guilty of consolidation by attempting to exert "control" therein, but would also weaken itself by losing its proper focus on military matters.[107] Davis, then, concurred with the Radicals insofar as he affirmed that state governments were duty-bound to resist unconstitutional encroachments by the C.S. government. But he held that the C.S. government could disregard any attempt by the states to interfere with its delegated powers, as when he averred in April 1864 that the Confederate Congress could declare all state laws withholding militia regiments from the C.S. government "inoperative."[108] And he also hoped that the states would not object when he invoked military necessity to temporarily assume their responsibilities, offering that it would "be my pleasure as well as duty to coöperate in any measure that may be devised for reconciling a just care for the public defense with a proper deference for the most scrupulous susceptibilities of the State authorities."[109]

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[104] "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, May 2, 1864, *JDC*, 6:241. See "Speech of Jefferson Davis in Richmond," from the Richmond *Enquirer*, January 7, 1863, *JDC*, 5:393; and "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, November 7, 1864, *JDC*, 6:397.
[105] See "Jefferson Davis to Rev. A. D. McCoy, Livingston, Sumpter Co., Alabama," Richmond, September 26, 1863, *JDC*, 6:50; and Beringer and Hattaway, *Jefferson Davis, Confederate President*, 208.
[106] "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, January 12, 1863, *JDC*, 5:415.
[107] "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Montgomery, April 29, 1861, *JDC*, 5:69.
[108] "Jefferson Davis to Governor Henry W. Allen, Governor of Louisiana," Richmond, April 9, 1864, *JDC*, 6:222. See "Jefferson Davis to the Governor and Executive Council of So. Ca.," Executive Office, Richmond, September 3, 1862, *JDC*, 5:337. Davis, however, was willing at times to delegate military powers to the states, as when he urged governors to apprehend deserters in hopes of freeing up more C.S. troops for duty at the front. See "Jefferson Davis to Genl. J. E. Johnston, Jackson, Missi.," "Telegram," Richmond, July 11, 1863, *JDC*, 5:542; and "Jefferson Davis to Governor J. E. Brown, Milledgeville, Ga.," "Telegram (in cipher)," Richmond, January 18, 1865, *JDC*, 6:452.
[109] "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, August 18, 1862, *JDC*, 5:323.

The Confederate Constitution had indeed conferred certain emergency war powers upon the C.S. government, for "[t]he privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it." More than four thousand arrests occurred under martial law in the Confederacy.[110] Davis, after all, had long insisted *contra* the Radicals that the U.S. Constitution gave martial law powers to the federal government, which could "restore order with the strong arm" in a case of "great necessity which… drives an officer to declare martial law – that resort of General Jackson when called to the defence of New Orleans, and without using which the city would have fallen, probably, into the hands of the enemy."[111] He therefore placed that city under C.S. "discretionary power" in April 1862.[112] Having ordered the "suspension of writ of Habeas Corpus" in several other parts of Louisiana, he also informed that state's governor that while he was willing to appoint "Provost Marshals as suggested by you, with power to execute arrests and hold prisoners in custody," "[m]artial law if declared by me can only be administered by Confederate officers or agents."[113]

According to the C.S. Constitution, moreover, the Confederate Congress could impose "direct taxes" at any time. But thanks to the Radicals, "[a] long exemption from direct taxation by the General Government has created an aversion to its raising revenue by any other means than by duties on imports…."[114] Insisting that revenue tariffs could not possibly cover wartime costs even if they would have sufficed for "peace expenditures," Davis began to characterize

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[110] See Mark E. Neely, Jr., *Southern Rights: Political Prisoners and the Myth of Confederate Constitutionalism* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1999), 1-2, 136.

[111] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Compromise Bill. July 25, 1850," *JDC*, 1:421; and "Speech of Jefferson Davis, August 5, 1850, in defense of Gen. Taylor, on the resolution of Mr. Cass in relation to the exercise of civil power by the military officers of the United States," *JDC*, 1:437.

[112] "Jefferson Davis to Govr. Moore of La., New Orleans, La.," "Telegram," Richmond, April 17, 1862, *JDC*, 5:233. See "Jefferson Davis to Govr. Thos. O. Moore, New Orleans, La.," "Telegram," Richmond, March 13, 1862, *JDC*, 5:220.

[113]"Jefferson Davis to Govr. Thos. O. Moore, Camp Moore, La.," "Telegram," Richmond, May 15, 1861, *JDC*, 5:245; and "Jefferson Davis to Govr. Moore of La., Camp Moore, La.," "Telegram," Richmond, May 12, 1862, *JDC*, 5:243.

[114] "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, December 7, 1863, *JDC*, 6:108-09.

direct taxation as a military necessity in 1861.[115] Yet his congressional allies were still only able to defeat their Radical opponents in 1863, when "[a]n internal tax, termed a war tax, was levied, the proceeds of which, together with the revenue from imports, were deemed sufficient…."[116]

Davis had also advised the Postmaster General in 1859 to make his department self-sustaining by raising postal fees, which were "a species of direct taxation" that "falls as equally, perhaps, as we can make taxation descend on the people."[117] The C.S. Constitution accordingly required the Post Office to become self-sustaining. Radicals in both the North and South, however, had long hoped to privatize the U.S. Post Office, which they deemed an engine of corruption and consolidation as the largest federal bureaucracy.[118] President Davis, in contrast, wanted his Postmaster General the fiercely anti-Know-Nothing Texan Democrat John H. Reagan to take "control of our entire postal service."[119] And while he was pleased to see Reagan's burgeoning department attain a positive balance sheet in conformity "with the express requirement of the Constitution that its expenses should be paid out of its own revenues after the 1st of March, 1863," he had also been willing to subsidize it as a matter of military necessity.[120]

The C.S. president invoked military necessity as well to assume the "discretionary power" of appointing regimental-level officers even though the Confederate Constitution had reserved "to the States, respectively, the appointment of the officers" for militia regiments in C.S. service.[121] And while Article 1, Section 7 (3) specified that no "clause contained in the

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[115] See "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, November 18, 1861, *JDC*, 5:169.
[116] "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, December 7, 1863, *JDC*, 6:109-10.
[117] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the post office appropriation bill. Feb. 28, 1859," *JDC*, 4:33.
[118] See A. John Alexander, "The Ideas of Lysander Spooner," *The New England Quarterly*, vol. 23, no. 2 (June 1950), 200-17.
[119] "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Montgomery, April 29, 1861, *JDC*, 5:83.
[120] "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, December 7, 1863, *JDC*, 6:125. See "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, January 12, 1863, *JDC*, 5:414.
[121] "Jefferson Davis to Govr. Letcher of Va," Richmond, June 2, 1861, *JDC*, 5:102. See "Jefferson Davis to John Letcher," Richmond, September 21, 1861, *JDC*, 5:134; and Beringer and Hattaway, *Jefferson Davis, Confederate President*, 57.

Constitution, shall ever be construed to delegate the power to Congress to appropriate money for any internal improvement intended to facilitate commerce…," Davis held that the C.S. government could build infrastructure of military value. Ten Radical congressmen therefore openly accused him of undermining "the foundation of the Constitution and public liberty" in November 1861.[122] Davis soon convinced the C.S. Congress to provide "needful" aid for a railroad company to build "a link of about forty miles between Danville, in Virginia, and Greensboro, in North Carolina," all the same, for if "the construction of this road should, in the judgment of Congress as it is mine, be indispensable for the most successful prosecution of the war, the action of the Government will not be restrained by the constitutional objection which would attach to a work for commercial purposes...."[123] The Constitution also seemed to forbid paper money by letting the C.S. government "coin money" while forbidding the states to "make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts." Davis, however, bucked the Radicals by claiming that "the public service seems to require" treasury notes, which he hoped would not result in "any serious depreciation of the currency" as happened during the American Revolution.[124] Aspiring to keep "the country on a basis as near a specie standard as is possible during the continuance of the war," he nevertheless insisted that paper money would be needed "to prosecute the war to a successful issue," as well as to fund the soaring C.S. debt thereafter.[125]

Yet Davis also invoked military necessity to augment executive power within the C.S. government.[126] "It will be remembered," he had remarked in December 1860, "that, under the Confederation... Congress had the control of the Army. A large portion of the embarrassments

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[122] Quoted in Beringer and Hattaway, *Jefferson Davis, Confederate President*, 114-15.
[123] "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, November 18, 1861, *JDC*, 5:169-70.
[124] "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, August 18, 1862, *JDC*, 5:323. Davis, moreover, had insisted in late 1858 that paper money could be issued as an emergency military necessity. See *PJD*, 6:553.
[125] "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, December 7, 1863, *JDC*, 6:115. See "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, May 2, 1864, *JDC*, 6:243.
[126] See Paul D. Escott, *Military Necessity: Civil-Military Relations in the Confederacy* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2006).

which surrounded military operations during the war of the Revolution, grew out of that fact; and… when our fathers formed a new Government, they transferred the control of the Army and Navy to the President."[127] Davis therefore vetoed any perceived attempt by the C.S. Congress to infringe upon the military responsibilities that were "by law confined only on the President…."[128] He also invoked military necessity after Lincoln's initial call for troops to open the C.S. Congress's second session "at an earlier day than that fixed by yourselves," insisting as well that moving the capital to Richmond was a vital military measure that would ensure Virginia's accession to the Confederacy and let him direct the war more effectively.[129] Military necessity also justified his assumption of the C.S. Congress's power to raise armies, for "a wise foresight requires that if a necessity should be suddenly developed during the recess of Congress requiring forces for our defense, means should exist for calling forces into the field without awaiting the reassembling of the legislative department of the Government."[130] And while the C.S. Constitution only authorized him to nominate generals, he did not hesitate to appoint them whenever the Confederate Congress was not in session on grounds of military necessity.[131]

Davis, too, enhanced his power within the executive branch even as he transferred power from the states to the Confederate government and from the C.S. Congress to the executive. He was, in Bruce Catton's words, "to all intents and purposes… his own Secretary of War."[132] His half-dozen successive Secretaries of War would often resign in frustration because he ignored

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[127] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on resolution of inquiry in respect to forts in the harbor of Charleston. Dec. 20, 1860," *JDC*, 4:555.

[128] "Jefferson Davis to Maj. Genl. G. W. Smith, Army of the Potomac," Richmond, October 10, 1861, *JDC*, 5:140. See "Jefferson Davis to M. S. Perry," Montgomery, February 22, 1861, *JDC*, 5:56; "Jefferson Davis to John R. Chambliss," Richmond, June 24, 1861, *JDC*, 5:106; and "Jefferson Davis to Col. James Phelan, Meridian, Missi.," Richmond, March 1, 1865, *JDC*, 6:491, 503.

[129] "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Montgomery, April 29, 1861, *JDC*, 5:67. See Emory M. Thomas, *The Confederate Nation: 1861-1865* (New York: Harper & Row, 1979), 100.

[130] "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, August 18, 1862, *JDC*, 5:324.

[131] See "Jefferson Davis to Genl. G. T. Beauregard, Charleston, S.C.," "Telegram," Richmond, August 26, 1863, *JDC*, 6:14; and "Jefferson Davis to General J. E. Johnston, Brandon, Missi.," "Telegram," Richmond, December 19, 1863, *JDC*, 6:134.

[132] Bruce Catton, *The Civil War* (1960; reprint, New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2005), 204.

their advice and overrode their directives.[133] Davis, however, believed that his constant interference was, given his own experience as the U.S. Secretary of War, imparting "increased administrative energy in the different bureaus of the War Department."[134] Having vetoed a March 1861 bill to create a general-in-chief, he also exercised a similar degree of control and oversight with regard to Confederate generals.[135] He ordered them to seek his approval when selecting civilian staff officers, who could "only be taken from civil life at the discretion of the President."[136] And he overrode their decisions on matters ranging from the best rifle model for sharp-shooters to the precise placement of "seacoast batteries."[137] On September 11, 1862, moreover, Davis issued a general order revoking all martial law proclamations issued by generals on their own initiative because the imposition of martial law was a presidential prerogative.[138] He was, after all, as he signed many of his letters, "the Commanding General" of the C.S.A. – the "President and Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the Confederate States."[139]

Slavery as a Means to the End of White Supremacy under the Davis Administration

Confederate Radicals regarded Davis's anti-Radical version of state's rights and invocations of military necessity as tyrannical consolidation trending toward a military

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[133] See "Jefferson Davis to Hon. J. A. Seddon, Secretary of War," "Telegram," Atlanta, October 29, 1863, *JDC*, 6:69; "Jefferson Davis to Hon. James A. Seddon, Secty. of War, Richmond, Va.," "Telegram," Montgomery, September 29, 1864, *JDC*, 6:347-48; and Beringer and Hattaway, *Jefferson Davis, Confederate President*, 33.

[134] "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, May 2, 1864, *JDC*, 6:243.

[135] See "Jefferson Davis to General Bragg, Mobile, Ala.," "Telegram," Richmond, July 26, 1862, *JDC*, 5:298; and "A Veto by Jefferson Davis," *The North American Review*, vol. 142, no. 352 (March 1886), 244-45.

[136] "Jefferson Davis to G. W. Smith," Richmond, October 29, 1861, *JDC*, 5:155. See ibid., 5:156; "Jefferson Davis to Genl. G. W. Smith, Centerville, Va.," Richmond, November 30, 1861, *JDC*, 5:178; and "Jefferson Davis to General J. E. Johnston, Brandon, Missi.," "Telegram," Richmond, December 19, 1863, *JDC*, 6:135.

[137] "Jefferson Davis to Thomas Randall, Tallahassee, Florida," Richmond, July 16, 1862, *JDC*, 5:299. See "Jefferson Davis to Captain Barton," March 5, 1861, *JDC*, 5:59; "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Montgomery, April 29, 1861, *JDC*, 5:83; and "Jefferson Davis to Major General T. H. Holmes," Richmond, October 21, 1862, *JDC*, 5:356.

[138] See "G. W. C. Lee to Govr. Letcher of Va., Richmond, Va.," Richmond, April 1, 1862; and Beringer and Hattaway, *op. cit.*, 171. Davis did allow trusted generals to implement martial law at their own discretion thereafter, but only if they did so in his name. See "Jefferson Davis to Major General T. H. Holmes," Richmond, October 21, 1862, *JDC*, 5:357.

[139] "To General J. E. Johnston," Richmond, September 13, 1861, in Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 2:143; and "Jefferson Davis to Abraham Lincoln," Richmond, July 6, 1861, *JDC*, 5:110.

dictatorship. One of their most prominent leaders was the wealthy Georgian lawyer Robert A. Toombs, who was a Whig congressman from 1844-53. He was a close friend of his fellow Georgian the Radical Whig Alexander Stephens, who so closely resembled John Randolph in both political and physical terms that he was dubbed the "modern John Randolph" by Samuel Phillips Day, an English reporter who praised the C.S. vice president's "commendable Anglo-Saxon" qualities.[140] An advocate of Radical state's rights and conciliation *vis-à-vis* Britain, Toombs had deprecated Manifest Destiny, resisted Texas annexation, and opposed the Mexican War. He had also sympathized with the idea of an independent southern confederacy even as he feared that secession and war might destroy slavery. When the Whigs collapsed, Toombs formed the Constitutional Union Party as an alternative to the Democrats, but when it foundered he joined the Democracy to become a U.S. senator in 1853. Unsurprisingly, he and Davis detested each other and nearly fought a duel in the mid-1850s.[141] Davis insisted *contra* Toombs that the federal government could build internal improvements of military value, whereas Toombs held that "standing armies have had but one sentiment, and that is to maintain the Government which supports them…. [T]hat is the very reason why I do not want them."[142] And when Davis proposed to build a new fort by the Red River of the North in 1860 to challenge the British and their Indian allies, Toombs united with the Republicans to oppose the measure.[143]

Toombs ruined his C.S. presidential prospects by defecting from the Democracy to the new Constitutional Union Party in 1860, but he was brought into the Democrat-dominated C.S.

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[140] Day, *Down South*, 242. See New York *Harper's Weekly*, April 10, 1858. Also see Davis, *The Union That Shaped the Confederacy*.

[141] See "From Andrew P. Butler, John J. Crittenden, Thomas J. Rusk, and James M. Mason," from the Chattanooga *Advertiser*, March 26, 1857, *PJD*, 6:542; *PJD*, 6:196-97; and William C. Davis, *Jefferson Davis: The Man and His Hour* (1991; reprint, Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1996), 301.

[142] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the bill regulating pay of Army officers. Feb. 15. 1859," *JDC*, 3:560. Toombs also called a professional military education a "savage pursuit." Quoted in ibid., 3:561. See "To V. A. Gaskin," September 21, 1853, in the Savannah *Georgian*, October 21, 1853, *PJD*, 5:255; and "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the loan bill. May 25, 1858," *JDC*, 3:253.

[143] See "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Army Appropriation bill. June 2, 1860," *JDC*, 4:397, 400-02.

cabinet all the same to represent Georgia and placate Radical ex-Whigs. Secretary of State Toombs quickly angered Davis, however, by asserting that the Confederacy stood for Radical state's rights and slavery-in-the-abstract.[144] He soon resigned, but Davis allowed him to become a brigadier general in July 1861 despite his "reluctance to placing a civilian in so high a command without previous experience in the field…."[145] Toombs served capably in the Army of Northern Virginia, which was the principal C.S. field army, but he angrily resigned in March 1863, accusing Davis of passing him over for promotion. The C.S. president, in turn, explained that he had only commissioned Toombs in the first place to allay suspicions "among some of our people" that he bore petty grudges against all ex-Whig Confederates and "was unduly partial to those officers who had received an education at the Military Academy…."[146] Toombs proceeded to denounce nearly all of Davis's policies as a Georgia militia general. Yet while ex-Whigs made considerable gains in the 1863 C.S. elections due in part to widespread disappointment with Davis's performance as the new Washington, a victorious pro-Davis candidate nonetheless kept Toombs out of the C.S. Congress. As one of Davis's Georgian allies explained, "[o]ur community has been exercised… in order to defeat Genl. Toombs from Representing this Congressional dist (*the 5th*)…. [W]e will send, in any event, an Administration Representative as Jno. T. Shewmaker Esq. a young and rising man, by Profession a Lawyer, can and will carry the Election. He is *honest, capable and reliable*."[147] Toombs then began accusing the C.S. president of making "bold lick[s] for the dictatorship," asserting that "Davis and his Janissaries – the regular army – conspire for the destruction of all who will not bend to them in their selfish and

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[144] See Beringer and Hattaway, Jefferson Davis, *Confederate President*, 32.
[145] "Jefferson Davis to Hon. D. W. Lewis, Sparta, Georgia," Richmond, September 21, 1863, *JDC*, 6:44.
[146] Ibid., 6:44.
[147] "Geo. E. Lamar to Jefferson Davis," Augusta, Georgia, August 16, 1863, *JDC*, 5:594.

infamous schemes."[148] He even told his ally Henry W. Cleveland of the Atlanta *Constitutionalist* in early 1864 that "a counter-revolution" against the C.S. president would soon see "Vice President Alexander H. Stephens, the governors of several states," and a number of generals topple Davis by force.[149] And when a fleeing C.S. president arrived at Toombs's Washington, Georgia home in 1865, the Georgian refused to doff his hat in respect even though his fellow townsmen did so; but he did give Davis a carriage so that he would leave as soon as possible.[150]

Toombs and his fellow Radicals did manage to attenuate Davis's authority to impose martial law by insisting upon temporal limitations even though Davis held that the power to suspend *habeas corpus* indefinitely was "not simply expedient, but almost indispensable to the successful conduct of the war."[151] The C.S. Congress, however, usually agreed to enhance "the discretionary authority given to the President" because former Democrats outnumbered ex-Whigs there two-to-one from 1861-63 and by a smaller margin after the '63 elections.[152] Davis, in fact, "invite[d] the attention of Congress to the duty of organizing a Supreme Court of the Confederate States, in accordance with the mandate of the Constitution," but the congressmen neglected to do so and instead yielded to Davis's new Department of Justice.[153] And they even passed a law authorizing Davis to appoint generals when the C.S. Congress was not in session.[154]

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[148] Quoted in Rable, *The Confederate Republic*, 296; and quoted in Charles P. Roland, *An American Iliad: The Story of the Civil War*, 2nd ed. (Boston: McGraw-Hill, 2002), 114.
[149] Quoted in T. Michael Parrish, "Jeff Davis Rules: General Beauregard and the Sanctity of Civilian Authority in the Confederacy," in *Jefferson Davis's Generals*, 59-60.
[150] See William C. Davis, *An Honorable Defeat: The Last Days of the Confederate Government* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2001), 254-55, 58. Also see Mark Scroggins, *Robert Toombs: The Civil Wars of a United States Senator and Confederate General* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2011).
[151] "To Congress," March 13, 1865, *PJD*, 11:438. See "Jefferson Davis to Lt. Genl. T. H. Holmes, Trans-Missi. Dept.," Richmond, February 26, 1863, *JDC*, 5:439; and "Jefferson Davis to General E. Kirby Smith, Comdg. Trans-Miss. Dept.," Richmond, April 28, 1864, *JDC*, 6:237.
[152] "Jefferson Davis to Mrs. A. J. Sanders, Richmond, Va.," Richmond, June 11, 1863, *JDC*, 5:511. See Beringer and Hattaway, *Jefferson Davis, Confederate President*, 239-40.
[153] "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, February 25, 1862, *JDC*, 5:206. See Thomas, *The Confederate Nation*, 195.
[154] See "Jefferson Davis to Col. James Phelan, Meridian, Missi.," Richmond, March 1, 1865, *JDC*, 6:499.

Many C.S. Radicals were also willing to limit their opposition to Davis because they agreed with him as to the nature of the Republican threat. While Toombs regarded the institution of slavery as an end in itself whereas Davis deemed it a means to the end of white supremacy, even he echoed the C.S. president by proclaiming in Georgia's secession convention that Republicans would "subject us, not only to the loss of our property but the destruction of ourselves, our wives and our children, and the desolation of our homes…."[155] Davis continually reminded Confederates that, "[i]n the days of the Revolution," the southern Patriot often "left his paternal roof only to return to its blackened ruins." The Republicans were, he insisted, striving to emulate Britain's abolitionist example by marauding and burning their way across the Confederate countryside.[156] And if they succeeded, the southern states would become "dependent provinces" once again.[157] Every white southern lad would, he warned, "grow up a serf" under the "Yankee oppressor," while "the fair daughters of the land" would be "given over to the brutality of the Yankees."[158] But he also predicted that a Republican victory would lead to even worse outcomes than Confederate Americans losing "their birthright of freedom to become slaves!"[159] As he informed the C.S. Congress in November 1861, U.S. "forays along our borders and upon our territory" were meant to bring about "a servile insurrection in our midst."[160]

Davis declared in January 1861 that the "Black Republicans" were driven by abolitionist "fanaticism" over and above their sectionalist consolidation agenda, and he denounced "the

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[155] Quoted in Dew, *Apostles of Disunion*, 12. The prominent Alabama Democrat and initial C.S. Secretary of War LeRoy P. Walker also declared in late 1860 that the Republicans were a threat to not just "our property" and "our liberties" but also to "the sacred purity of our daughters." Montgomery *Weekly Mail*, December 14, 1860.
[156] "Speech of Jefferson Davis in Columbia," from the Charleston *Daily Courier*, October 6, 1864, *JDC*, 6:352. See "Jefferson Davis to Govr. F. W. Pickens, Columbia, S.C.," Executive Office, Richmond, August 16, 1862, *JDC*, 5:320; and "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, May 2, 1864, *JDC*, 6:240.
[157] "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, January 12, 1863, *JDC*, 5:397.
[158] "Speech of Jefferson Davis at Augusta," from the Richmond *Dispatch*, October 10, 1864, *JDC*, 6:357-58. See "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, December 7, 1863, *JDC*, 6:96.
[159] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the special message on affairs in South Carolina. Jan. 10, 1861," *JDC*, 5:29.
[160] "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, November 18, 1861, *JDC*, 5:171.

bitterness of [their] hate" toward the institution of slavery and white supremacy alike.[161] Unsurprisingly, rumors soon began to circulate in the C.S.A. that the Republican vice president Hannibal Hamlin "had negro blood in his veins and… one of his children had kinky hair."[162] Predicting in his final Senate speech that Republicans would soon launch John Brown-style raids into the slave states, Davis insisted that George III had "endeavored to do just what the North has been endeavoring of late to do – to stir up insurrection among our slaves," who were, he reminded the C.S. Congress in April 1861, not so much child-like servants as "brutal savages."[163] Calhoun's son Andrew, after all, had warned in a November 1860 speech before the South Carolina Agricultural Society that a Republican "Abolitionist" government would incite race war in the South by "seduc[ing] the poor, ignorant and stupid nature of the negro…."[164] Having observed that southern slavery was merely an improved version of the African original in which the decapitated heads of cannibalized black slaves were used "to repair some skull-built wall of a kinky-headed chief," Calhoun invoked Thomas Jefferson's 1775 "Declaration on the Causes and Necessity of Taking Up Arms" to inform the Alabama secession convention as a South Carolina commissioner that the "Black Republican" race-traitor "fiends" would soon emulate the British by offering southern whites an appalling choice between "degradation and annihilation."[165]

Maintaining throughout the war that Republicans were motivated by "insane passions" beyond a "lust of conquest," the C.S. president accused them of seeking to impose racial equality on the slave states or even of scheming to bring about "the exile of the whole white population

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[161] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the special message on affairs in South Carolina. Jan. 10, 1861," *JDC*, 5:27, 29; and "Jefferson Davis to F. W. Pickens," Washington, D.C., January 13, 1861, *JDC*, 5:37.
[162] Charleston *Mercury*, January 22, 1861. For Davis's hostility toward Hamlin, see "To Hannibal Hamlin," March 1, 1856, *PJD*, 6:426; and "To Hannibal Hamlin," March 13, 1856, *PJD*, 6:428.
[163] "Farewell Address," January 21, 1861, *PJD*, 7:21; and "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Montgomery, April 29, 1861, *JDC*, 5:72. See "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, January 12, 1863, *JDC*, 5:409; and Oakes, *Freedom National*, 399.
[164] Columbia *Daily South Carolinian*, November 14, 1860.
[165] Ibid.; and Charleston *Mercury*, January 14, 1861.

from the Confederacy."[166] Some few pro-abolitionist U.S. generals, after all, had attempted to free and enlist slaves on their own initiative in 1861 and '62. One such general was Lincoln's upstate New York friend the Republican officer David Hunter, who acquired the moniker "Black Dave" after he nominally freed every slave in South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida as the Department of the South's commander in May 1862 and invited blacks to join his new 1st South Carolina Infantry at his base on the Sea Islands. "The newspapers received from the enemies' country," Davis observed in an August 1862 letter, "announce as a fact that Major Genl. Hunter has armed slaves for the murder of their masters and has thus done all in his power to inaugurate a servile war, which is… the indiscriminate slaughter of all ages, sexes, and conditions."[167]

Lincoln rescinded Hunter's order, but Davis believed that he did so merely to avoid alienating northern Democrats and slave-holding states under U.S. control, not because he was actually opposed to "arming and training slaves for warfare against their masters, citizens of the Confederacy."[168] "Black Dave," after all, took the field once more in 1864 alongside his cousin the Virginian ex-Whig David Hunter Strother, an illustrator for the influential pro-Republican *Harper's Monthly* magazine who had been mentored by Samuel F. B. Morse himself. Upon entering the Shenandoah Valley, Hunter's soldiers "plunder[ed]" Staunton in tandem with blacks and "mulatto women," leaving C.S. civilians to pick over the ruins.[169] And when they toppled a statue of Washington at Lexington's Virginia Military Institute for eventual removal back to Union lines, Strother remarked that Washington's image should not "adorn a country whose inhabitants were striving to destroy a government which he founded."[170] "Black Dave,"

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[166] "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, January 12, 1863, *JDC*, 5:398, 411.
[167] "Jefferson Davis to Genl. R. E. Lee, commanding, etc.," Richmond, August 1, 1862, *JDC*, 5:307-08.
[168] "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, August 18, 1862, *JDC*, 5:322.
[169] *A Virginia Yankee in the Civil War: The Diaries of David Hunter Strother*, ed. Cecil D. Eby (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1961), 248.
[170] Ibid., 256-57.

moreover, even ordered his troops to burn down the Charles Town home of his pro-Confederate cousin Andrew Hunter, who had prosecuted John Brown after the Harpers Ferry raid.[171]

For Davis, moreover, the Emancipation Proclamation proved that the Republicans had always intended to assail slavery in the course of subjugating or even extirpating anti-abolitionist whites. He had predicted in 1858 that the true abolitionist face of the Republicans would be revealed if they were ever to "dislodge the Democracy from the possession of the federal Government...."[172] When Lincoln vowed in September 1862 to free every slave within the Confederacy, enlist blacks in the U.S. army, and allow freedmen to resort to "violence" in "necessary self-defense" unless the Confederates surrendered by January 1, 1863, Davis accordingly informed the C.S. state governors that the Union would now employ "bands of such African slaves… as they may be able to wrest from their owners… to inflict on the non-combatant population of the Confederate States all the horrors of a servile war, superadded to such atrocities as have already been committed on numerous occasions by their invading forces."[173] And when the Proclamation went into effect, Davis called it the "most execrable measure recorded in the history of guilty man" and informed the C.S. Congress that it "affords to our people the complete and crowning proof of the true nature of the designs of the party which elevated to power the present occupant of the Presidential chair at Washington…."[174]

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[171] See Snell, *West Virginia and the Civil War*, 151. Also see Cecil D. Eby, Jr., *"Porte Crayon": The Life of David Hunter Strother* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1973); Howard C. Westwood, "Generals David Hunter and Rufus Saxton and Black Soldiers," *The South Carolina Historical Magazine*, vol. 86, no. 3 (July 1985), 165-81; and Edward A. Miller, Jr., *Lincoln's Abolitionist General: The Biography of David Hunter* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1997).

[172] "Speech of Jefferson Davis before the Mississippi Legislature. November 16, 1858," *JDC*, 3:356.

[173] "Jefferson Davis to Govrs. J. E. Brown, of Ga., R. Hawes of Ky., H. M. Rector, of Ark., F. R. Lubbock, of Texas, C. J. Jackson, of Mo., I. G. Harris, of Tenn., John Letcher, of Va., J. G. Shorter, of Ala., J. J. Pettus, of Miss., F. W. Pickens, of S. C., John Milton, of Fla., Z. B. Vance, of N. C., and Thos. O. Moore, of La.," Executive Office, Richmond, November 26, 1862, *JDC*, 5:377.

[174] "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, January 12, 1863, *JDC*, 5:409-11.

Insisting that the "Yankees" were seeking to destroy not just slavery but also white supremacy, Davis constantly warned Confederates that the Republicans were "design[ing] to incite servile insurrection and light the fires of incendiarism wherever they can reach your homes." "[N]o alternative is left you," he declared, "but victory or subjugation, slavery, and the utter ruin of yourselves, your families, and your country," for they were resolved to "subjugate or exterminate the millions of human beings who, in these States, prefer any fate to submission to their savage assailants."[175] Any Confederates who bowed before them in "unconditional submission," after all, would not just lose their property but suffer the "degradation" of life under black rule – a fate, in his view, worse than death.[176] As he explained in early 1864, "[h]ave we not been apprised by that despot [*i.e.* Lincoln] that we can only expect his gracious pardon by emancipating all our slaves, swearing allegiance and obedience to him and his proclamations, and becoming in point of fact the slaves of our own negroes?"[177] He reiterated in October, moreover, that Lincoln would not merely "emancipate your slaves," for under Republican rule ex-Confederates would, at best, "have permission to vote together with your negroes upon the terms upon which Mr. Lincoln will be graciously pleased to allow you to live as a part of the nation over which he presides."[178] And that nation, he claimed, would no longer be American in character but rather British. Nearly all northerners, he noted a month later, had decried British abolitionism in 1776 and 1812, but the majority of them were now espousing it as Republicans,

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[175] Quoted in Cooper, Jr., *Jefferson Davis, American*, 444; and "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, May 2, 1864, *JDC*, 6:241. See "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, August 18, 1862, *JDC*, 5:321; "Jefferson Davis to Govr. Z. B. Vance, Raleigh, N. C.," Richmond, January 8, 1864, *JDC*, 6:145; "Speech of Jefferson Davis in Columbia," from the Charleston *Daily Courier*, October 6, 1864, *JDC*, 6:353; and Cooper, Jr., *op. cit.*, 506-07.

[176] "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, November 7, 1864, *JDC*, 6:398. See "Inaugural Address," Richmond, February 22, 1862, *JDC*, 5:201; "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, December 7, 1863, *JDC*, 6:96; "Speech of Jefferson Davis at Augusta," from the Richmond *Dispatch*, October 10, 1864, *JDC*, 6:358; and "Jefferson Davis to Messrs. James F. Johnson, President (pro tem.) of Va. Senate; and Hugh W. Sheffey, Speaker of Va. House of Delegates," Richmond, January 18, 1865, *JDC*, 6:454.

[177] "Jefferson Davis to Govr. Z. B. Vance, Raleigh, N.C.," Richmond, January 8, 1864, *JDC*, 6:145.

[178] "Speech of Jefferson Davis in Columbia," from the Charleston *Daily Courier*, October 6, 1864, *JDC*, 6:352.

for "[b]y none have the practices of which they are now guilty been denounced with greater severity than by themselves in the two wars with Great Britain…." "[I]n the Declaration of Independence of 1776," after all, "when enumeration was made of the wrongs which justified the revolt from Great Britain, the climax of atrocity was deemed to be reached only when the English monarch was denounced as having 'excited domestic insurrections amongst us.'"[179]

Some historians have argued that Davis's rhetoric failed to resonate in the Confederacy, but many Confederates did in fact understand the nature of the war and the consequences of defeat along Davis's lines from 1861 onward.[180] Mississippi's secession convention, after all, drafted "A Declaration of Independence" which claimed that the Republican Party "advocates negro equality, socially and politically, and promotes insurrection and incendiarism in our midst."[181] Texas's convention, moreover, held that Republicans were "proclaiming the debasing doctrine of the equality of all men, irrespective of race and color – a doctrine at war with nature, in opposition to the experience of mankind, and in violation of the plainest revelations of Divine Law." The "abolition of negro slavery" under their auspices would hence lead to "the recognition of political equality between the white and negro races."[182] Unsurprisingly, panicked suspicion that Republican agents were working to foment slave rebellions was pervasive in the slaveholding states during the secession crisis.[183] In Christianburg, Virginia, for instance, a resident noted that "[w]e have detected a Scoundrel... attempting to incite the Negroes in our

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[179] "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, November 7, 1864, *JDC*, 6:396.

[180] See, for instance, Paul D. Escott, *After Secession: Jefferson Davis and the Failure of Confederate Nationalism* (1974; reprint, Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1992).

[181] "A Declaration of Independence," January 9, 1861, in *Mississippi: A Documentary History*, ed. Bradley G. Bond (Oxford: University of Mississippi Press, 2003), 95.

[182] "A Declaration of the Causes which Impel the State of Texas to Secede from the Federal Union," February 2, 1861, in *Journal of the Secession Convention of Texas, 1861*, ed. Ernest W. Winkler (Austin, TX: Austin Printing Company, 1912), 35-36. See Donald E. Reynolds, *Texas Terror: The Slave Insurrection Panic of 1860 and the Secession of the Lower South* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2007).

[183] See Armstead L. Robinson, "In the Shadow of Old John Brown: Insurrection Anxiety and Confederate Mobilization, 1861-1863," *The Journal of Negro History*, vol. 65, no. 4 (Autumn 1980), 279-97; and Bernard E. Powers, Jr., "'The Worst of All Barbarism': Racial Anxiety and the Approach of Secession in the Palmetto State," *The South Carolina Historical Magazine*, vol. 112, no. 3/4 (July-October 2011), 139-56.

County to Robbing and murdering the Whites, but fortunately he was discovered by part of the Home Guards and now have him secure in jail."[184] And in Virginia's Northumberland County, forty slaves were arrested after Lincoln's inauguration for plotting to emulate Nat Turner.[185]

C.S. fears of "servile insurrection" were, moreover, inflamed throughout the war by pro-Davis papers, most of which had been Democratic organs. The St. Louis *Daily Missouri Democrat* hence explained in early 1861 that "under the policy of the Republican party, the time would arrive when the scenes of San Domingo and Hayti, with all their attendant horrors, would be enacted in the slaveholding States."[186] The *Enquirer* accused Republicans of promoting racial amalgamation and held that "[t]he governing race is [and]... should be uncontaminated; the white man should be all white, and the negro all negro."[187] The Richmond *Sentinel*, for its part, opined that "of all the crimes against humanity which have blackened the records of shame, that of attempting to incite a servile insurrection… is, by common consent, the foulest, basest, and most diabolical."[188] And while the Richmond *Examiner* was often critical of Davis due to its Radical tendencies, it too insisted that the Republicans were waging "a war of extermination."[189]

Quite a few Confederates, however, had begun to question whether the Union really was committed to John Brown-style abolitionism by early 1862, for deep U.S. incursions into the Confederacy had not resulted in slave rebellions or other large-scale atrocities against C.S. civilians. Yet to Davis's delight, the Emancipation Proclamation largely dispelled those

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[184] Quoted in Jordan, *Black Confederates and Afro-Yankees in Civil War Virginia*), 180.
[185] See ibid., 179.
[186] St. Louis *Daily Missouri Democrat*, January 1, 1861.
[187] Richmond *Enquirer*, December 5, 1862. See ibid., July 29, 1861, December 11, 1861, December 5, 1862, and July 7, 1864. Also see the Richmond *Sentinel*, August 24, 1864.
[188] Richmond *Sentinel*, July 17, 1863.
[189] Richmond *Examiner*, September 29, 1862. See Minton, "Defining Confederate Respectability," in *Crucible of the Civil War*, 101-02; and Bernath, *Confederate Minds*, 198, 208.

doubts.[190] The Lynchburg *Daily Virginian* thus called Lincoln the "negro generalisimo [*sic*]" in January 1863, declaring that he "should be declared an out law, and enemy of mankind…."[191] Confederates also began likening the ostensibly abolitionist U.S. president to George III far more often, referring to him as "King Linkum the First" or "The Royal Ape.[192] Winchester's John Peyton Clark, for his part, vented his rage in an 1862 diary entry upon witnessing U.S. soldiers arrest and beat a fifteen-year-old pro-C.S. white youth who had fired a toy gun at a black man, for "[t]hey hold the negro as the apple of their eye."[193] One Norfolk resident, moreover, described the Emancipation Proclamation as "abolition by fire and sword, raising the negro above the white man, and in so doing exterminating the whites of the South."[194] Indeed, Norfolk's Dr. David Minton Wright assassinated a U.S. lieutenant leading a squad of black soldiers in July 1863 only to be executed in turn when Lincoln rejected appeals for clemency.[195]

The Emancipation Proclamation also fired many a Confederate soldier with a renewed dedication to the war effort, for they often concluded that their foes truly were motivated by John Brown-type abolitionism.[196] The C.S. soldier J. C. Fitz, for instance, held that "[t]hat old fanatical President Abraham the 1st is playing his last card by officially endorsing the rank abolition policy," and he predicted in October 1862 that an already "cruel and bloody" conflict would soon escalate into an all-out race war.[197] Such beliefs persisted well into 1865, fueled in part by slaves like one Aunt Aggy, who rejoiced as follows upon being freed by U.S. troops: "I

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[190] See "Speech of Jefferson Davis in Richmond," from the Richmond *Enquirer*, January 7, 1863, *JDC*, 5:394; "Jefferson Davis to Genl. R. E. Lee, Comdg. Army of No. Va.," Richmond, August 11, 1863, *JDC*, 5:588-89; and "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, November 7, 1864, *JDC*, 6:386.
[191] Lynchburg *Daily Virginian*, January 7, 1863.
[192] Quoted in Bernath, *Confederate Minds*, 198. A C.S. children's speller also explained that "D" was for Davis and "L" was for Lincoln, "oh, woe to his crown!" Quoted in ibid., 198. See William Russell Smith, *The Royal Ape: A Dramatic Poem* (Richmond: West & Johnston, 1863).
[193] Quoted in Jordan, *Black Confederates and Afro-Yankees in Civil War Virginia*, 140.
[194] Quoted in ibid., 259. "Who that is not dead to every sense of honor & humanity," another Virginian declared in May 1864, "will Submit to any such thing as negro equality in the sunny South[?]" Quoted in ibid., 275-76.
[195] See Jordan, *op. cit.*, 282-83.
[196] See Watkins, *"Company Aytch,"* 187; and Sheehan-Dean, *Why Confederates Fought*, 18, 27, 42, 78.
[197] Quoted in Sheehan-Dean, *op. cit.*, 98.

allers 'spected to see white folks heaped up dead. An' de Lor', He's kept His promise, an' 'venged His people, jes' as I knowed He would."[198] "If any of our countrymen," the *Examiner* declared in October 1864, "has hitherto deluded himself with the idea that this present conflict is a 'War,' in the ordinary sense of that term… it is time to awaken from that delusion and to look truth in the face. This is a war of *extirpation*…."[199] And so the Confederate soldier R. H. Field declared in February 1865 that "I fear we are to be overrun & made to yield to Yankee rule. In preference to which I would rather be exterminated as a government and as a people. I have no desire to survive our defeat as a nation on such terms as we may expect from the Yankees."[200]

Confederates believed they were fighting a new American Revolution to save white rule from British abolitionism all the more thanks to the prominent role of pro-abolitionist German-American Republicans in the U.S. army. Recalling the mercenaries from the predominantly Protestant German state of Hesse who fought for George III, Confederates usually referred to the vast number of Deutsch in Union ranks as "hirelings," "mercenaries," "filthy Dutch," and, above all, "Hessians."[201] Lieutenant Colonel James Edmondson of the 27th Virginia Infantry thus decried the "hordes of northerner Hessians who invade our soil" in April 1863, and a popular C.S. song likened the Confederacy's situation to 1776, when "the King sent over hireling hordes,

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[198] Quoted in Sheehan-Dean, *Why Confederates Fought*, 106. See Thavolia Glymph, "Rose's War and the Gendered Politics of a Slave Insurgency in the Civil War," *The Journal of the Civil War Era*, vol. 3, no. 4 (December 2013), 501-32.

[199] Richmond *Examiner*, October 12, 1864. See Minton, "Defining Confederate Respectability," in *Crucible of the Civil War*, 101-02; and Bernath, *Confederate Minds*, 198, 208.

[200] Quoted in Sheehan-Dean, *op. cit.*, 181-82. See ibid., 132.

[201] See Lonn, *Foreigners in the Confederacy*, 152, 420; and Eric W. Bright, "Nothing to Fear from the Influence of Foreigners": The Patriotism of Richmond's German Americans during the Civil War" (MA Thesis; Blacksburg: Virginia Polytechnic Institute, 1999), 100, 102. At least seventy U.S. regiments were commanded by German immigrants. Most of them were predominantly German in composition, and the U.S. army continually received fresh infusions of German immigrants as well. See Lonn, *op. cit.*, 220-21; Mahin, *The Blessed Place of Freedom*, 223, 228; and Donald Allendorf, *Long Road to Liberty: The Odyssey of a German Regiment in the Yankee Army, the 15th Missouri Volunteer Infantry* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 2006).

Briton, Hessian, Scot…."[202] Many of the North's 1.3 million German immigrants who enlisted did in fact do so primarily for the sake of bounties, but quite a few of them were also "'48er" abolitionists.[203] Having lost a common ideological enemy in Napoleon I's France, the Left and Right had come to blows in the German states, and thousands of Left-leaning Germans fled to Britain and the North when the 1848 revolutions foundered. '48ers usually sympathized with the abolitionist movement, and they were generally willing to overlook the nativism, temperance, and snobbery of many a "Yankee" Republican during the 1850s to thwart Bonaparte-friendly Democrats like Davis, who had decried their racially egalitarian "Socialism" as an ungrateful response to a white supremacist American nation which had welcomed them as equal citizens.[204]

The '48ers, in fact, were vital to the Republican victory in 1860 as they convinced tens of thousands of non-Catholic Germans to vote for Lincoln rather than Douglas. And from 1861 onward they wanted to see, in the words of Carl Wittke, "the South reduced to a conquered territory, the rebels severely punished, their property confiscated, and a new order created based on unconditional surrender and the enfranchisement of the Negro."[205] Most of the Confederacy's "crazy, socialistic Germans" lived in Texas, and '48ers cast the bulk of the 13,841 votes against secession there notwithstanding the fact that the Austin *State Times* had driven the pro-abolitionist editor of the San Antonio *Staats Zeitung* to the North by calling together a lynch mob in 1859.[206] When Texas's '48er settlements formed a five-hundred-strong Union Loyal League in 1862 to hamper Confederate conscription, the C.S. government imposed martial law upon

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[202] Quoted in Sheehan-Dean, *Why Confederates Fought*, 137; and John W. Overall, "The Right above the Wrong," in *War Songs of the South*, ed. "Bohemian" (Richmond: West & Johnston, 1862), 179.
[203] See Lonn, *Foreigners in the Confederacy*, 59; and Mahin, *The Blessed Place of Freedom*, 2.
[204] "Speech at Oxford," July 15, 1852, *PJD*, 4:282.
[205] Carl F. Wittke, *Refugees of Revolution: The German Forty-Eighters in America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1952), 246.
[206] "The Non-Slaveholders of the South: Their Interest in the Present Sectional Controversy Identical with That of the Slaveholders," *De Bow's Review*, vol. 30, no. 1 (January, 1861), 69. Many of the Texan '48ers actually hailed from Hesse. See Lonn, *op. cit.*, 15. Also see ibid., 13, 35, 46-47, 51, 426-27; and Mahin, *op. cit.*, 67-68, 72.

them. The 48ers, however, continued to engage in low-level resistance, and ten of them were lynched by an anti-abolitionist mob at the town of Fredericksburg in April 1865 as a result.[207]

David Atchison had also warned Davis that "the *Dutch*" of St. Louis "are Abolitionists" in 1856, and '48ers there did indeed play a key role in securing Missouri for the Union under the command of a quintessential "Yankee" from Connecticut named Nathaniel Lyon.[208] A West Point graduate who reluctantly fought in the Mexican War, Lyon developed sympathies for John Brown while serving in Kansas. When the pro-C.S. Democratic governor of Missouri refused to turn the state militia over to the U.S. government in April 1861, Captain Lyon moved to secure the massive federal arsenal at St. Louis by forming new U.S. volunteer regiments composed of '48ers and local members of the Wide Awakes, which was a Republican pseudo-secret society that evoked bad memories of the Know-Nothings among Democrats.[209] Taking advantage of a brief absence by his commanding officer Davis's old friend General William S. Harney, Lyon attacked and captured the Missouri militia regiments near St. Louis. His soldiers then killed twenty-eight rioting civilians when he paraded his prisoners through the city on May 10, 1861 and a Democratic mob began throwing stones and firing pistols at the "Hessians."[210] Lyon was promoted a week later all the same, and he disobeyed Harney once again by leaving St. Louis's confines to fight the pro-C.S. Missouri State Guard, which Harney had allowed to control most of the state under an unofficial truce. Irate Republican congressmen summoned Harney to the capital, and Lincoln soon relieved him of command even though he had been one of the Union's

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[207] See R. H. Williams, *With the Border Ruffians: Memories of the Far West, 1852-1868*, ed. E. E. Williams (London: John Murray, 1908), 407-08.
[208] "From David R. Atchison," Platte City, February 26, 1856, *PJD*, 6:12.
[209] See Jon Grinspan, "'Young Men for War': The Wide Awakes and Lincoln's 1860 Presidential Campaign," *The Journal of American History*, vol. 96, no. 2 (September 2009), 357-78. Ironically, the St. Louis arsenal had been one of Secretary of War Davis's pet projects. See Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 1:55.
[210] See Christopher Phillips, *Damned Yankee: The Life of General Nathaniel Lyon* (1990; reprint, Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1996).

four ranking generals in 1860. Lyon, in turn, was promoted to brigadier general, and when he was killed at the August 1861 Battle of Wilson's Creek, pro-Republican papers lionized him.[211]

Lyon's mantle was assumed by the '48er and superintendent of St. Louis public schools Franz Sigel, who endorsed Lincoln in 1860 as an influential correspondent in German-language newspapers.[212] Having served under Lyon at Wilson's Creek, Sigel was promoted to brigadier general in August 1861 to cement German-American support for the Republican Party. He was elevated to major general upon winning the March 1862 Battle of Pea Ridge in Arkansas.[213] After he was transferred to the east, he led the Army of the Potomac's largely German XI Corps and inspired the song "I'm going to fight mit Sigel": "Und ven Cheff Davis' mens we meet, / Ve SCHLAUCH 'em like de tuyvil."[214] Sigel then led an army into the Shenandoah but suffered a humiliating defeat at the May 1864 Battle of New Market. According to David Hunter Strother, a flustered Sigel had been "talking German and fiddling with the artillery instead of looking to the general position of his army," and "Black Dave" replaced the famous '48er as a result.[215]

Sigel had rather ironically defeated several regiments of slaveholding C.S. Indians at Pea Ridge, for quite a few non-white slaveholders were willing to enter Confederate service not just to protect their own slave property but also in hopes of obtaining equal rights.[216] Yet while Davis was willing to let them join the C.S. army, he would only do so within a framework of unremitting white supremacy. Secretary of War Davis had thus delivered long-delayed land and

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[211] See "The Last Political Writings of Gen. Nathaniel Lyon, U.S.A., with a Sketch of His Life and Military Services," *The North American Review*, vol. 94, no. 194 (January 1862), 274.
[212] See *Germans for a Free Missouri: Translations from the St. Louis Radical Press, 1857-1862*, ed. and trans. Steven Rowan (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1983).
[213] See Stephen D. Engle, "Franz Sigel at Pea Ridge," *The Arkansas Historical Quarterly*, vol. 50, no. 3 (Autumn 1991), 249-70.
[214] *Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States. Songs, Compiled for Use of Minnesota Commandery* (St. Paul: The Pioneer Press Company, 1886), 53.
[215] *A Virginia Yankee in the Civil War*, 137. See Stephen D. Engle, *Yankee Dutchman: The Life of Franz Sigel* (1993; reprint, Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1999).
[216] See James G. Hollandsworth, Jr., *The Louisiana Native Guards: The Black Military Experience During the Civil War* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1995).

cash bounties to the Indians who served as U.S. army scouts in the War of 1812, the various Seminole wars, and the Mexican War even as he rejected any and all proposals to grant them citizenship.[217] The Radicals who regarded slavery as the Confederacy's *raison d'être*, however, were willing at times to give non-white slaveholders citizenship rights, particularly if the slaveholders in question were not black. The conjoined Chinese twins from Siam Chang and Eng Bunker, for instance, made a fortune in antebellum U.S. circuses. Given their wealth and the Democracy's white racialism, they naturally gravitated toward the Whig Party. When they received an especially warm welcome from Whigs in North Carolina, they settled down there as slaveholding planters in 1839. The Bunker brothers married white women, and their Whig friends even managed to secure them state and hence U.S. citizenship. They endorsed secession and their sons served in the C.S. army, but they were hardly enthused by President Davis.[218] Secretary of War Davis, after all, had refused to give the Chinese Yale graduate Yung Wing a sample rifle to take home to China in 1854. Appalled by what he took to be Yale's racial egalitarianism, he claimed that he needed Pierce's permission as an excuse to deny the request.[219]

The "civilized tribes" of the Indian Territory near Arkansas were usually led by partly-white slaveholders, and they offered to raise C.S. Indian regiments in 1861. Davis was happy to have them so long as "[t]he soldiers and people of the Six Nations" understood that they would not be given citizenship even as they received annuities and weaponry, for "[a]rrangements have been made with Maj. La Flore to have a certain number of arms delivered on the west side of the Mississippi river for the Indians...."[220] He accordingly put the "[t]erritory of the Six Nations"

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[217] See *PJD*, 4:364-65; and *PJD*, 5:182, 395.
[218] See Leslie Bow, *Partly Colored: Asian Americans and Racial Anomaly in the Segregated South* (New York: New York University Press, 2010), 44; and Joseph Andrew Orser, *The Lives of Chang & Eng: Siam's Twins in Nineteenth-Century America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014).
[219] See *PJD*, 5:393.
[220] "Jefferson Davis to Israel Folsom, President of the Grand Council of the Six Confederate Indian Nations," Richmond, February 22, 1864, *JDC*, 6:185-86.

under the administrative control of white C.S. "officers and agents" who were answerable for misconduct to the Confederate government rather than to the tribal governments, which were granted "delegates elect" in the C.S. Congress who were allowed to speak but not vote.[221]

Davis tasked his old friend Douglas H. Cooper with implementing the C.S. government's Indian policy. Mississippi's Cooper was an ardent Democrat and a captain in the 1st Mississippi Rifles during the Mexican War. Secretary of War Davis convinced Pierce to appoint Cooper the U.S. agent to the Choctaw, and Senator Davis sustained him in that position under the Buchanan administration.[222] The C.S. president assigned him to negotiate the initial treaties of alliance between the Confederacy and various Indian tribes, after which Cooper's 1st Choctaw and Chicksaw Mounted Rifles fought pro-U.S. Indians near Kansas as well as Sigel's soldiers at Pea Ridge. Davis elevated him to brigadier general in May 1863, and Cooper even led an under-strength brigade of C.S. Indian cavalry into Missouri during an 1864 Confederate incursion.[223]

The pro-C.S. Indians were more or less content with Davis's policies and Cooper's leadership through 1863. "I am happy to inform you," Davis told the C.S Congress in August 1862, "that… the Indian nations within the Confederacy have remained firm in their loyalty and steadfast observance of their treaty engagements with this Government."[224] The Confederate tribes, however, began to press for a less unequal relationship with the C.S. government in 1864 thanks to the Cherokee delegate to the C.S. Congress Elias C. Boudinot, whose father Elias Boudinot had edited the famous *Cherokee Phoenix* newspaper and signed of the 1835 Treaty of

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[221] "Jefferson Davis to Israel Folsom, President of the Grand Council of the Six Confederate Indian Nations," Richmond, February 22, 1864, *JDC*, 6:185-86. See "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, August 18, 1862, *JDC*, 5:325; and Beringer and Hattaway, *Jefferson Davis, Confederate President*, 37.

[222] See "To Jacob Thompson," March 13, 1857, *PJD*, 6:534. Alabama's David Hubbard, moreover, was a Democratic congressman from 1839-41 and '49-51, a railroad promoter, and a pioneer of the use of slave labor in factories. He was also a C.S. commissioner of Indian Affairs from 1861-63. See *PJD*, 6:272.

[223] See Warner, *Generals in Gray*, 61-62.

[224] "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, August 18, 1862, *JDC*, 5:325. See "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, January 12, 1863, *JDC*, 5:414.

New Echota, by which the Cherokee had ostensibly consented to their removal from Georgia by the Jackson administration. The treaty bitterly divided the Cherokee, and Boudinot was murdered by the anti-removal faction in 1839. Yet all of the Cherokee possessed bad memories of the Georgia Democrats who had pressured the U.S. government to expel them, squatted upon their land, and singled out Cherokee slaveholders for abuse.[225] As a result, slaveholding Cherokees tended to favor Radical Whigs, who were always quick to defend the property rights of all slaveholders and were hardly eager to set poor whites above slaveholding Indians for the sake of equality among whites.[226] It did not help either that Secretary of War Davis had placed the Cherokee under the control of "the military authorities of the United States" to avert "domestic strife" among them in 1853.[227] Davis, in fact, actually preferred to treat Indian tribes not as semi-sovereign nations at all but rather as non-citizens wholly subject to white administrative authority. "So far from being the advocate of treaties with the Indians," he declared in 1858, "I think it is an absurdity." "They have neither the intelligence nor the capacity to understand or enforce a treaty," he explained, and "the whole policy of the Government from the beginning, in making treaties with Indians, has been entirely wrong."[228]

Elias C. Boudinot belonged to an Arkansas faction of ex-Whig Radical slaveholders who had been willing to put him forward as a candidate for office before they grudgingly returned to the Democracy in the late 1850s.[229] Upon entering the C.S. Congress in late 1863, he pressured

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[225] See Sharon P. Flanagan, "The Georgia Cherokees Who Remained: Race, Status, and Property in the Chattahoochee Community," *The Georgia Historical Quarterly*, vol. 73, no. 3, (Autumn 1989), 584-609; and Theda Perdue and Michael D. Green, *The Cherokee Nation and the Trail of Tears* (New York: Penguin Group, 2007).
[226] See Edward E. Dale, "The Cherokees in the Confederacy," *The Journal of Southern History*, vol. 13, no. 2 (May 1947), 159-85.
[227] "Jefferson Davis to R. McClelland," War Department, Washington, D.C., October 18, 1853, *JDC*, 2:276.
[228] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the bill for the increase of the army. Jan. 26 and 27, 1858," *JDC*, 3:152.
[229] See Thomas B. Colbert, "Elias Cornelius Boudinot, 'The Indian Orator and Lecturer,'" *American Indian Quarterly*, vol. 13, no. 3 (Summer 1989), 249-59.

Davis to make the Indian Territory a military department in its own right.[230] The C.S. president acquiesced insofar as he "caused the Indian Territory to be designated a separate Military *District*," but it was still subordinate to the Trans-Mississippi Department. And he ordered all of "the Indian troops to be under the immediate command of General Cooper, the officer of your choice," encouraging Boudinot as well to raise "a sufficient number of Indian Troops" so that Cooper could be promoted to major general.[231] Boudinot, however, pushed him to promote the Indian colonels of Indian regiments to brigadier general rank, in which capacity they might command white C.S. regiments. In response, Davis elevated Boudinot's uncle Colonel Stand Watie of the 1st Cherokee Mounted Rifles to brigadier general in May 1864 provided that no white C.S. regiments would serve under him.[232] Watie, for his part, was a pro-Radical Whig slaveholding planter who signed the Treaty of New Echota, nearly shared Elias Boudinot's fate in 1839, and ruthlessly retaliated in kind against the anti-treaty Cherokee, most of whom had aligned themselves with anti-removal northern Whigs and sided with the Union in 1861.[233]

Davis, however, identified Albert Pike rather than Boudinot as the primary source of C.S. Indian discontent.[234] Born and raised in Massachusetts, Pike was, in Ezra J. Warner's words, "an avowed Whig" who became an explorer in the southwest.[235] He settled down as a planter and

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[230] See "From Elias C. Boudinot," January 4, 1864, *PJD*, 10:151.
[231] "Jefferson Davis to Israel Folsom, President of the Grand Council of the Six Confederate Indian Nations," Richmond, February 22, 1864, *JDC*, 6:185-86.
[232] See ibid., 6:186.
[233] Watie avoided punishment for killing one of the anti-treaty Cherokee in the early 1840s thanks to the legal services of Boudinot, who was a C.S. lieutenant colonel before his election to the C.S. Congress. See Luther B. Hill, *A History of the State of Oklahoma*, vol. 2 (Chicago: The Lewis Publishing Company, 1910), 213; Edward E. Dale and Gaston Litton, *Cherokee Cavaliers: Forty Years of Cherokee History as Told in the Correspondence of the Ridge-Watie-Boudinot Family* (1939; reprint, Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995); Kenny A. Franks, *Stand Watie and the Agony of the Cherokee Nation* (Memphis: Memphis State University Press, 1979); and Frank Cunningham, *General Stand Watie's Confederate Indians* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998).
[234] See "Jefferson Davis to Govr. H. Flannigan, Governor of Arkansas," Richmond, July 15, 1863, *JDC*, 5:564; "To Lieutenant General E. K. Smith," Richmond, July 14, 1863, in *Jefferson Davis: The Essential Writings*, 308; and "Jefferson Davis to Lt. Genl. T. H. Holmes," Richmond, July 15, 1863, *JDC*, 5:555.
[235] Warner, *Generals in Gray*, 240. See *PJD*, 6:514; and Walter Lee Brown, *A Life of Albert Pike* (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1997), 117, 262.

Whig newspaperman in Arkansas. Pike also joined the Know-Nothings after the Whig Party's demise, and he became a prominent proponent of slavery-in-the-abstract. He initially opposed secession for fear that it would endanger slavery, but he sided with the C.S.A. when secession in Arkansas became a *fait accompli*.[236] The fervently anti-Catholic Pike, moreover, likened Lincoln to the last Catholic king of England James II, who was overthrown by Protestants despite aid from French and Irish Catholics. Pike, after all, was an Anglophile who espoused Radical state's rights, detested Napoleon III's "Imperial Absolutism," lauded the "Constitutional Monarch in England," and endeavored to publish his Romantic poetry in British journals.[237]

Even though Davis despised Pike's politics, he made him a brigadier general to organize Indian regiments because Pike was a Battle of Buena Vista veteran and had befriended many a pro-Radical Whig Indian slaveholder. Pike, however, performed poorly at Pea Ridge, and Douglas H. Cooper accused him of being "either insane or untrue" for having thrown away an apparent Confederate victory.[238] Pike, in fact, had reputedly encouraged C.S. Indian soldiers to scalp U.S. troops, a deed which Davis viewed as an affront to white supremacy.[239] The C.S. War Department soon ordered Pike to be arrested as a suspected embezzler and traitor, but the charges were dropped and Davis accepted his resignation in November 1862 after rebuking him for his many "impropriet[ies]."[240] Yet the C.S. president soon came to suspect that Pike was quietly advising Indian slaveholders to claim equal rights as slaveholders irrespective of race, for

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[236] See Walter L. Brown, "Rowing against the Stream: The Course of Albert Pike from National Whig to Secessionist," *The Arkansas Historical Quarterly*, vol. 39, no. 3 (Autumn 1980), 230-46; and Harold T. Smith, "The Know-Nothings in Arkansas," *The Arkansas Historical Quarterly*, vol. 34, no. 4 (Winter 1975), 291-303.
[237] Albert Pike, "State or Province? Bond or Free," in *Southern Pamphlets on Secession*, 329. See Susan B. Riley, "Albert Pike as an American Don Juan," *The Arkansas Historical Quarterly*, vol. 19, no. 3 (Autumn 1960), 207-24.
[238] Quoted in Warner, *Generals in Gray*, 240. See Walter L. Brown, "The Mexican War Experiences of Albert Pike and the 'Mounted Devils' of Arkansas," *The Arkansas Historical Quarterly*, vol. 12, no. 4 (Winter 1953), 301-15.
[239] See Walter L. Brown, "Albert Pike and the Pea Ridge Atrocities," *The Arkansas Historical Quarterly*, vol. 38, no. 4 (Winter 1979), 345-59.
[240] See "Jefferson Davis to Brig. Genl. Albert Pike, Camp McCulloch, Choctaw Nation," Richmond, August 8, 1862, *JDC*, 5:315.

he had long disliked Whigs like Pike who disparaged white frontiersmen and romanticized Indians by assigning them "a noble character, and presum[ing] that they are always right...."[241]

Notwithstanding Pike's supposed machinations, Davis received a missive from the C.S. tribes in February 1864 "which instructs your Delegates to assure the Confederate States of the unshaken loyalty of the Six Nations…."[242] Stand Watie, in fact, was the last C.S. general to surrender, doing so on June 23, 1865. But he had been fighting all along primarily for slavery-in-the-abstract. The Indian tribes which backed the C.S.A. owned more than 12,500 slaves until the spring of 1866, for they legally contested the U.S. government's directives to unconditionally emancipate their slaves and grant them equal tribal membership. Douglas H. Cooper litigated on behalf of Indians who were willing to manumit Indian-owned slaves but unwilling to let blacks into their tribes. Boudinot and Watie, in contrast, did little to resist equal tribal membership for black Cherokee freedmen upon losing their legal struggle to hold them still as chattel property.[243]

Senator Davis had characterized outrages committed by U.S. soldiers against cooperative non-whites in occupied Mexico as "shameful atrocities" that "tarnish[ed] the fame" of the Union and deserved "summary punishment."[244] Yet when non-whites killed whites in the course of resisting the U.S. government, he called for their subjugation unto obliteration. He thus fumed in relation to the Comanche that "[o]ur race is superior to theirs; our horses are superior to theirs; we are their superiors in every way" – a fact which few Comanche raiders would live to learn upon being "brought face to face with our own race… bearing the weapons which a skillful

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[241] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Indian appropriation bill. Feb. 2, 1859," *JDC*, 3:524.

[242] "Jefferson Davis to Israel Folsom, President of the Grand Council of the Six Confederate Indian Nations," Richmond, February 22, 1864, *JDC*, 6:186.

[243] See Tim Gammon, "Black Freedmen and the Cherokee Nation," *Journal of American Studies*, vol. 11, no. 3 (December 1977), 357-64; R. Halliburton, *Red Over Black: Black Slavery Among the Cherokee Indians* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1977); Daniel F. Littlefield, Jr., *The Cherokee Freedmen: From Emancipation to American Citizenship* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1978); and Celia E. Naylor, *African Cherokees in Indian Territory*: *From Chattel to Citizens* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008), 155-78.

[244] "Speech of Jefferson Davis, August 5, 1850, in defense of Gen. Taylor, on the resolution of Mr. Cass in relation to the exercise of civil power by the military officers of the United States," *JDC*, 1:458-61.

ordnance corps furnish to our troops."[245] Pro-Union Indian warriors did not receive any quarter from white or Indian C.S. soldiers on many an occasion as a result, and they retaliated in one case by slaughtering several whites and over one hundred pro-C.S. and supposedly cannibalistic Tonkawa Indians on an October 1862 raid into the Indian Territory.[246] The Davis administration was similarly unmerciful to blacks who were not in U.S. service but in arms against the Confederacy, for as the C.S. president warned in the Emancipation Proclamation's wake, large-scale attempts by blacks to carry out "the massacre of our wives, our daughters, and our helpless children" would result in the "extermination of the slaves."[247] He hence declared in February 1864 that any bands of rebellious blacks would be annihilated by the C.S. army, which could be used "to keep the peace and protect the lives and property of our citizens at home" because he was authorized by the Constitution to "suppress insurrections, and repel invasions."[248]

The C.S. War Department, moreover, assumed that most blacks in the North were runaway slaves and ruled in anticipation of the Emancipation Proclamation that all black U.S. soldiers would be executed if captured as "[s]laves in flagrant rebellion" who were "subject to death by the laws of every slave-holding State; and did circumstances admit without too great delays and military inconveniences, might be handed over to the civil tribunals for condemnation. They cannot be recognized in any way as soldiers subject to the rules of war and

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[245] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the bill to increase the rank and file of the army. June 11, 1850," *JDC*, 1:360.
[246] See Isaac M. Holcomb and Joseph B. Thoburn, *A History of Oklahoma* (San Francisco: Doub & Company, 1908), 85.
[247] "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, January 12, 1863, *JDC*, 5:409. Upon receiving "a copy of a letter captured from the enemy, in which a plan is proposed to General Foster for a general insurrection of the slaves on the night of August first, to destroy rail road bridges, &c.," Davis brought it "to the special attention of the Secretary of War, who will communicate a warning to Generals commanding armies in the field." "Jefferson Davis to Govr. Z. B. Vance, Govr. of No. Carolina," Richmond, May 30, 1863, *JDC*, 5:500.
[248] "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," February 3, 1864, *JDC*, 6:168.

to trial by military courts... summary execution must therefore be inflicted on those taken."[249] Congressional Radicals, however, insisted upon compensation for slaveholders, and they pushed through a May 1863 law mandating that all captured black U.S. soldiers were to be turned over to the "State or States in which they shall be captured, to be dealt with according to the present or future laws of such State or States," notwithstanding any "military inconveniences."[250] Yet they did authorize the C.S. president to summarily execute captured white U.S. officers commanding black troops, acceding to his assertion that such a policy would be more "expedient" than remanding them to the states so "that they may be dealt with in accordance with the laws of those States providing for the punishment of criminals engaged in exciting servile insurrection."[251]

Davis had insisted from 1861 onward that any Union officer leading black troops "forfeits his claims, if captured, to be considered as a prisoner of war, but must expect to be dealt with as an offender against all law, human and divine."[252] The C.S. War Department therefore issued a general order in August 1862 directing that "Black Dave" was, if captured, "not to be regarded as a prisoner of war, but held in close confinement for execution as a felon."[253] The Davis administration, however, ended up treating captured black U.S. soldiers and their white commanders as *de facto* prisoners-of-war thanks to the Union's General Order no. 100, which warned in April 1863 that captured Confederates would be deliberately mistreated or executed if the U.S. military personnel in question were not treated as prisoners-of-war. And it did not

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[249] "James A. Seddon to G. T. Beauregard," War Department, Richmond, November 30, 1862, in *Report on the Treatment of Prisoners of War, by the Rebel Authorities, During the War of the Rebellion* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1869), 427.
[250] "Joint Resolution on the subject of retaliation," May 1, 1863, in *Public Laws of the Confederate States of America, Passed at the Third Session of the First Congress*, ed. James M. Matthews (1862; reprint, Holmes Beach, FL: William W. Gaunt and Sons, 1970), 167-68.
[251] "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, January 12, 1863, *JDC*, 5:409. See "Joint Resolution on the subject of retaliation," May 1, 1863, in *Public Laws of the Confederate States of America, Passed at the Third Session of the First Congress*, 167-68; and Beringer and Hattaway, *Jefferson Davis, Confederate President*, 245-46.
[252] "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, November 18, 1861, *JDC*, 5:171.
[253] S. Cooper, Adjutant and Inspector General, "General Orders No. 60," *OR*, series I, 14:522.

surprise Confederates to learn that the order had been drafted by the German abolitionist immigrant Francis Lieber, who had wept as a boy when Napoleon I won a decisive battle against the Prussians at Jena in 1806.[254] Lieber went on to fight against the French emperor, whom he loathed, as a Prussian soldier in the Waterloo campaign, during which he was wounded.[255] He was expelled from Prussia, however, for championing ideas associated with the Left. The scholarly Lieber moved to Boston and eventually settled down in 1835 as a University of South Carolina political economy professor. He espoused free trade in that capacity but became a fervent Whig anyway because he despised Catholicism as well as the Democratic ideals of white supremacy and equality among whites. Insisting that blacks were innately equal to whites, he dismissed the Democracy's creed on June 6, 1851 in the Boston *Daily Journal* as follows: "I really should like to know whether the Croatian or Wallachian stands as high as the best class of negroes in Liberia. I believe not.... Superiority of the white race! Since when?"[256] Lieber therefore encouraged Know-Nothings to oppose immigration by and equal rights for Catholics even as he urged them to welcome non-Catholic Germans as Protestant Teutonic brethren. And he was delighted when an Anglo-Protestant southern divine agreed with him that Napoleon III's regime suited the biologically and religiously inferior French as a vicious military dictatorship: "Does not Keltic blood predominate in the French? If so, – they must be governed by a strong hand; it is a want which their instincts require and will have, in some shape or other."[257]

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[254] See Francis Lieber, "Instructions for the Government of Armies of the United States in the Field," War Department, Washington City, April 24, 1863, *OR*, series III, 3:148-64; and Frank Freidel, "General Orders 100 and Military Government," *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, vol. 32, no. 4 (March 1946), 541-56.
[255] See Francis Lieber, "A Reminiscence," *Southern Literary Messenger*, vol. 3 no. 10 (August 1836), 553-58.
[256] Quoted in O'Brien, *Conjectures of Order*, 76. See Hartmut Keil, "Francis Lieber's Attitudes on Race, Slavery, and Abolition," *Journal of American Ethnic History*, vol. 28, no. 1 (Fall 2008), 13-33.
[257] Quoted in O'Brien, *op. cit.*, 388.

Disconcerted by the ascendance of Davis Democrats during the 1850s, Lieber returned to Boston in 1856 and drew close to such pro-abolitionist Republicans as Charles Sumner.[258] Much to his chagrin, however, one of his own sons, Oscar, became an admirer of Davis, who sent an October 1853 letter to the Secretary of the Navy recommending the young Lieber for a proposed Amazon exploration expedition.[259] Oscar Lieber ultimately died in C.S. service, but not before he was disowned by his pro-Republican father, who drafted a Code of War for the whole U.S. army at the behest of the Lincoln administration.[260] Francis Lieber, moreover, knew full well that the Davis Democrats who were running the C.S. government viewed slavery as a means to the end of white supremacy, for quite a few Democrats had informed him in antebellum South Carolina that they were not implacably opposed to a very gradual elimination of slavery but would not countenance emancipation until the North had completely repudiated racial equality. "What degrades more in the U.S.," Lieber had mused, "Colour or slavery?" "In the U.S. colour degrades more than slavery, for the free man of colour stands little above the slave."[261]

General Order no. 100 worked as intended because Davis thought that Lieber and his fellow Republicans were eager to execute captured Confederates, for he had believed since 1861 that only his retaliatory threats against U.S. prisoners-of-war had dissuaded them from doing so. The Confederate Constitution authorized the C.S. government to "provide and maintain a navy," but Davis urged Confederate civilians to attack U.S. commerce as privateers in 1861 while his administration set about creating a regular navy. Britain had declared that Patriot privateers were pirates subject to execution if captured in 1776, and the U.S. government similarly held that the

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[258] See Frank Freidel, "Francis Lieber, Charles Sumner, and Slavery," *The Journal of Southern History*, vol. 9, no. 1 (February 1943), 75-93.
[259] See *PJD*, 5:268.
[260] See D. H. Dilbeck, "War in Earnest: The Union and its Effort to Wage a Just War" (PhD Dissertation; Charlottesville: University of Virginia, 2015).
[261] Quoted in O'Brien, *Conjectures of Order*, 249. Also see ibid., 73-78, 80-85, 146.

lives of the C.S. privateers who had manned such captured vessels as the *Savannah* and *Jefferson Davis* were forfeit.[262] In response, Davis notified the C.S. Congress in April 1861 that he had threatened to retaliate in kind upon U.S. prisoners-of-war, and the Lincoln administration had, in his view, balked at the prospect of "inaugurat[ing] a war of extermination on both sides…."[263]

The C.S. president, however, came to believe that the deterrent power of his retaliatory execution threats was waning because the Republicans were becoming ever-more resolved to vindicate racial equality at any cost. He had, after all, had to threaten to execute U.S. prisoners-of-war once more in May 1863 after the Union major general Robert C. Schenck ordered rag-tag C.S. soldiers captured wearing articles of U.S. clothing to be executed as spies.[264] Schenck, for his part, was an Ohio Republican who had excoriated Calhoun's "gag rule" and the Mexican War as a Whig congressman.[265] The Davis administration, moreover, had refrained from remanding captured black troops to the states because of General Order no. 100, but it had also denied them and their white officers *de jure* prisoner-of-war status by refusing to exchange them for C.S. equivalents. The Union cancelled all exchanges in December 1863 as a result, prompting Davis to assert that its "barbarous refusal to exchange prisoners of war" indicated that Republicans were willing to let white prisoners-of-war on both sides die for the sake of abolitionist racial

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[262] See "James Madison to John Adams," Philada. Feby. 3. 1795, Andrew Kippis Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society; "Charles Thomson to John Adams," Harriton, March 9. 1795, Andrew Kippis Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society; and William M. Robinson, *The Confederate Privateers* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1994).

[263] "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Montgomery, April 29, 1861, *JDC*, 5:79. See "Jefferson Davis to Abraham Lincoln," Richmond, July 6, 1861, *JDC*, 5:110.

[264] Davis ordered his Secretary of War to issue a general order holding "that articles of clothing and accoutrement are legitimate objects of capture… ample retaliation will therefore be used to repress any attempt to treat as spies or to punish in any manner officers or soldiers of the Confederacy who may be captured and condemned by the enemy solely because of their being possessed of or wearing clothing or accoutrements captured from the enemy." "Jefferson Davis to Hon. Jas. A. Seddon, Secretary of War," Richmond, May 13, 1863, *JDC*, 5:488.

[265] See Fred B. Joyner, "Robert Cumming Schenck, First Citizen and Statesman of the Miami Valley," *Ohio History*, vol. 58, no. 3 (July 1949), 245-359. Schenck was also the Fillmore administration's ambassador to Brazil. President Pierce revoked his appointment. See Allan Peskin and Donald Ramos, "An Ohio Yankee at Dom Pedro's Court: Notes on Brazilian Life in the 1850's. By an American Diplomat, Robert C. Schenck," *The Americas*, vol. 38, no. 4 (April 1982), 497-514.

equality.[266] "[I]n spite of humane care," he informed the C.S. Congress in May 1864, U.S. prisoners-of-war were "perishing from the inevitable effects of imprisonment and the homesickness produced by the hopelessness of release from confinement," but the Union was, he claimed, ignoring their plight to secure equal rights for blacks while killing off C.S. prisoners-of-war, who had been given over to black guards and denied adequate care despite the Union's ample resources.[267] Concluding that C.S. prisoners-of-war were bound to perish one way or another in U.S. custody, a few Confederate officers began to summarily execute captured black soldiers on their own initiative, provoking retaliation from the United States Colored Troops on several occasions.[268] The Richmond *Enquirer* therefore lamented in August 1864 that "some negroes were captured instead of being shot," urging C.S. soldiers to "go forward... until every negro is slaughtered... and permit them not to soil their hands with the capture of one negro."[269]

Yet while Davis was implacably opposed to racial equality, he was open to bringing blacks into the C.S. military as laborers and, ultimately, soldiers on white supremacist terms. He and his supporters were willing to extend material rewards and even promises of manumission to such blacks, but they drew the line at citizenship. Davis, after all, knew full well that blacks had "occasionally fought in the ranks" of the Patriots in the American Revolution, during which the South Carolina legislature had nearly approved Colonel John Laurens's proposal to recruit between three-to-five thousand slave soldiers who were to receive freedom but not citizenship in

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[266] "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, December 7, 1863, *JDC*, 6:119.
[267] "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, May 2, 1864, *JDC*, 6:242. See "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, December 7, 1863, *op. cit.*, 6:122-23; "Jefferson Davis to Govr. M. L. Bonham, Governor of South Carolina," Richmond, August 25, 1864, *JDC*, 6:323; and Jordan, *Black Confederates and Afro-Yankees in Civil War Virginia*, 282, 296.
[268] See Weymouth T. Jordan, Jr. and Gerald W. Thomas, "Massacre at Plymouth: April 20, 1864," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, vol. 72, no. 2 (April 1995), 125-97; Gregory J. W. Urwin, *Black Flag over Dixie: Racial Atrocities and Reprisals in the Civil War* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2004); and Andrew Ward, *River Run Red: The Fort Pillow Massacre in the American Civil War* (New York: Penguin, 2006).
[269] Richmond *Enquirer*, August 1, 1864. See ibid., July 7, 1864.

exchange for faithful Patriot service.[270] Before the Battle of New Orleans, moreover, Andrew Jackson had attempted to augment his forces by offering monetary incentives to free blacks and manumission to slaves, although he reneged on his pledge to the slaves in light of vociferous planter opposition and excluded the free blacks from the ensuing New Orleans victory parade.[271]

Predicting in 1850 that, in the event of a war against Britain or an Anglophile North, the South's "slaves would be to her now as they were in the revolution, an element of military strength," Davis claimed that the U.S. government had the power to temporarily impress slaves for military service in any capacity and could even manumit them if it were to impress them *in toto*, although it could never turn them into citizens.[272] "[I]t is Anti-American to seize the property of individuals," he had explained in 1845, and so if the federal government were to impress and manumit slaves without paying compensation in a time of peace, it would be guilty of "the plundering practice of British confiscation."[273] Yet it would be consistent with the Constitution for the U.S. government to impress slaves outright for military use in wartime and then manumit them at its pleasure, for the Fifth Amendment "forbids the Federal Government to take private property except for public use, and then by making due compensation therefor."[274]

Blacks informally served the C.S. army as body servants for individual soldiers and officers throughout the war, but they also officially entered C.S. service in 1861 as free black

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[270] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on Mr. Brown's Resolutions. Jan. 27 and 28, 1860," *JDC*, 4:175. See Gregory D. Massey, "The Limits of Antislavery Thought in the Revolutionary Lower South: John Laurens and Henry Laurens," *The Journal of Southern History*, vol. 63, no. 3 (August 1997), 495-530.

[271] See *African Americans at War: An Encyclopedia*, ed. Jonathan Sutherland, vol. 1 (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2004), 279.

[272] "Speech of Jefferson Davis in Senate Feb. 13 and 14, 1850 on Slavery in the Territories," *JDC*, 1:306.

[273] "Jefferson Davis to the Editor of the *Sentinel*," Brierfield, Mississippi, July 5, 1845, *JDC*, 1:16. See "Jefferson Davis to S. Cobun and others," Brierfield, Mississippi, November 7, 1850, from the Port Gibson *Herald*, November 29, 1850, *JDC*, 1:594-95.

[274] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Compromise Bill. July 31, 1850," *JDC*, 1:430. See "Resolutions of the Legislature of Mississippi, approved March 6, 1850," *JDC*, 1:382; "Jefferson Davis to B. Pendleton and others," Brierfield, Mississippi, November 10, 1850," from the *Mississippi Free Trader*, November 30, 1850, *JDC*, 1:588; "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the slave trade in the District of Columbia. Sept. 10, 1850," *JDC*, 1:535; "Jefferson Davis to the People of Mississippi," Warren County, Mississippi, September, 25, 1851, *JDC*, 2:100; and "Speech of Jefferson Davis at the Grand Ratification Meeting, Faneuil Hall, Monday evening, Oct. 11, 1858," *JDC*, 3:320.

employees or hired-out slaves, working as cooks, musicians, teamsters, laborers, and servants. Calhoun, after all, had been willing to let free blacks serve in the U.S. navy "for the purposes of cooks, servants, and stewards."[275] Davis likewise observed in 1850 that "[i]t is well known that the stewards of our armed vessels of the navy of the United States are generally black," and because they were under martial discipline, he did not think that they had to be temporarily incarcerated as were black sailors on northern or British merchantmen visiting southern ports.[276] The C.S. navy followed suit by employing black stewards and laborers.[277] Secretary of War Davis, moreover, had rejected the request of a free black named Jacob Dodson to serve as a U.S. soldier, but he offered to hire him as a regimental laborer.[278] Each C.S. company could therefore enlist up to four black workers, who received the same rations and pay as soldiers to induce free blacks to volunteer and encourage masters to hire slaves out.[279] And when the response proved to be disappointing, the C.S. Congress authorized free blacks to be conscripted in April 1862, coercing masters into hiring their slave property out as well by impressing slaves for temporary service. The C.S. Constitution, after all, duplicated the Fifth Amendment in Article 1, Section 9.

Davis had also utilized hired-out slaves to build military infrastructure as the U.S. Secretary of War, and he wanted to form entire "corps of negroes for laborers" from 1861 forward.[280] He had been pleased by a slaveholder at Fort Barrancas, Florida who had been willing to hire his slaves out to the U.S. army in 1856 and even consented to wait until the next appropriation period for payment, but C.S. Radicals denounced his calls for large-scale slave

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[275] "Remarks on the Enlistment of Negroes in the Navy," [In the Senate, July 29, 1842], *PJCC*, 16:341.
[276] "On the recapture of Fugitive slaves. Aug. 23, 1850," *JDC*, 1:522-23.
[277] See Ivan Musicant, *Divided Waters: The Naval History of the Civil War* (New York: HarperCollins, 1995), 74.
[278] See *PJD*, 5:367.
[279] See Jordan, *Black Confederates and Afro-Yankees in Civil War Virginia*, 45, 185-86, 190.
[280] "Jefferson Davis to Maj. Genl. G. W. Smith, Army of the Potomac," Richmond, October 10, 1861, *JDC*, 5:140. See "Jefferson Davis to Genl. Beauregard, Manassas, Va.," Richmond, October 16, 1861, *JDC*, 5:141; "Jefferson Davis to Govr. F. W. Pickens, Columbia, S.C.," Richmond, August 5, 1862, *JDC*, 5:311-12; and *PJD*, 5:296.

impressments as tyrannical consolidation.[281] To blunt their opposition, Davis let the states conduct the actual impressments from November 1862 onward so long as they met his requisitions for military slave laborers, stressing at the same time that the C.S. government could always impress slaves in its own right.[282] He would thus send periodic demands to the states for thousands of slaves, as when he told the governor of Virginia in December 1862 that "you will call upon the counties specified for five thousand slaves, to be employed in completing the fortifications in the vicinity of Richmond, agreeably to the provisions of the Act of the General Assembly of Virginia, passed October 3rd, 1862."[283] C.S. engineer corps officers commanded tens of thousands of impressed slaves in labor battalions to construct such massive military works as Fort Fischer, which was built by slaves working in five-hundred-strong shifts, guarded Wilmington's harbor, and was inspired by the Malakoff redoubt.[284] Indeed, Davis himself took charge of a black labor battalion toiling upon defenses and railroads at Danville in April 1865.[285]

By that point, moreover, the C.S. government was directly impressing slaves, for Davis began calling up militia units which were unfit for combat at the front to implement "the

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[281] See *PJD*, 6:484.

[282] See "Jefferson Davis to Govrs. J. E. Brown, of Ga., R. Hawes of Ky., H. M. Rector, of Ark., F. R. Lubbock, of Texas, C. J. Jackson, of Mo., I. G. Harris, of Tenn., John Letcher, of Va., J. G. Shorter, of Ala., J. J. Pettus, of Miss., F. W. Pickens, of S. C., John Milton, of Fla., Z. B. Vance, of N. C., and Thos. O. Moore, of La.," Executive Office, Richmond, November 26, 1862, *JDC*, 5:378; and "Jefferson Davis to Governor Charles Clarke, Macon, Miss.," "Telegram," Richmond, January 25, 1865, *JDC*, 6:456. Also see Jaime Amanda Martinez, "The Slave Market in Civil War Virginia," in *Crucible of the Civil War*, 119-120.

[283] "Jefferson Davis to Govr. John Letcher, Richmond, Va.," Richmond, December 5, 1862, *JDC*, 5:382. See "Jefferson Davis to Govr. John Letcher, Richmond, Va.," Richmond, October 10, 1862, *JDC*, 5:352; "Jefferson Davis to Govr. Letcher, Richmond, Va.," Richmond, March 11, 1863, *JDC*, 5:446; "Jefferson Davis to Govr. John Letcher, Va.," Richmond, August 22, 1863, *JDC*, 5:597; "Jefferson Davis to Governor John Letcher, of Virginia," Richmond, November 28, 1863, *JDC*, 6:91; and "Jefferson Davis to William Smith, Governor of Virginia," Richmond, December 15, 1864, *JDC*, 6:417.

[284] See Rod Gragg, *Confederate Goliath: The Battle of Fort Fisher* (1991; reprint, Baton Rouge: Louisiana University Press, 2006). Also see "Major William H. Echols to Charles Girard," Charleston, April 13, 1863, in Girard, *A Visit to the Confederate States of America in 1863*, 105; and Jordan, *Black Confederates and Afro-Yankees in Civil War Virginia*, 371. Fort Fischer, moreover, was commanded during most of the war by the Virginian William Lamb, a Democrat whom Davis had informed in 1860 that if "the Constitutional, State rights Democracy" were to endorse secession, it would do so for "the preservation of the Union as our Fathers found[ed] it." "To William Lamb," Washington, D.C., September 14, 1860, *PJD*, 6:363.

[285] See "Jefferson Davis to L. E. Harvie, Danville, Va.," Danville, Virginia, April 10, 1865, *JDC*, 6:542.

collection of Slaves" in November 1864 on grounds of military necessity.[286] C.S. generals would bypass state governments as well to impress slaves on their own authority, and they could be nearly as disruptive and ruinous to plantations as U.S. armies.[287] Davis had also wanted to impress slaves on a permanent basis, in effect forcing slaveholders to sell their chattels to the C.S. government by compensating them with a slave's sale price rather than sixty days of wages: "it would seem proper to acquire for the public service the entire property in the labor of the slave, and to pay therefor due compensation rather than to impress his labor for short terms...."[288] Despite Radical opposition, the C.S. Congress took an important first step in that direction in February 1864, when it authorized Davis to impress up to 20,000 slaves for as long as a year.[289] By November, however, Davis was urging the C.S. Congress to raise that limit to 40,000 slaves, who would be permanently impressed to form a standing corps of military laborers as the only alternative would be to temporarily impress "three-fold their number." He also claimed that drilled and disciplined battalions of military slave laborers would be readily convertible into black C.S. combat regiments if "our white population shall prove insufficient for the armies we require...." As the Army of Northern Virginia began organizing Negro Labor Battalions to that end, Davis mused that "[w]henever the entire property in the service of a slave is… acquired by the Government, the question is presented by what tenure he should be held." Slaves "employed by the Government" as laborers or soldiers would, he reasoned, only display sufficient "loyalty and zeal" if they were promised manumission even as they were threatened with re-enslavement

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[286] "Jno. S. Preston to James A. Seddon," War Department, Bureau of Conscription, Richmond, November 5, 1864, *JDC*, 6:376. Richmond's C.S. provost marshal, moreover, had already directly impressed three hundred slaves to build military roads in 1862, taking advantage of exclusive C.S. jurisdiction in the capital. See Jordan, *Black Confederates and Afro-Yankees in Civil War Virginia*, 58.

[287] See Martinez, "The Slave Market in Civil War Virginia," in *Crucible of the Civil War*, 125.

[288] "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, November 7, 1864, *JDC*, 6:395.

[289] See "An Act to increase the efficiency of the army by the employment of free negroes and slaves in certain capacities," February 17, 1864, in *Public Laws of the Confederate States of America, Passed at the First Session of the Fourth Congress*, ed. James M. Matthews (1864; reprint, Holmes Beach, FL: William W. Gaunt and Sons, 1970), 2:135-36.

or death for supporting the Union. "The policy of engaging to liberate the negro on his discharge after service faithfully rendered," he informed the C.S. Congress, "seems to me preferable to that of granting immediate manumission, or that of retaining him in servitude." Davis therefore urged the states to let manumitted C.S. laborers or soldiers reside in their home localities, taking care to emphasize at the same time that no such blacks would become Confederate citizens.[290]

Many C.S. Radicals, in contrast, insisted that they would rather see slavery destroyed from without by the U.S. than dismantled from within by the Davis administration.[291] Indeed, the C.S. president was an abolitionist as defined by the venerable Whig-leaning Radical Virginia literary journal *The Southern Literary Messenger*, which declared in March 1861 that "[a]n Abolitionist is any man who does not love slavery for its own sake, as a divine institution; who… does not adore it as the only possible social condition on which a permanent Republican government can be erected; and who does not, in his inmost soul, desire to see it extended and perpetuated over the whole earth…."[292] In Davis's view, however, it was suicidal folly to cling to slavery if attenuating or even sacrificing the institution was the only way to save white supremacy, for "should the alternative ever be presented of subjugation or of the employment of the slave as a soldier, there seems no reason to doubt what should then be our decision."[293] Davis, after all, had offered to manumit his enslaved body servant James Pemberton for loyal but unofficial U.S. military service. He took Pemberton with him to the frontier in 1829, and he not only utilized him as a worker and nurse, but also trusted him with arms on such potentially

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[290] "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, November 7, 1864, *JDC*, 6:395-97. See "Jefferson Davis to Governor Charles Clarke, Macon, Miss.," "Telegram," Richmond, January 25, 1865, *JDC*, 6:456.
[291] See Mark L. Bradley, "'This Monstrous Proposition': North Carolina and the Confederate Debate on Arming the Slaves," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, vol. 80, no. 2 (April 2003), 153-87.
[292] "Editor's Table," *Southern Literary Messenger*, vol. 32, no. 3 (March 1861), 344.
[293] "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, November 7, 1864, *JDC*, 6:396.

dangerous missions as apprehending deserters.[294] Davis was thus famously reputed to have told a C.S. senator in late 1864 that, with regard to slavery-in-the-abstract and Radical state's rights, "[i]f the Confederacy falls, there should be written on its tombstone, 'Died of a theory.'"[295]

The Confederate Congress authorized Davis to conscript any number of free blacks and impress any quantity of slaves for any length of time as military laborers in February 1865, but the congressional Radicals delayed passage of a bill authorizing the formation of black regiments until March 13, 1865. And they yielded on condition that a slave could be impressed for service as a soldier only after receiving the express consent of his master, and that a C.S. slave soldier could be manumitted only if his state of residence granted him permission to live therein.[296] Davis's congressional allies, however, pressured the states to obtain slaveholder consent by levying 300,000 additional soldiers, for there was no way to meet that requisition by sending whites alone.[297] The *Enquirer*, moreover, had already urged the C.S. Congress to purchase 250,000 slaves outright for military service of any sort, and the *Sentinel* called for hundreds of thousands of C.S. slave soldiers to be fielded in March 1865, insisting as well that all promises of manumission ought to be "redeemed with the most scrupulous fidelity and at all hazards...."[298]

Davis's efforts were also seconded by the celebrated Virginia governor William Smith, a lifelong Democrat who had also been the pro-Polk governor of Virginia during the Mexican War. Moving to California in 1849, Smith opposed Whigs and Douglas Democrats alike there but returned home in 1852, whereupon he was elected to Congress. He served in that capacity

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[294] See "Post Return," July 21, 1830, *PJD*, 1:143; "To Joseph Emory Davis" January 2, 1838, Washington, D.C., *PJD*, 1:435; and Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 1:165.
[295] See Beringer and Hattaway, *Jefferson Davis, Confederate President*, 306.
[296] See "An Act to provide for the employment of free negroes and slaves to work upon fortifications and perform other labor connected with the defenses of the country," February 28, 1865, in *Laws and Joint Resolutions of the Last Session of the Confederate Congress (November 7, 1864-March 18, 1865), Together with the Secret Acts of Previous Congresses*, ed. Charles William Ramsdell (1941; reprint, New York: AMS Press, 1965), 61-64.
[297] See "An Act to increase the military force of the Confederate States," March 13, 1865, in *Laws and Joint Resolutions of the Last Session of the Confederate Congress (November 7, 1864-March 18, 1865)*, 118-19.
[298] Richmond *Enquirer*, October 6, 1864; and Richmond *Sentinel*, March 24, 1865.

until March 1861 as one of Davis's most reliable allies, and he fought well as a C.S. colonel in 1861. Smith was elected as a pro-Davis C.S. congressman in 1861, but he would still campaign with the Army of Northern Virginia between sessions. Davis, in turn, raised Smith to brigadier general in January 1863 and to major general in August 1863. Having been wounded five times in C.S. service, Smith was elected governor once again in 1864. He and Davis cooperated "to seek legislation to secure unmistakably freedom to the slave who shall enter the army, with a right to return to his old home when he shall have been honorably discharged from the military service."[299] As Smith declared in late 1864, "[t]here is not a man that would not cheerfully put the negro in the army rather than become a slave himself.... Standing before God and my country, I do not hesitate to say that I would arm such portion of our able-bodied slave population as may be necessary, and put them in the field…."[300] Due to another untimely bout of bad health, Davis gave a rather poor speech advocating C.S. slave soldiers before 10,000 auditors at Richmond's African Church in February 1865, but Smith came to the rescue by dramatically parading from the governor's mansion.[301] And it was thanks to Smith that the Virginia legislature sent an 1865 resolution to the C.S. soldiery arguing that white rule could now be saved only by fielding slave soldiers. A Republican victory, after all, would see "[a] free negro population… established in your midst who will be your social equals and military governors," while "your wives and your children will be menial laborers and slaves…."[302]

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[299] "Jefferson Davis to Governor William Smith, – of Virginia," Richmond, March 30, 1865, *JDC*, 6:523. See Richmond *Sentinel*, December 21, 1864.
[300] Quoted in Jordan, *Black Confederates and Afro-Yankees in Civil War Virginia*, 234.
[301] See Rable, *The Confederate Republic*, 292-93; and Cooper, Jr., *Jefferson Davis, American*, 512.
[302] Quoted in Jordan, *Black Confederates and Afro-Yankees in Civil War Virginia.*, 291. See Warner, *Generals in Gray*, 284-85; Alvin A. Fahrner, "William 'Extra Billy' Smith, Governor of Virginia 1864-1865: A Pillar of the Confederacy," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. 74, no. 1, (January 1966), 68-87; and Thomas M. Preisser, "The Virginia Decision to Use Negro Soldiers in the Civil War, 1864-1865," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. 83, no. 1 (January 1975), 98-113.

C.S. soldiers, however, often needed little convincing, for Davis had been receiving letters since 1861 urging him to enact "a general levy and arming of the slaves for the duty of soldiers."[303] Mississippi's Howell Hinds wrote several such letters. He was one of Davis's old schoolmates and son to the Battle of New Orleans hero Colonel Thomas Hinds, a personal friend of Andrew Jackson who had once escorted the young Davis to the Hermitage *en route* to St. Thomas College.[304] The C.S. president gave him "authority to raise an artillery company," but when Hinds failed to do so, he enlisted as a private.[305] He encouraged Davis to impress ever-more slaves as C.S. laborers or soldiers, and he freed his own slave Holt Collier in 1861 to serve as a *de facto* Confederate cavalryman. Collier, for his part, went into hiding after he gunned down the U.S. captain and Freedman's Bureau official James King for assaulting his former master in late 1866.[306] The C.S. government only managed to enlist a handful of black troops in the end rather than the "two hundred thousand buck Negroes" for whom one C.S. soldier in the Petersburg trenches had yearned, but many Confederates did, as Sheehan-Dean put it, come to "see that their racial superiority transcended any particular historical institution…."[307] C.S. Radicals were therefore surprised to see the twenty largest slaveholders of Virginia's Roanoke County not only consent to the manumission of their most valuable slaves by making a "Liberal

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[303] "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, November 7, 1864, *JDC*, 6:39. See "William H. Lee to Jefferson Davis," Bells Landing, Alabama, May 4, 1861, in *Free at Last: A Documentary History of Slavery, Freedom, and the Civil War*, ed. Ira Berlin, *et al.* (New York: The New Press, 1992), 4; "John J. Cheatham to [Secretary of War] L. P. Walker," Athens, Georgia, May 4, 1861, in ibid., 5; "O. G. Eiland to Jefferson Davis," Louisville, Mississippi, July 20, 1863, in ibid., 132-33; and "W. C. Bibb to [Secretary of War] James A. Seddon," Montgomery, Alabama, July 23 1863, in ibid., 134-35. Also see "C. M. Hubbard to John Letcher," James City County, [Virginia], April 26, 1861, *OR*, series I, 5:47.

[304] See "To Howell Hinds," Washington, D.C., September 20, 1856, *PJD*, 6:50-52; "Speech at Fayette," July 11, 1851, *PJD*, 4:185; and *PJD*, 4:214.

[305] "Howell Hinds to Jefferson Davis," Home Hill, Mississippi, October 11, 1863, *JDC*, 6:59. See *PJD*, 6:52-53.

[306] See Scott E. Giltner, *Hunting and Fishing in the New South: Black Labor and White Leisure after the Civil War* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008), 113.

[307] Quoted in Jordan, *Black Confederates and Afro-Yankees in Civil War Virginia*, 245; and Sheehan-Dean, *Why Confederates Fought*, 187.

Gift of Colored Troops," but also promise that they "shall be permitted to return to their homes, and that proper provision will be made for them and their families when the war is over."[308]

Black abolitionists in the North, however, embellished the number of black Confederate troops training near Richmond in 1865 so as to convince the Republicans to upstage the C.S. president by espousing racial equality in addition to emancipation, appropriating Davis's last-ditch efforts to save white supremacy to ironically hasten its destruction.[309] When the influential black minister and friend of Charles Sumner Henry McNeal Turner gave an impromptu speech at Davis's 1889 funeral, he therefore praised the former C.S. president as an unwitting instrument of Providence who had inadvertently pressured Lincoln to endorse not just freedom for slaves but also citizenship for blacks.[310] The vast majority of blacks within the C.S.A. had indeed been unimpressed by Davis's offers, for when the Emancipation Proclamation went into effect, 4,000 slaves in Union-occupied Norfolk gathered to burn a portrait of the C.S. president even though they were ironically exempt from Lincoln's decree.[311] After all, even when Davis endorsed the same policies as pro-abolitionist Republicans, he did so for unappealing reasons. He and Charles Sumner both called for courts to accept "negro testimony," for instance, but the Republican championed an 1863 law to that effect for the sake of racial equality whereas Davis called for similar legislation in February 1864 because "[i]mportant information of secret movements among the negroes fomented by base white men has been received from faithful servants, but no arrests of instigators could be made because there was no competent testimony."[312]

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[308] Richmond *Examiner*, March 27, 1865.
[309] See Jordan, *Black Confederates and Afro-Yankees in Civil War Virginia*, 236-37.
[310] See David W. Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 321. Also see Stephen W. Angell, "A Black Minister Befriends the 'Unquestioned Father of Civil Rights': Henry McNeal Turner, Charles Sumner, and the African-American Quest for Freedom," *The Georgia Historical Quarterly*, vol. 85, no. 1 (Spring 2001), 27-58.
[311] See Jordan, *op. cit.*, 256.
[312] "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," February 3, 1864, *JDC*, 6:166. See Jordan, *op. cit.*, 73, 159.

There were in fact a few "faithful servants" who served the C.S.A. to preclude all possibility of punishment as Union supporters from the Davis administration, which they also expected to bestow material rewards and manumission though not citizenship.[313] A slave boat pilot named Moses Dallas, for instance, died helping the C.S. lieutenant Thomas P. Pelot mount a daring raid to seize the U.S. warship *Water Witch* off the coast of Georgia in 1864. The *Water Witch*, incidentally, had been fired upon by Paraguayan forces in 1855, and it returned to Paraguay in 1858 when Davis convinced Buchanan to dispatch a U.S. fleet there, ostensibly to extract an apology and compensation from the Paraguayans, but really to challenge Britain's naval and commercial dominance in South American waters.[314] Enslaved C.S. body servants, moreover, often went out of their way to insult, abuse, or even execute captured blacks in U.S. service.[315] They were even allowed to use black U.S. captives as their own *de facto* slaves at times, for when a C.S. major ordered an enslaved body servant who was tellingly named Napoleon Bonaparte to clean his boots, Bonaparte delegated the task to his black "under-boy" Solomon, prompting the major to chortle that "Napoleon's got just as much right to a nigger as I have."[316] Yet far more slaves were willing to brave Davis's wrath by supporting the Union in general and the Republicans in particular, for they hoped to obtain not just freedom but equality too. Having flippantly predicted in an 1849 letter that "[w]hen I become a sovereign I shall want an honest servant," the C.S. president did indeed see slaves he owned or had hired from other

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[313] See "Major William H. Echols to Charles Girard," Charleston, April 13, 1863, in Girard, *A Visit to the Confederate States of America in 1863*, 105; Shepherdstown *Register*, May 7, 1903; and W. E. B. Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction in America: 1860-1880* (1935; reprint, New York: The Free Press, 1998), 116.

[314] See Alexander A. Lawrence, "The Night Lieutenant Pelot Was Killed Aboard the 'Water Witch,'" *The Georgia Review*, vol. 4, no. 3 (Autumn 1950), 174-76; and Thomas O. Flickema, "The Settlement of the Paraguayan-American Controversy of 1859: A Reappraisal," *The Americas*, vol. 25, no. 1 (July 1968), 49-69.

[315] See Wayne R. Austerman, "Virginia's Black Confederates," *Virginia Country's Civil War Quarterly*, vol. 8 (March 1987), 47.

[316] Quoted in Jordan, *Black Confederates and Afro-Yankees in Civil War Virginia*, 191. See ibid., 191, 230.

masters defect throughout the war.[317] A slave hence thwarted Joseph Davis's efforts to hide his brother's valuables by revealing them to the U.S. troops who sacked Brierfield in 1862 and drank up all of the C.S. president's pricy French wine.[318] One hired-out slave, moreover, even "made a good fire in the nursery" of the C.S. executive mansion before her departure for Union lines.[319]

A similar pattern held with regard to the 250,000 free blacks living within the slave states. A few of them were willing to enter Confederate service as laborers for the sake of "rations, quarters and medical attendance," as well as for relatively high wages as workers in C.S. factories.[320] Davis's coachman James H. Jones, moreover, was, as Varina Davis described him, "a free colored man who clung to our fortunes," and her husband entrusted him with the Great Seal of the Confederacy before the evacuation of Richmond, after which he was captured alongside Davis in Georgia.[321] Jones insisted for the rest of his life that Davis had not worn women's clothing on that fateful day, and he was an honored guest at the 1907 unveiling of Richmond's Davis monument.[322] Most free blacks had precious little desire to volunteer for C.S. service as laborers, however, because most of the work was grueling, unskilled, and dangerous, as when several free black C.S. workers were killed by an explosion on board the Richmond and Petersburg Railroad's "Jeff Davis" locomotive.[323] And hardly any free blacks wanted to become C.S. soldiers even though Davis offered them the same wages as white troops and promised to

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[317] "Jefferson Davis to Stephen Cocke," Brierfield, Mississippi, August 2, 1849, *JDC*, 1:244.
[318] See Davis, *Jefferson Davis: The Man and His Hour*, 513.
[319] Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 2:218.
[320] *Ordinances Adopted by the Convention of Virginia, at the Adjourned Session, in June and July, 1861* (Richmond: W. M. Elliot, 1861), 47-48. A handful of skilled free black industrial workers even made higher salaries than C.S. soldiers. See Jordan, *Black Confederates and Afro-Yankees in Civil War Virginia*, 47-48, 50, 62, 213-14; and Martinez, "The Slave Market in Civil War Virginia," in *Crucible of the Civil War*, 111. Also see Holzer, "The Image of Jefferson Davis as Commander in Chief," in *Jefferson Davis's Generals*, 143.
[321] "Autobiography of Jefferson Davis," Beauvoir, Mississippi, November, 1889, *PJD*, 1:lxiii.
[322] See Jordan, *op. cit.*, 195-96. When Davis left for the Mexican War, moreover, he took along a slave named Jim Green ("Big Jim") as a body servant. Green assisted Davis at Washington, D.C. and served him throughout the war. See "To Varina Davis," Fortress Monroe, January 28, 1866, in Varina Davis, *op. cit.*, 2:750; and *PJD*, 3:95.
[323] See Richmond *Sentinel*, July 8, 1863. Also see Richmond *Examiner*, August 5, 1864.

train black non-commissioned officers for black regiments.[324] They usually had to be conscripted into Confederate service as a result, and they grudgingly obeyed C.S. officers fearing that they would be sentenced to labor as convicts, enslaved, or executed for disobedience.[325]

Like their enslaved counterparts, free blacks in C.S. service were also very prone to desertion whenever U.S. forces came near. Yet with thousands upon thousands of free blacks and slaves having fled to Union lines and entered U.S. service by April 1863, Davis warned the Confederacy's remaining blacks that if the Union were to triumph with widespread black assistance, they would be "doomed to extermination."[326] He thus insisted from his Fort Monroe cell in November 1865 that he had been "a friend to the negro" because he had given blacks opportunities to win Confederate gratitude and hence manumission by helping to protect white supremacy from racially egalitarian abolitionism. By siding with the "Yankee" Republicans in pursuit of equal citizenship, however, they had incurred the wrath of nearly all ex-Confederates. Having been inspired by a "theory" of racial equality that could only be "maintained by the manufacture of facts," an "inferior race" had, he held, challenged an ostensibly superior one to a struggle for racial dominance, and so while the Republican victory of 1865 was a disaster for all true Americans, it would not be a panacea for blacks either but rather "must result in evil, evil only and continually...."[327] Davis was therefore "sorry for [their] inevitable fate in the future."[328]

Equality among Whites as an End in Itself under the Davis Administration

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[324] See "Jefferson Davis to General R. E. Lee, Comdg. Armies &c.," "(Private)," Richmond, April 1, 1865, *JDC*, 6:526; and Jordan, *op. cit.*, 57, 158, 187, 208, 213, 238, 248.
[325] See Richmond *Examiner*, March 5, 1864 and October 18, 1864; Richmond *Enquirer*, November 18, 1864; and Jordan, *op. cit.*, 53, 160, 205-207.
[326] "Jefferson Davis to the People of the Confederate States," Executive Office, Richmond, April 10, 1863, *JDC*, 5:471-72.
[327] "To Varina Davis," Fortress Monroe, February 3, 1866, in Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 2:730. See "To Varina Davis," Fortress Monroe, November 21, 1865, in ibid., 2:748.
[328] Quoted in ibid., 2:694.

Davis believed that the Declaration of Independence stood not just for white supremacy but also equality among whites, which latter principle he sought to reify during the Confederacy's new American Revolution both to bolster the war effort and as an end in itself, for he had asserted in his last Senate speech that, *contra* the Republicans, "no man was born – to use the language of Mr. Jefferson – booted and spurred to ride over the rest of mankind; that men were created equal – meaning the men of the political community."[329] White supremacy and equality among whites, after all, were complementary principles for the C.S. president, who declared in a September 1864 speech that all Confederates were part of "the governing class" thanks to white racial dominance as confirmed by "a great law of nature" and hitherto practiced in the form of slavery, and so "here and only here every white man is truly, socially and politically equal."[330] Many Confederates accordingly believed that the Republicans were assailing white supremacy as a means to the end of establishing a hierarchy among whites over which Anglo-Protestant "Yankee" elites would preside. C.S. soldiers had thus dumped the corpse of the upper-class Boston Republican and colonel of the famous 54th Massachusetts black regiment Robert Gould Shaw in a mass grave with his soldiers after a failed attack on Charleston in July 1863 as an insult, but Shaw's father urged the U.S. government to cease attempting to recover the body, declaring that his son's burial beside United States Colored Troops was a high honor.[331] Shaw and his fellow "Brahmin" Republicans, however, were notorious for their ethnic, religious, and class prejudices *vis-à-vis* other whites, and Confederates often assumed that they were warring against slavery and white supremacy to undermine equality among whites.[332]

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[329] "Farewell Address," January 21, 1861, *PJD*, 7:21. See "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Montgomery, April 29, 1861, *JDC*, 5:84.
[330] "Speech at Columbus," September 30, 1864, *PJD*, 11:75. See "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, November 7, 1864, *JDC*, 6:397.
[331] See Beringer and Hattaway, *Jefferson Davis, Confederate President*, 244-45.
[332] See Richard F. Miller, "The Trouble with Brahmins: Class and Ethnic Tensions in Massachusetts' 'Harvard Regiment,'" *The New England Quarterly*, vol. 76, no. 1 (March 2003), 38-72. Also see Thomas L. Jones, "The

The C.S. president was not surprised by the fact that most anti-Confederate southern whites were old Henry Clay Whigs or Know-Nothings who were seemingly hostile to equality among whites. He therefore referred to them as "tories."[333] Lieutenant John Pope of Kentucky, for instance, had fought at Buena Vista, and Secretary of War Davis put him in charge of a transcontinental railroad survey.[334] Relations between the two, however, deteriorated due to Pope's intransigent Clay-type Whig politics, and when Major General Pope led a large U.S. field army into Virginia in July 1862, he issued general orders threatening Confederate civilians with summary execution if they were captured in arms or caught aiding "bushwhackers." In response, the C.S. president warned that Pope and his officers would be executed if captured.[335] Some southern Know-Nothings such as James Henley Thornwell became anti-Davis Confederates, but they often opposed the C.S.A. altogether as in Sam Houston's famous case.[336] Much to the chagrin of their anti-slavery northern counterparts, they were usually pro-slavery, but they were more interested in maintaining Anglo-Protestant political, social, and economic dominance over other whites than in vindicating either slavery or white supremacy. Maryland's Anna Ella Carroll, for instance, was a pro-slavery partisan of Millard Fillmore, and she decried the Confederacy, having asserted in her 1856 *The Great American Battle; or, The Contest between*

Union League Club and New York's First Black Regiments in the Civil War," *New York History*, vol. 87, no. 3 (Summer 2006), 312-43.

[333] See, for instance, "Speech at Mobile," December 30, 1862, *PJD*, 8:588.

[334] See *PJD*, 5:194, 259-60; and "Jefferson Davis to John Pope," War Department, Washington, D.C., January 5, 1855, *JDC*, 2:434-35.

[335] See "Jefferson Davis to Genl. R. E. Lee, Commanding etc.," Richmond, July 31, 1862, *JDC*, 5:306; "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, August 18, 1862, *JDC*, 5:322; and Daniel E. Sutherland, "Abraham Lincoln, John Pope, and the Origins of Total War," *The Journal of Military History*, vol. 56, no. 4 (October 1992), 567-86.

[336] See O'Brien, *Conjectures of Order*, 1149. A founding father of the Republic of Texas, Houston ran for the Texas governorship as a Know-Nothing in 1856. See *PJD*, 6:14. The North Carolina Know-Nothing leader William Nathan Harrell Smith, moreover, joined the Democracy in the late 1850s, but he went on to become an anti-Davis C.S. congressman from 1862-65. See *PJD* 6:307.

Christianity and Political Romanism that Davis was a subversive Papal agent.[337] The Know-Nothings had strongholds in Appalachian areas wherein blacks were as scarce as non-Anglo or non-Protestant whites, but they also drew support in southern cities from nativist workers who resented Catholic immigrants for lowering their wages and taking their jobs.[338] Louisiana's John Edward Bouligny, for instance, identified with his Anglo-Protestant rather than French heritage. He was elected to Congress as a Know-Nothing in 1859 by New Orleans nativists even though the American Party had collapsed. Having moved to the North, he passed away in 1864 as the only congressman from the original seven seceding states to have remained loyal to the Union.[339]

Bouligny's supporters and their equivalents in other C.S. cities did as little to support the Confederacy as possible, but they usually refrained from overt resistance until they could welcome U.S. troops as liberators because their power was more than balanced by the C.S. army and Davis's antebellum Democratic supporters in most major southern urban centers.[340] Such was not the case in Appalachian areas dominated by Ulster-descended Protestants.[341] Davis usually pardoned "differences of political opinion heretofore existing" when Know-Nothings guilty of small-scale crimes against the C.S.A. repented and swore fealty to the Confederacy, but

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[337] See Anna Ella Carroll, *The Great American Battle; or, The Contest between Christianity and Political Romanism* (New York: Miller, Orton, & Mulligan, 1856); and *PJD*, 6:24, 442.
[338] See Towers, *The Urban South and the Coming of the Civil War*.
[339] See *The South in the Building of the Nation*, 105. Also see Marius Carriere, "Political Leadership of the Louisiana Know-Nothing Party," *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association*, vol. 21, no. 2 (Spring 1980), 183-95; and Marius M. Carriere, Jr., "Anti-Catholicism, Nativism, and Louisiana Politics in the 1850s," *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association*, vol. 35, no. 4 (Autumn 1994), 455-74.
[340] As one C.S. propagandist observed, Davis had the support of "the whole enlightened population of the cities." Girard, *A Visit to the Confederate States of America in 1863*, 100. After all, many southern middle-class urban Whigs had become Davis Democrats during the 1850s. See Jonathan Daniel Wells, *The Origins of the Southern Middle Class, 1800-1861* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004).
[341] See "Jefferson Davis to Col. W. P. Johnston, Bristol, Tenn.," "Telegram," Richmond, September 7, 1863, *JDC*, 6:24; "Jefferson Davis to General B. Bragg, Chattanooga, Tenn.," "Telegram," Richmond, September 10, 1863, *JDC*, 6:30; and L. Moody Simms, Jr., "'... Red Hot Union Towns': A Louisiana Soldier Comments on Unionist Sentiment in Eastern Tennessee," *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association*, vol. 21, no. 1 (Winter 1980), 92-93.

his administration also executed dozens of captured Appalachian saboteurs and guerillas.[342] As he explained in a September 1863 directive, "[s]ummary justice is necessary to repress tories."[343]

The "tories" of Appalachia were inspired by Tennessee's William G. Brownlow, a fiercely sectarian Methodist circuit rider who loathed the generally Democratic Baptists. He was, after all, driven out of South Carolina by Baptists for opposing the separation of church and state, as well as for denouncing Calhoun during the Nullification Crisis. Moving to eastern Tennessee, Brownlow edited the *Tennessee Whig* in the 1840s, and he joined the Know-Nothings upon concluding that Catholic immigration was a grave threat to Anglo-Protestant America.[344] Insisting that the C.S.A. was led by traitorous demagogues who had leagued themselves with the Catholic Church to subjugate all true U.S. Protestants, Brownlow fled Knoxville for the Great Smoky Mountains to avoid an imminent arrest by C.S. military authorities in October 1861.[345]

Accusing Brownlow of inciting the burning of several vital railroad bridges, the Davis administration reneged on a deal to expel him to the Union in late 1861, but it eventually followed through in March 1862. Brownlow had previously espoused slavery-in-the-abstract theology, deeming slavery not so much a form of white supremacy as a divine institution of universal applicability. Yet upon touring the North and joining the Republicans, he called for slavery to be destroyed as a means to the end of defeating the Democrat-dominated and Catholic-friendly Confederacy. He therefore urged Tennessee Know-Nothings to ally with blacks, most

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[342] "Jefferson Davis to Thos. A. R. Nelson, Esq.," Richmond, Va., August 13, 1861, *JDC*, 5:122.

[343] "Jefferson Davis to Col. W. P. Johnston, A.D.C., Dublin Depot, Va.," "Telegram," Richmond, September 8, 1863, *JDC*, 5:27.

[344] See William G. Brownlow, *Americanism Contrasted with Foreignism, Romanism and Bogus Democracy in the Light of Reason, History, and Scripture; in which Certain Demagogues in Tennessee, and Elsewhere, are Shown Up in their True Colors* (Nashville: n.p., 1856); and William G. Brownlow, *The Great Iron Wheel Examined; or, Its False Spokes Extracted, and an Exhibition of Elder Graves, its Builder* (Nashville: n.p., 1856).

[345] When Davis was returning to Mississippi after resigning from the Senate, moreover, he stopped at Chattanooga, where local Unionists threatened to assault him if he gave a speech. "The excitement became intense," and a lower-class white told "a negro near him, 'Jeff Davis ain't afraid. He will make his speech.'" Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 2:7. See ibid., 2:326.

of whom were, after all, anti-Democratic, anti-Catholic, and anti-Confederate Protestants. After returning to Union-liberated Knoxville to revive his paper as the *Knoxville Whig and Rebel Ventilator* in late 1863, he was elected governor in an early 1865 state convention from which pro-C.S. Tennesseans were banned. Governor Brownlow finished off slavery in Tennessee and championed black citizenship. He also sought to permanently disfranchise former Confederates and stamp out such burgeoning Democratic white supremacist paramilitary outfits as the Ku Klux Klan, raising pro-Republican and predominantly black state militia regiments to that end.[346]

Know-Nothings loathed the Davis administration because it was in fact opposed to Anglo-Protestant supremacy. Pro-Davis papers boasted of the religious and ethnic tolerance among whites in the Confederacy. As the *Enquirer* beamed in June 1862, "the amiable and unpretending Sister of Mercy, the earnest, bright-eyed Jewish girl, and the pleasant, gentle and energetic Protestant, mingle their labors with a freedom and geniality which would teach the most prejudiced Zealot a lesson that would never be forgotten."[347] Contrasting ostensibly tolerant C.S. Protestants to the North's nativist Protestant ministers, who were "urging an excited populace to the extreme of ferocity" on behalf of the Republican Party, Davis insisted that the C.S.A. was "the last hope… for the perpetuation of that system of government which our forefathers founded – the asylum of the oppressed and the home of true representative liberty."[348]

Unsurprisingly, the non-Anglo-Protestant southern whites who had been staunch Davis Democrats usually became strong supporters of the Davis administration, which elevated them to high stations to reward them for their loyalty and exhibit the Confederacy's commitment to

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[346] See E. Merton Coulter, *William G. Brownlow: Fighting Parson of the Southern Highlands* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1999).
[347] Richmond *Enquirer*, June 6, 1862. See ibid., July 27, 1861; and "Jefferson Davis to General Howell Cobb or Col. Wm. M. Browne, Augusta, Ga.," "Telegram (in cipher)," Richmond, March 1, 1865, *JDC*, 6:490.
[348] "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, August 18, 1862, *JDC*, 5:322. See "Jefferson Davis to Genl. R. E. Lee, Comdg. Army of N. Virginia, Fredericksburg, Va.," Richmond, December 8, 1862, *JDC*, 5:384; and "Speech at Richmond," January 5, 1863, *PJD*, 9:11.

equality among whites. The C.S. president followed in Franklin Pierce's footsteps by selecting an Irish Catholic cabinet member, namely, Florida's Stephen R. Mallory. Mallory was born in Britain's Caribbean colony of Trinidad, but he immigrated to the Union, became a U.S. citizen, and graduated from Spring Hill, where Father Gache would later instruct his son.[349] He also married into a wealthy white Hispanic Catholic family by wedding Angela Moreno of Pensacola in 1838. He soon became an influential Democratic politician, and President Polk made him the Key West customs collector. As one of Davis's closest allies in the Senate throughout the 1850s, Mallory rose to become the chair of the Senate Committee on Naval Affairs, in which capacity he supported Davis's army initiatives while Davis backed his modernizing policies *vis-à-vis* the navy.[350] Davis picked Mallory to be the C.S. Secretary of the Navy, and Mallory echoed Davis by urging the C.S. Congress to establish a naval academy, calling as well for authorization to recruit or conscript 1,150 black C.S. sailors in February 1865.[351] (The lessons of the Confederate naval academy were often and famously conducted in the vicinity of U.S. forces onboard the armed steamer C.S.S. *Patrick Henry* under the general supervision of Commodore John M. Brooke, who was a favorite of Mallory's and delegated the academy's day-to-day operations to his old Annapolis classmate Lieutenant William H. Parker).[352] The C.S. president lavished praise upon Mallory for ably directing "our little Navy, which is rapidly gaining in numbers and efficiency," as a result, but their relations were personally close too, for the Spring Hill alumnus

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[349] See "Louis-Hippolyte Gache to Philip de Carrière," Pensacola, May 15, 1861, in *A Frenchman, A Chaplain, and a Rebel*, 29-30.

[350] See "Remarks on an Appropriation for Warships," June 7, 1858, *PJD* 6:186-88; "Remarks on the Adoption of Breech-loading Arms," Washington, D.C., June 8, 1858, *PJD*, 6:188-95; "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the bill regulating pay of Army officers. Feb. 15. 1859," *JDC*, 3:544; "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Army appropriation bill. Feb. 26, 1859," *JDC*, 4:5-6, 9, 11-13, 15; "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the bill to increase and regulate the pay of the Navy. March 28, 1860," *JDC*, 4:225-26; "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Army Appropriation bill. June 7, 1860," *JDC*, 4:463; and *PJD*, 5:169, 334, 340.

[351] See Lonn, *Foreigners in the Confederacy*, 297; and Jordan, *Black Confederates and Afro-Yankees in Civil War Virginia*, 187.

[352] See Brooke, Jr., *John M. Brooke*, 275.

recalled after the war that his old friend Davis "was always more at ease, & pleasantly talkative in the woods, than under a roof… and he decidedly preferred the bivouac to the bed room."[353]

In 1856, moreover, Mallory and his fellow Democratic U.S. senator for Florida David Levy Yulee had urged the Secretary of War to accelerate the final deportation of the Seminoles and assign U.S. army engineers to Florida railroad projects, federal assistance for which could always be justified as a military necessity.[354] Like Yulee, most southern Jews were committed to equality among whites, white supremacy, religious toleration, and the Davis administration.[355] Indeed, the first two Jewish U.S. senators were political allies and personal friends of Davis, who drew support as well from the Democratic Jewish editor of the Paris, Tennessee *Constitution* Aaron Moïse.[356] Born in 1810 to a wealthy Sephardic mercantile family on a Danish Caribbean island, Yulee grew up in Florida after his parents immigrated there. The Florida legislature made him the first-ever Jewish U.S. senator in 1845, and he guarded against what his political lieutenant Thomas J. Johnston called the "trickery & treason" of Whigs, Know-Nothings, Republicans, and Douglas Democrats as one of Davis's most reliable allies from 1845-51 and 1855-61.[357] He wrote to Davis, moreover, as follows in March 1855: "My regards & those of

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[353] "Jefferson Davis to the People of the Confederate States," Executive Office, Richmond, April 10, 1863, *JDC*, 5:471; quoted in Davis, *An Honorable Defeat*, 204. See Occie Clubbs, "Stephen Russell Mallory: United States Senator from Florida and Confederate Secretary of the Navy," *The Florida Historical Quarterly*, vol. 25, no. 4 (April 1947), 295-318.

[354] See "From David L. Yulee and Stephen R. Mallory," August 1, 1856, *PJD*, 6:492. Also see *PJD*, 5:276; and *PJD*, 6:380, 533.

[355] See Robert M. Rosen, *The Jewish Confederates* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2000), 31-32, 35, 50. Also see *The Civil War Diary of Clara Solomon: Growing Up in New Orleans, 1861-1862*, ed. Elliott Ashkenazi (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1995); and Marc-Jordan Ben-Meir, *The Sons of Joshua: The Story of the Jewish Contribution to the Confederacy* (Bloomington, IN: Xlibris, 2012).

[356] See *PJD*, 5:154.

[357] "From Thomas J. Johnston," June 18, 1853, *PJD*, 5:219. Johnston accordingly advised Davis to fill as many federal offices and consulates as possible with loyal Pierce Democrats. See ibid., 5:219. Also see *PJD*, 5: 174, 420. Yulee, however, did occasionally annoy Davis by siding with Radical Democrats. See "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the post route bill. Feb. 24. 1859," *JDC*, 3:595; and *PJD*, 6:487.

Mrs. Y. [t]o yr wife. I will compare babies with you in the fall."[358] A wealthy sugar planter whose steam-powered refinery was kept running by a hundred slaves, Yulee also strove to acquire state subsidies and hired-out slave labor as the founder of the Florida Railroad Company, which finished a latitudinal railroad across Florida in 1861 that was vital to the C.S. war effort.[359]

Yulee urged Davis to take the field on March 1, 1861 as well, for "you have the example of Napoleon before you."[360] He was usually a staunch administration ally in the C.S. Congress, where he clashed with his nemesis the Florida ex-Whig Jackson Morton, whom Yulee had defeated in 1855 to return to the Senate. Morton demanded more congressional control over Mallory's Navy Department in the name of Radical state's rights, but Yulee stymied his efforts. Yulee, after all, had agreed with Davis in 1850 that while the U.S. navy should phase flogging out, Congress in general and civilian legislators in particular should not interfere with executive matters of military administration.[361] Having lost his political struggle with Yulee, Mallory, and Davis, Morton retired to his Mortonia plantation and did as little as possible to help the C.S. war effort. Yulee, in contrast, had already lost a fortune providing impressed sugar products and slaves to the C.S. government when his plantation was razed by the U.S. navy in May 1864.[362]

Yulee and Mallory rose to prominence in the C.S. government not just as embodiments of ethnic and religious tolerance among whites but also as representatives of Florida, for in Davis's view equality among whites had a geographic component as well. The Republicans, after all,

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[358] "D. L. Yulee to Jefferson Davis," Homosassa, March 27, 1855, *JDC*, 2:446. See "To David L. Yulee," P.O. Palmyra, Mississippi, July 18, 1851, *PJD*, 4:218-19; and "To Collin S. Tarpley," Washington, December 19, 1855, *PJD*, 5:148.
[359] See Robert L. Clarke, "The Florida Railroad Company in the Civil War," *The Journal of Southern History*, vol. 19, no. 2 (May 1953), 180-92.
[360] "From David L. Yulee," March 1, 1861, *PJD*, 7:66.
[361] See "Remarks on Flogging in the Navy," September 28, 1850, *PJD*, 4:133-34.
[362] See C. Wicliffe Yulee, "Senator David L. Yulee," *Publications of the Florida Historical Society*, vol. 2, no. 2 (July 1909), 3-22; Arthur W. Thompson, "Confederate Finance: A Documentary Study of a Proposal of David L. Yulee," *The Florida Historical Quarterly*, vol. 30, no. 2 (October 1951), 193-202; and *Biographical Register of the Confederate Congress*, ed. Ezra J. Warner and W. Buck Yearns (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1975), 181-82.

were bent on "enriching the manufacturing and shipping classes of the North at the expense of the South."[363] Davis toured most of the Confederate states to the east of the Mississippi despite his poor health, noting from Tennessee in late 1862 that "already there are indications of a strong desire for me to visit the further West, expressed in terms which render me unwilling to disappoint the expectation."[364] He hoped to industrialize the "further West" and all other C.S. regions equally, moreover, informing the Trans-Mississippi Department's commander with reference to establishing factories that "[i]n selecting the places… you will have, to some extent, to defer to the wishes of the people of the different States to have such establishments within their limits," and from "more weighty consideration it would be advisable so to separate these establishments that not more than one could be destroyed in a single expedition of the enemy."[365]

Davis also preferred to station regiments far from their home localities. "The discipline and efficiency of our armies," he observed in March 1863, "have been found to be far greater when the troops were… delivered from the constant temptation to absent themselves from duty presented by proximity to their families." It would be a "fatal error," he added, to suppose "that this great war can be waged by the Confederate States *severally*… with the least hope of success," for "[o]ur safety – our very existence – depends on the complete blending of the military strength of all the States into one united body, to be used anywhere and everywhere as the exigencies of the contest may require for the good of the *whole*."[366] He chided Confederates whom he deemed parochial-minded as a result, insisting that "[o]ur Government, born of the

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[363] "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Montgomery, April 29, 1861, *JDC*, 5:70. See "Inaugural Address," Richmond, February 22, 1862, *JDC*, 5:199.
[364] "To Varina Davis," Chattanooga, December 15, 1862, in Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 2:367. See "Jefferson Davis to E. Van Dorn," Richmond, October 25, 1861, *JDC*, 5:154.
[365] "Jefferson Davis to General E. K. Smith," Richmond, July 14, 1863, *JDC*, 5:553. See "Jefferson Davis to General J. E. Johnston, Comdg. Army in Ga.," Richmond, July 11, 1864, *JDC*, 6:290.
[366] "Jefferson Davis to Senators and Representatives from Arkansas," Richmond, March 30, 1863, *JDC*, 5:462-63. See "Jefferson Davis to Govr. Flanagin, Little Rock, Ark.," Richmond, April 3, 1863, *JDC*, 5:467; and "Jefferson Davis to Govr. H. Flannigan, Governor of Arkansas," Richmond, July 15, 1863, *JDC*, 5:566.

spirit of freedom and of the equality and independence of the States, could not have survived a selfish or jealous disposition, making each only careful of its own interest or safety."[367] Having informed Virginians in 1863 that "men of every State" had "bled upon your soil," which was "now consecrated by blood which cries for vengeance against the insensate foe of religion as well as of humanity," Davis accordingly declared in April 1865 that any Virginian who balked at serving in a distant part of the C.S.A. would "tarnish her [*i.e.* Virginia's] bright escutcheon."[368]

Within the old Union, Davis claimed in an October 1864 speech, the "Yankees" had been the "true grinders of the poor, and deniers of the rights of men." Their exclusion from the C.S.A. would, he added, guarantee that Confederates would never have to fear "class legislation" designed to enrich the wealthy.[369] The C.S. president therefore sought to ensure that the rich contributed a proportionally equal share to the war effort by means of direct taxation. Radical Confederates, in contrast, decried all direct taxes as consolidation and were incensed by the fact that Davis wanted to tax the wealthy at higher rates than the poor. Davis's congressional allies managed to impose a 10% luxury tax on the owners of gold, silver, and jewelry all the same in April 1863, as well as licensing taxes for banks and urban professionals. The C.S. Congress also enacted a 1% tax on incomes between $1000-$1500, a 2% tax on incomes above $2,000, and a 15% tax on incomes beyond $15,000. Passing a 10% tax-in-kind on all farm produce as well, it exempted military personnel, discharged veterans worth less than $1000, war widows, and all

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[367] "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, January 12, 1863, *JDC*, 5:414. "We have one cause," Davis insisted, "one country, and the States have been confederated to unite their power for the defence of each." "Jefferson Davis to General E. K. Smith, Comdg. Trans-Missi. Dept.," Richmond, December 24, 1864, *JDC*, 6:428.
[368] "Speech of Jefferson Davis in Richmond," from the Richmond *Enquirer*, January 7, 1863, *JDC*, 5:391; and "Jefferson Davis to Lt. Col. C. H. Lynch and others," Salisbury, N.C., April 18, 1865, *JDC*, 6:549. See "Jefferson Davis to Governor Z. B. Vance, Raleigh, N.C.," Richmond, February 29, 1864, *JDC*, 6:196.
[369] "Speech of Jefferson Davis at Augusta," from the Richmond *Dispatch*, October 10, 1864, *JDC*, 6:359. See "Inaugural Address," Richmond, February 22, 1862, *JDC*, 5:199.

farmers worth less than $500.[370] The C.S.A. raised more revenue from the new taxes in their first year of operation than the Union accrued in the fiscal year of 1862 even though the Radicals received property tax exemptions for land and slaves to assure the legislation's passage.[371] Yet Davis soon began urging the C.S. Congress to revise the tax code "to make all contribute as equally as possible in the burden which all are bound to share," calling time and again for "the repeal of certain provisions of the tax laws which produce inequality in the burden of taxation" for the sake of both military necessity and equal justice.[372] And when a new C.S. tax on income from bonds was imposed in February 1864, the Virginian C.S. colonel Edward T. Warren proclaimed that "if such bonds were not taxed the richest men in the country would escape taxation – I am satisfied that the Bill is a good one because so universal in its application."[373]

Davis also hoped that direct taxes would reduce inflation by taking excess treasury notes out of circulation, which would increase morale among poor Confederates who were particularly hard-hit by soaring prices.[374] His attempt to lower prices by proclaiming days of fasting *à la* George Washington, after all, had had little effect, although the *Enquirer* lauded the effort anyway as "it is nearly as bad to grow fat as to get rich while this war is being waged."[375] The

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[370] See "An Act to lay taxes for the common defense, and carry on the Government of the Confederate States," April 24, 1863, in *Public Laws of the Confederate States of America, Passed at the Third Session of the First Congress*, 115-26.

[371] See Richard Franklin Bensel, *Yankee Leviathan: The Origins of Central State Authority in America, 1859-1877* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 170.

[372] "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, December 7, 1863, *JDC*, 6:116; "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, November 7, 1864, *JDC*, 6:391. Davis angered Radical Confederates even further, moreover, by suggesting that direct taxation would and should continue after the war to fund the national debt, for "the people ought steadily to keep in view that the Government in contracting debt is but their agent; that its debt is their debt." "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, December 7, 1863, *op. cit.*, 6:115.

[373] Quoted in Sheehan-Dean, *Why Confederates Fought*, 142.

[374] See "Jefferson Davis to Jonathan Davis, Albany, Georgia," Richmond, March 10, 1863, *JDC*, 5:445; "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, December 7, 1863, *op. cit.*, 6:108, 114, 120; "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, May 2, 1864, *JDC*, 6:242-43; and "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, November 7, 1864, *op. cit.*, 6:391.

[375] Richmond *Enquirer*, March 10, 1863. See "Speech of Jefferson Davis at Augusta," from the Richmond *Dispatch*, October 10, 1864, *JDC*, 6:356. The pro-Davis Mobile *Register*, moreover, held that "[t]here is one thing that everyone can do, and that is to rid himself completely of the self, of narrow personal interests," declaring that

"selfish" speculators who were worsening inflation and preying upon the poor for the sake of "local, and personal, interests" were, Davis thought, among the worst in that regard, and he decried them for undermining "a determined prosecution of the war" in a "sordid effort to amass money."[376] Urging state governors in November 1862 to punish speculation with the utmost severity, he described its practitioners as "worse enemies of the Confederacy than if found in arms among the invading forces," for "[t]he armies in the field as well as the families of the soldiers and others of the people at home are the prey of these mercenaries…."[377] Davis, however, had alarmed the Radicals by endorsing a bill to authorize the Treasury Department to arrest counterfeiters as a military necessity, and courts martial were soon sentencing speculators, hoarders, and distillers to hard labor or even death.[378] Yet "the attempt of groveling speculators to forestall the market and make money out of the lifeblood of our defenders" had, he unhappily

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"whoever uses this war as a means of enriching himself will be forever marked, with those he holds dear, with the seal of infamy." Mobile *Register*, October 25 and 27, 1863.

[376] "Jefferson Davis to Genl. J. E. Johnston, Comdg. Dept. &c. Centerville, Va.," Richmond, February 28, 1862, *JDC*, 5:209; and "Jefferson Davis to J. W. Harmon, Secty, of the 'Confederate Society,' Enterprise, Miss.," Richmond, September 17, 1863, *JDC*, 6:40. See "Jefferson Davis to the Army of Tennessee," Headquarters Army of Tennessee, October 14, 1863, *JDC*, 6:62; and "Jefferson Davis to General E. K. Smith, Comdg. Trans-Missi. Dept.," Richmond, December 24, 1864, *JDC*, 6:428.

[377] "Jefferson Davis to Govrs. J. E. Brown, of Ga., R. Hawes of Ky., H. M. Rector, of Ark., F. R. Lubbock, of Texas, C. J. Jackson, of Mo., I. G. Harris, of Tenn., John Letcher, of Va., J. G. Shorter, of Ala., J. J. Pettus, of Miss., F. W. Pickens, of S. C., John Milton, of Fla., Z. B. Vance, of N. C., and Thos. O. Moore, of La.," Executive Office, Richmond, November 26, 1862, *JDC*, 5:378. Davis also informed a general in early 1863 that "[t]he extortion of which you complain can not be wholly suppressed, but it has seemed to me might best be restrained by State legislation." "Jefferson Davis to Genl. T. H. Holmes, Comdg. Trans-Missi. Dept. (By Genl. J. C. Tappan)," Richmond, January 28, 1863, *JDC*, 5:425.

[378] See "An Act to punish and repress the importation, by our enemies, of notes purporting to be notes of the Treasury of the Confederate States," October 13, 1862, in *Public Laws of the Confederate States of America, Passed at the Second Session of the First Congress*, ed. James M. Matthews (1862; reprint, Holmes Beach, Fla.: William W. Gaunt and Sons, 1970), 80-81; and Beringer and Hattaway, *Jefferson Davis, Confederate President*, 112-13, 131. Davis had asked for a $12,000 appropriation "[f]or Compensation of Experts, not to exceed eight in number, to be employed in detecting forgers of Treasury Notes, and located at such points, and paid in such proportion, as the Secretary of the Treasury may direct…." "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, August 27, 1862, *JDC*, 5:331.

observed in April 1863, still "so much influenced the withdrawal from sale of the surplus in the hands of the producers that the Government has been unable to gather full supplies."[379]

Speculator cabals, however, were not the only entities that were undermining equality among whites and hence morale in Davis's view, for he also believed that many corporations were unwilling to make significant sacrifices for the war effort. Even worse, some of them were, he thought, attempting to fleece the C.S. government and hence the people as a whole. Pointing to "the failure, and even refusal, of contractors to comply with the terms of their agreements," Davis urged the C.S. Congress to provide "remedie[s] by legislation" in November 1861.[380] He therefore called for steep corporate taxes, seeking as well to "plac[e] the taxation on banks on the same footing as the taxation of other corporate bodies...."[381] The C.S. Congress did impose an 8% corporate property tax, a 20% tax on corporate wealth held abroad, and a 25% tax on corporate profit margins above 25%, but unfortunately for Davis, it did so only in March 1865.[382]

Davis also invoked military necessity to send officers "to exercise authority" over such large-scale contracted corporations as salt mines, endeavoring to make them operate with maximum efficiency and honesty *vis-à-vis* the C.S. government.[383] He appreciated the fact that "[t]ransportation companies have freely tendered the use of their lines for troops and supplies," to be sure, but he still appointed a special quartermaster in 1861 to coordinate rail schedules and facilitate "direct communications between the Executive and the rail road Presidents," who had no choice but to carry "the freight and passengers which the public service requires to be

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[379] "Jefferson Davis to the People of the Confederate States," Executive Office, Richmond, April 10, 1863, *JDC*, 5:473.
[380] "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, November 18, 1861, *JDC*, 5:168.
[381] "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, November 7, 1864, *JDC*, 6:391.
[382] See "An Act to levy additional taxes for the year 1865, for the support of the Government," March 11, 1865, in *Laws and Joint Resolutions of the Last Session of the Confederate Congress (November 7, 1864-March 18, 1865)*, 101-7.
[383] "Jefferson Davis to Govr. J. J. Pettus, Jackson, Miss.," "Telegram," Richmond, September 25, 1862, *JDC*, 5:344. See "Jefferson Davis to Govr. J. J. Pettus, Jackson, Miss.," Richmond, October 25, 1862, *JDC*, 5:360-61.

transported."[384] By impressing goods from non-contracted companies as "military exigencies," moreover, he subjected them to indirect taxes-in-kind because compensatory payments were determined by C.S. Price Control Boards from late 1862 onward and usually made in depreciated currency.[385] Yet when the Davis administration sought to bypass corporations altogether by creating its own "Government works," companies would cavil that it was attempting to put them out of business.[386] Complaining to his wife in June 1862 that the Union was "bringing up heavy guns on the York River Railroad *which not being useful to our Army nor paid for by our treasury was of course not destroyed*," an aggravated Davis began urging C.S. congressmen to explicitly authorize him to impress corporations *in toto*.[387] But he had already impressed many a company outright to augment the war effort and vindicate equality among whites when they finally enabled him to impress entire railroad, shipping, canal, and telegraph firms in February 1865.[388]

The ex-Whig Radical planters, however, were, in Davis's view, even worse than corporations, for they constantly carped that a consolidated C.S. government was persecuting them in the name of equality among whites by singling them out for *de facto* property confiscations. The C.S. Constitution authorized an excise tax on exports, and a law to that effect

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[384] "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Montgomery, April 29, 1861, *JDC*, 5:83; and "Jefferson Davis to Maj. Genl. G. W. Smith, Army of the Potomac," Richmond, October 10, 1861, *JDC*, 5:138-39. See "Jefferson Davis to General R. E. Lee, Orange C. H., Va.," "Telegram," Richmond, September 9, 1863, *JDC*, 6:28.

[385] "Jefferson Davis to Govr. John Milton, Govr. of Florida," Richmond, September 16, 1863, *JDC*, 6:39. See "Jefferson Davis to Hon. Chas. F. Collier, Chn. Committee, House of Dels., General Assembly of Va.," Richmond, December 19, 1861, *JDC*, 5:182; "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, January 12, 1863, *JDC*, 5:413; "Jefferson Davis to Col. Wm. M. Browne, A.D.C., Atlanta, Ga.," "Telegram," Richmond, February 9, 1864, *JDC*, 6:170; and Beringer and Hattaway, *Jefferson Davis, Confederate President*, 180, 207.

[386] "Jefferson Davis to Lt. Genl. T. H. Holmes," Richmond, July 15, 1863, *JDC*, 5:555. See "Jefferson Davis to General E. K. Smith," Richmond, July 14, 1863, *JDC*, 5:552; "Jefferson Davis to Govr. John Milton, Govr. of Florida," Richmond, September 16, 1863, *JDC*, 6:39; and Beringer and Hattaway, *op. cit.*, 380.

[387] "Jefferson Davis to Mrs. Davis," Executive Department, Richmond, June 11, 1862, *JDC*, 5:272. See "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, August 18, 1862, *JDC*, 5:32.

[388] See "An Act to provide for the more efficient transportation of troops, supplies and munitions of war upon the railroads, steamboats, and canals in the Confederate States, and to control telegraph lines, employed by Government," February 28, 1865, *Laws and Joint Resolutions of the Last Session of the Confederate Congress (November 7, 1864-March 18, 1865)*, 60-61; and William C. Davis, *Rebels and Yankees: The Commanders of the Civil War* (New York: Salamander Books, 1990), 179.

was passed in February 1861.[389] Many planters were aggrieved that the tax had targeted them, and they would often evade it by smuggling their cotton into U.S. lines, inducing an angry Davis to assert that it ought to remain in place after the war when it could be more effectually enforced.[390] Yet C.S. Radicals were even more upset by the fact that planter property was impressed at a disproportionate rate. The March 1863 impressment law, after all, exempted poor farmers by declaring that "property necessary for the support of the owner and his family, and to carry on his ordinary agricultural and mechanical business... shall not be taken or impressed for the public use."[391] General Order no. 128 of October 1863, moreover, instructed C.S. impressment agents to target farms that were producing cash crops rather than foodstuffs for confiscation with compensation, which was often paid so desultorily to planters that the C.S.A. owed them up to $500 million in unpaid claims by 1865.[392] Almost all of the 475,000 bales of C.S. cotton were impressed from wealthy planters as a result.[393] Instructing officers to rip apart abandoned plantation mansions for fuel or building material as well, Davis held that impressment was benefiting poor Confederates and the C.S. government alike by forcing planters to part with their stockpiles. "[T]he temptation to hoard supplies for the higher prices," he explained in late 1863, "has been checked mainly by fear of the operation of the impressment law," and "commodities have been offered in the markets principally to escape impressment…."[394]

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[389] See Beringer and Hattaway, *Jefferson Davis, Confederate President*, 55.

[390] See "Jefferson Davis to Ephraim H. Spalding, Beeville, Bee Co., Texas," Richmond, August 27, 1864, *JDC*, 6:323; and "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, December 7, 1863, *JDC*, 6:109.

[391] "An Act to Regulate Impressments," March 26, 1863, in *Public Laws of the Confederate States of America, Passed at the Third Session of the First Congress*, 103-4. See William A. Blair, *Virginia's Private War: Feeding Body and Soul in the Confederacy, 1861-1865* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 70-72.

[392] See Beringer and Hattaway, *op. cit.*, 258, 260. Also see "Jefferson Davis to General R. E. Lee, via Guinea's Station, Va.," "Telegram," Richmond, May 13, 1864, *JDC*, 6:250-51.

[393] See Beringer and Hattaway, *op. cit.*, 309.

[394] "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," *op. cit.*, 6:120. See "Jefferson Davis to the People of the Confederate States," Executive Office, Richmond, April 10, 1863, *JDC*, 5:473; and "Jefferson Davis to Genl. J. E. Johnston, Meridian, Missi.," "Telegram (In cipher)," Richmond, November 14, 1863, *JDC*, 6:81.

If taking property principally from wealthy "private parties and corporations" was to implement impressment "so as to be most equal and least odious," then patriotic Confederates would surely "surrender every possession in order to secure their independence" – including slaves.[395] Yet planters were often loath to see their slaves impressed at government prices, fearing as well that their most valuable chattels might die or abscond while toiling in factories, building fortifications, repairing railroads, laboring in mines, running printing presses, operating gas works, and staffing hospitals.[396] Many planters therefore took advantage of a concession to the Radicals in the impressment law by hiring-out slave substitutes to prevent their most remunerative slaves from being impressed.[397] The value of slave property in the C.S.A. plummeted relative to inflation rates all the same, for few Confederates wished to purchase a slave who could be freed by the Union or lost *via* C.S. impressment.[398] The Radicals, however, erroneously claimed that slave property was rising in real as opposed to nominal value; or they blamed its decline on Davis for both saying and showing that slavery was merely a means to the end of keeping blacks "[u]nder the supervision of a superior race" rather than an end in itself.[399]

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[395] "Jefferson Davis to General R. E. Lee, Comdg. Army. No. Va.," Richmond, January 4, 1864," *JDC*, 6:142; and "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, November 7, 1864, *JDC*, 6:396. See Beringer and Hattaway, *Jefferson Davis, Confederate President*, 143.

[396] See "Weekly Statements of Receipts and Expenditures of Richmond *Examiner*," John Moncure Daniel Papers, University of Virginia; James H. Brewer, *The Confederate Negro: Virginia's Craftsmen and Military Laborers, 1861-1865* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1969); Jordan, *Black Confederates and Afro-Yankees in Civil War Virginia*, 45, 50, 52, 54-56; Anne Kelly Knowles, "Labor, Race, and Technology in the Confederate Iron Industry," *Technology and Culture*, vol. 42, no. 1 (January 2001), 1-26; Beringer and Hattaway, *op. cit.*, 289; Martinez, "The Slave Market in Civil War Virginia," in *Crucible of the Civil War*, 110, 113-14, 119, 125-26; and Jaime Amanda Martinez, *Confederate Slave Impressment in the Upper South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013). Also see Harrison A. Trexler, "The Opposition of Planters to the Employment of Slaves as Laborers by the Confederacy," *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, vol. 27, no. 2 (September 1940), 211-24.

[397] "An Act to Regulate Impressments," March 26, 1863, in *Public Laws of the Confederate States of America, Passed at the Third Session of the First Congress*, 104.

[398] See Martinez, "The Slave Market in Civil War Virginia," *op. cit.*, 107, 109, 129, 130. The price of a prime male field hand would have had to exceed $80,000 to keep up with inflation by 1865, and the value of those slaves actually decreased even more than for young, elderly, and female slaves. See ibid., 116, 118, 120, 123-24.

[399] "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Montgomery, April 29, 1861, *JDC*, 5:72.

One such Radical was the wealthy ex-Whig Mississippian James L. Alcorn. The "basic commitment" of Alcorn and his fellow Radical planters was, in Paul D. Escott's words, "to slavery rather than independence and Confederate nationalism."[400] They accordingly denounced state supreme courts which ruled that "property is held subject to an inherent right in the government to appropriate it to public use," not to mention pro-Davis papers which held that impressment "is a right inherent in the very nature of Governments… whose duty it is to provide for the public defense at any sacrifice of private rights."[401] Appalled by the C.S. president's orders to burn vast amounts of impressed cotton for fear that it might fall into U.S. hands, they stubbornly resisted his efforts to use the threat of impressment to pressure their congressional representatives into accepting property taxes on land and slaves, for such taxes would, Davis claimed, reduce the need for impressments given that "about two-thirds of the entire taxable property of the Confederate States consists of land and slaves."[402] Alcorn owned vast amounts of land and nearly one hundred slaves in 1860. He soon became a Mississippi militia brigadier general but was incensed when Davis refused to give him a field command. And he was so dismayed by C.S. slave impressments that he called Davis a "miserable, stupid, one-eyed dyspeptic, arrogant tyrant who... boasts of the future grandeur of the country which he has ruined...."[403] Alcorn, moreover, was one of the few planters to reap profits during the war, and he did so by smuggling cotton to the Union. His top priorities, after all, were to uphold the institution of slavery and inequality among whites. Alcorn cared so little for white supremacy *sans* slavery, in fact, that he became a Republican governor of and U.S. senator for Mississippi

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[400] Escott, *After Secession*, 255.
[401] Quoted in Beringer and Hattaway, *Jefferson Davis, Confederate President*, 258; and Augusta *Chronicle*, May 1, 1863.
[402] "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, December 7, 1863, *JDC*, 6:120. See "Jefferson Davis to General G. T. Beauregard, Columbia, S. C.," "Telegram (in cipher)," Richmond, February 6, 1865, *JDC*, 6:465; and Beringer and Hattaway, *op. cit.*, 200, 259, 272-73.
[403] Quoted in Rable, *The Confederate Republic*, 175. See James L. Roark, *Masters without Slaves: Southern Planters in the Civil War and Reconstruction* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1977), 3.

after the war. He bitterly opposed the Mississippi Republicans who wished to minimize class in addition to racial disparities, but a new black college (Alcorn State University) was named in his honor all the same because he had been willing to endorse voting rights for well-to-do blacks.[404]

Alcorn and his fellow Radicals especially hated Charleston's Lucius B. Northrop, an old friend of Davis's who oversaw impressments as the C.S. Commissary General and had previously converted to Catholicism.[405] He and Davis left a fort construction site to attend a horse race in 1835, for which infraction Northrop faced a court martial.[406] Senator Davis, however, managed to restore the "gallant and crippled" Northrop to the U.S. army and even secured him a promotion to captain in 1848.[407] Northrop was an ardent Davis Democrat and was often seen "among the President's suite" in 1861, from which year forward he called for railroad companies and "plantation negroes" to be impressed outright while Radicals traduced him as an autocratic Catholic and incompetent crony of a nepotistic president.[408] The only counties that he exempted from slave impressments, after all, were those which refrained from invoking Radical state's rights and claimed instead that their slaves would contribute more to the war effort by raising foodstuffs at home.[409] Congressional Radicals strove to remove Northrop as a result, but the C.S. president managed to protect him until February 1865, when the Confederacy's beleaguered Catholic Commissary General finally resigned.[410] Davis, however, refused to accept

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[404] See Lillian A. Pereyra, *James Lusk Alcorn: Persistent Whig* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1966).

[405] Northrop's nephew Henry P. Northrop eventually became the Catholic bishop of Charleston. See Jon L. Wakelyn, "Catholic Elites in the Slaveholding South," in *Catholics in the Old South: Essays on Church and Culture*, eds. Randall M. Miller and Jon L. Wakelyn (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1999), 224.

[406] Davis had had the presence of mind to have another officer take his place during the absence. See *PJD*, 1:385.

[407] "Jefferson Davis to James K. Polk," Washington, D.C., June 23, 1848, *JDC*, 1:206. See *PJD*, 5:476.

[408] Richmond *Dispatch*, May 5, 1861; and "L. B. Northup to Jefferson Davis," Office of Commissary General CSA, Richmond, August 21, 1861, *JDC*, 5:127. See "From Archibald Campbell," War Department, Washington, August 20, 1853, *PJD*, 5:40.

[409] See Bell I. Wiley, *The Road to Appomattox* (New York: Atheneum Paperbacks, 1968), 31; and Martinez, "The Slave Market in Civil War Virginia," in *Crucible of the Civil War*, 119-20, 127.

[410] See "Jefferson Davis to General R. E. Lee, Hdqrts. near Petersburg, Va.," Richmond, August 10, 1864, *JDC*, 6:311; and Beringer and Hattaway, *Jefferson Davis, Confederate President*, 110-11, 381. Also see Jeremy P. Felt,

his resignation and soon telegraphed him as follows: "Are you not aware that your commission remains in force, making you assignable to duty anywhere in the Subsistence Dept.?"[411]

Northrop had also received the support of the *Sentinel*, which sneered in late 1863 that on plantations bereft of slaves due to impressment, "young ladies, and middle aged ones too, will now have an opportunity of becoming acquainted with that unknown locality, the kitchen…."[412] The *Sentinel* was referring to the fact that Radical matrons rarely performed manual labor within the domestic realm of the patriarchal plantation, the comfort and seeming security of which they had no intention of exchanging for work in the public sphere either.[413] Like the *Sentinel*, Davis's female supporters reproved Radical women for lazing in luxury and leisure rather than laboring within the home for the Confederacy's benefit. One Mississippi woman, for instance, sent the C.S. president a sturdy but coarse pair of socks as "a small present made with my own hand," remarking that "what we all should prise most now in our Confederacy, is that which is most useful."[414] Davis, for his part, informed Radical women that they could at least contribute to the C.S. war effort in ways that would not undermine planter patriarchy. He therefore praised a woman who put her "silver plate at the disposal of the Government with a view to its being coined into money…."[415] He also lauded women who were sewing inside their homes to "mak[e] cloth for the troops in the field" and hailed "[t]he mother who has given her son, the wife who has given her husband, the girl who has given her sweetheart…."[416] Davis, in fact,

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"Lucius B. Northrop and the Confederacy's Subsistence Department," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. 69, no. 2 (April 1961), 181-93.

[411] "Jefferson Davis to Col. L. B. Northrop, Commissary C.S.A., Greensboro, N.C.," "Telegram," Danville, Va., April 7, 1865, *JDC*, 6:536. See ibid., 6:537.

[412] Richmond *Sentinel*, December 31, 1863.

[413] See Faust, *Mothers of Invention*.

[414] "Mrs. Mary A. McRae to Jefferson Davis," Belmont Springs Mississippi, December 29, 1863, *JDC*, 6:158.

[415] "Jefferson Davis to Mrs. Sarah E. Cochrane," Executive Office, Richmond, June 5, 1862, *JDC*, 5:269. See "Speech of Jefferson Davis in Columbia," from the Charleston *Daily Courier*, October 6, 1864, *JDC*, 6:352.

[416] "Speech of Jefferson Davis in Richmond," from the Richmond *Enquirer*, January 7, 1863, *JDC*, 5:394. See ibid.,

even implored adolescent women, whom he addressed as "my young friends," to shun every man "who has never shared the toils, or borne the dangers of the field," remarking as well that if they knew "of any young man keeping away from the service... let them write to the Executive."[417]

The Confederate publisher Samuel Boykin circulated tales of Union atrocities to frighten girls into knitting socks for soldiers, and Henry W. R. Jackson's *The Southern Women of the Second American Revolution* warned Confederate women that their domestic realms would be violated by U.S. troops and especially the U.S.C.T. if they failed to work on behalf of the C.S.A. in their homes.[418] At the same time, however, presses throughout the Confederacy were starting to hire women in all capacities, and pro-Davis C.S. women like Aurelia Hadley Mohl welcomed such developments.[419] Mohl had risen to fame in the 1850s as a reporter for the Democratic Houston *Telegraph*. She was so devoted to the Confederacy that when her husband the captured C.S. army captain Frederick Mohl declined to return to service after he was exchanged in 1863, she urged Davis to conscript him. The C.S. president, however, hinted in reply that her husband was secretly fitting out a blockade runner: "I appreciate, Madam, the feeling which prompts you to wish him to be in the army; but, in case it appears that his services can be more useful to the country in another sphere, of course you will acquiesce in his plans."[420] Mohl called for white women's suffrage after the war and also wrote "An Afternoon's Nap: or Five Hundred Years

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5:392-95; "Inaugural Address," Richmond, February 22, 1862, *JDC*, 5:201; and "Speech of Jefferson Davis at Augusta," from the Richmond *Dispatch*, October 10, 1864, *JDC*, 6:359. When one mother asked Davis to assign her son a safe position within the army because her husband had recently died in C.S. service, he informed her "that I cannot now point out some path on which duty and safety might go together." "Jefferson Davis to Mrs. Mary Wilkinson," Richmond, November 7, 1862, *JDC*, 5:365. He "kn[e]w of one [woman]," after all, "who has lost all her sons, except one of eight years. She wrote me that she wanted me to reserve a place for him in the ranks. "Speech of Jefferson Davis in Macon, Georgia," from the Richmond *Enquirer*, September 29, 1864, *JDC*, 6:342.

[417] "Speech of Jefferson Davis in Columbia," from the Charleston *Daily Courier*, October 6, 1864, *JDC*, 6:355; and "Speech of Jefferson Davis in Macon, Georgia," from the Richmond *Enquirer*, September 29, 1864, *JDC*, 6:343.

[418] See Henry W. R. Jackson, *The Southern Women of the Second American Revolution: Their trials, &c. Yankee barbarity illustrated. Our naval victories and exploits of Confederate war steamers. Capture of Yankee gunboats, &c.* (Atlanta: Intelligencer Steam-Power Press, 1863); and Bernath, *Confederate Minds*, 196, 198.

[419] See Bernath, *op. cit.*, 257.

[420] "Jefferson Davis to Mrs. A. H. Mohl, Houston, Texas," Richmond, September 25, 1863, *JDC*, 6:49.

Ahead" in 1865, a pioneering science fiction work featuring an all-white, highly equal, and technologically wondrous America that imported cotton grown by colonized blacks on Jupiter.[421]

White supremacist Democratic women like Mohl had been quite active in civic organizations and political rallies during the 1850s, in which decade Davis gained their favor by calling for white women to receive "mental and physical training which makes a woman more than the mere ornament of the drawing-room...." He would thus praise Democratic women for "rising above" age-old restrictions to better their race even as he denounced Republican women for "running to the excess" by empathizing with black women or advocating suffrage for well-to-do but not poor white women.[422] And when the C.S. president began encouraging white women to enter the public sphere as a military necessity but also to reify equality among whites, his status among Democratic *cum* Confederate women rose to unparalleled heights of devotion.[423]

Facing acute labor shortages as men enlisted *en masse*, Davis hired hundreds of educated women to work in the Treasury Department and Post Office.[424] He also urged women to become nurses or teachers, jobs which Radicals deemed un-ladylike or even disreputable.[425] C.S. women

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[421] See Aurelia Hadley Mohl, "An Afternoon's Nap: or Five Hundred Years Ahead [1865]," in *Let's Hear It: Stories by Texas Women Writers*, eds. Sylvia Ann Grider and Lou Halsell Rodenberger (College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 2003), 49-73.

[422] "Speech of Jefferson Davis at State Fair at Augusta, Me.," from the *Eastern Argus*, September 29, 1858, *JDC*, 3:311-12. See "To Miss Catherine L. Brooke," [1856], *PJD*, 6:497.

[423] See "Arrival of President Davis at Montgomery – His Speech," from the Charleston *Mercury*, February 19, 1861, *JDC*, 5:48; "Jefferson Davis to Messrs. Blacknall & Co., Proprietors of Kittrell Springs, N.C.," Richmond, August 27, 1863, *JDC*, 6:16; "President Davis' Visit to Gen. Bragg – Addresses," from the Charleston *Daily Courier*, October 10, 1863, *JDC*, 6:58; "Jefferson Davis to the People of the Confederate States of America," Danville, Virginia, April 4, 1865, *JDC*, 6:531; and Cooper, Jr., *Jefferson Davis, American*, 489. Davis was therefore delighted to be greeted at Charleston by "a banner… bearing the following inscription: 'The Ladies of the Soldiers' Relief Association welcome President Davis to Charleston.'" "Speech of President Davis in Charleston," from the Charleston *Daily Courier*, November 3, 1863, *JDC*, 6:75.

[424] See Bell I. Wiley, *Confederate Women* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1975), 146; Janet E. Kaufman, "Working Women of the South: 'Treasury Girls,'" *Civil War Times Illustrated*, vol. 25, no. 3 (May 1986), 32-38; and Beringer and Hattaway, *Jefferson Davis, Confederate President*, 261.

[425] See "Jefferson Davis to Mrs. Sarah E. Cochrane," Executive Office, Richmond, June 5, 1862, *JDC*, 5:269; "Jefferson Davis to Mrs. Isabella Grinnell, Globe Hospital, 19th Street, Richmond, Va.," November 11, 1862, *JDC*, 5:368; "Speech of Jefferson Davis in Richmond," from the Richmond *Enquirer*, January 7, 1863, *JDC*, 5:394; "Jefferson Davis to M. A. Buie," Wilmington, N.C.," "Telegram," Richmond, February 24, 1864, *JDC*, 6:190;

of all classes responded by the thousands despite Radical disapprobation, enticed in many cases by offers of free tuition from the new normal schools.[426] The *Enquirer*, moreover, called for the wives of soldiers to be given preferential hiring status in both War Department factories and government-contracted companies.[427] And while the Davis administration paid women to sew government-provided cloth at home from 1861 onward, over 3,000 women were working in the Clothing Bureau's Richmond factories by 1865.[428] Yet industrial jobs were more dangerous and less remunerative than Treasury Department clerkships, and when an explosion killed nearly seventy female employees at a Richmond ordnance factory, angry women workers looted government warehouses and private businesses. The April 1863 Richmond Bread Riot has usually been interpreted as an anti-C.S. upheaval, but most of the rioters were actually pressing Davis to reward his supporters and punish his Radical opponents even more emphatically.[429] He threatened to quell them with military force, to be sure, but he did not regard them as enemies of his administration, let alone of the Confederacy. Davis, in fact, even put himself at their mercy by ordering them to disperse in person. He "seemed deeply moved" when they complied, and he let them draw rations from C.S. warehouses at subsidized prices thereafter.[430] The Richmond *Whig*, however, derided them as an un-ladylike "throng of courtesans and thieves" who should

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"Speech of Jefferson Davis in Macon, Georgia," from the Richmond *Enquirer*, September 29, 1864, *JDC*, 6:342; and "Speech of Jefferson Davis in Columbia," from the Charleston *Daily Courier*, October 6, 1864, *JDC*, 6:354.

[426] See Bernath, *Confederate Minds*, 137-38, 144, 238, 243, 280, 342. Davis had previously urged Mississippi to found "normal schools" to train teachers who would hopefully have textbooks published in the South that were free from "abolition poison" at hand. "Speech at Mississippi City," October 2, 1857, *PJD*, 6:154; and "Speech at Hernando," from the Memphis *Appeal*, September 8, 1857, *PJD*, 6:548.

[427] See Richmond *Enquirer*, March 28, 1862.

[428] See Beringer and Hattaway, *Jefferson Davis, Confederate President*, 82. Also see LeeAnn Whites, *The Civil War as a Crisis in Gender: Augusta, Georgia, 1860-1890* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1995), 43.

[429] See William J. Kimball, "The Bread Riot in Richmond," *Civil War History*, vol. 7, no. 2 (June 1961), 149-54; Michael B. Chesson, "Harlots or Heroines? A New Look at the Richmond Bread Riot," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. 92, no. 2 (April 1984), 131-75; Stephanie McCurry, "'Women Numerous and Armed': Gender and the Politics of Subsistence in the Civil War South," in *Wars within a War*, 1-26; and Stephanie McCurry, *Confederate Reckoning: Power and Politics in the Civil War South* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012), 178-218. Also see Teresa Crisp Williams and David Williams, "'The Women Rising': Cotton, Class, and Confederate Georgia's Rioting Women," *The Georgia Historical Quarterly*, vol. 86, no. 1 (Spring 2002), 49-83.

[430] Entry for April 2, 1863, in *A Rebel War Clerk's Diary*, 184. See Lonn, *Foreigners in the Confederacy*, 117.

have been crushed: "shall it go to the country that the confederate government is scared out of its wits because a parcel of women broke open a store and stole a pair of shoes?"[431] The *Sentinel*, in turn, urged the wealthy to bestow more charity upon women workers and rebuked *Whig* readers who demeaned them, for "the sneers of passers-bys, who daily witness the throng of females on the pavement in front of the Clothing Bureau, are very uncalled for and humiliating."[432]

The *Whig* and its fellow Radical organs would often defend patriarchy in tandem with slavery, a fact which pro-Davis C.S. women did not fail to notice as they frequently deemed slavery an atavistic institution that debased white families by facilitating race-mixing.[433] Eliza F. Andrews, for instance, was the daughter of a wealthy Georgia Whig planter who owned more than a hundred slaves, opposed secession for fear that it would lead to a war that would destroy slavery, and detested Davis. His daughter, however, defied him by lauding the C.S. president. Having studied science alongside French at Georgia's La Grange Female College before the war, she rose to fame after it as a botanist who urged white women to study the sciences and called for the restoration of white supremacy in the South on a new and more "scientific" basis.[434]

Mary Boykin Chesnut, moreover, was married to James Chesnut, Jr., a staunch South Carolina Democrat who had been one of Davis's allies in the Senate during the late 1850s. An *aide-de-camp*, inspector, and courier for the C.S. president, Chesnut was promoted to brigadier

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[431] Richmond *Whig*, April 6, 1863.

[432] Richmond *Sentinel*, July 18, 1863. A few months later, moreover, the *Sentinel* encouraged the "rich family" to follow "the fashion and example set by the poor" as "the poor man consumes least and produces most; therefore, the poor man is the most useful citizen and best patriot." Richmond *Sentinel*, August 11, 1863. See ibid., April 4, 1863.

[433] Norfolk's Margaret Douglass had thus denounced all sex between white men and black women as follows in 1854: "The whole practice is plainly, unequivocally, shamelessly *beastly*." Quoted in Jordan, *Black Confederates and Afro-Yankees in Civil War Virginia*, 129. For other C.S. women who were committed to white supremacy but ambivalent about slavery as an institution, see ibid., 147, 149; and entry for June 18, 1862, "Lucy Rebecca Buck Diary," Buck Family Papers, University of Virginia.

[434] See Eliza Frances Andrews, *A Family Secret*, ed. S. Kittrell Rushing (1876; reprint, Knoxville: University of Georgia Press, 2005); Eliza Frances Andrews, *Botany All the Year Round: A Practical Text-book for Schools* (New York: American Book Company, 1903); Eliza Frances Andrews, *The War-Time Journal of a Georgia Girl, 1864-1865* (New York: D. Appleton & Company, 1908); and Charlotte A. Ford, "Eliza Frances Andrews: A Fruitful Life of Toil," *The Georgia Historical Quarterly*, vol. 89, no. 1 (Spring 2005), 25-56.

general in 1864 and given a long-coveted field command.[435] His wife was educated by the St. Domingue refugee Madame Talvande at Charleston's French School for Young Ladies. She and her husband were frequent guests at Fort Hill as members of "the circle of those who need no prompting" about Calhoun.[436] Chesnut accordingly wrote in her diary on March 1, 1861 that she "[w]ent to pay my respects to Mrs. Jefferson Davis," who "met me with open arms."[437] A Catholic sympathizer who was eager to "make my first effort at sister of charity," she also called slavery a "monstrous system" because "we live surrounded by prostitutes…. Like the patriarchs of old our men live all in one house with their wives and concubines, and the mulattoes one sees in every family exactly resemble the white children."[438] Yet Chesnut was no racial egalitarian. She reviled the black-friendly views of an Englishwoman she ran across in 1862 and praised two young C.S. officers who "loathe[d] slavery" but had no interest in "emulating Mrs. Stowe."[439] An overseer who was willing to manage manumitted black non-citizens hence met her approval, for he declared that "our only chance" was to "free our negroes and put them in the army.... Let us take the bull by the horns. Set 'em free, let 'em help us fight, to pay for their freedom."[440]

Chesnut came to admire Davis on a personal level precisely because she hoped that a victorious C.S.A. would feature new forms of white supremacy and greater equality for white women.[441] When he visited her Columbia home in 1863, she noted that "the rest of us made

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[435] See "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Army appropriation bill. Feb. 26, 1859," *JDC*, 4:12; "Jefferson Davis to Hon. W. W. Avery, Richmond, Va.," Richmond, February 18, 1862, *JDC*, 5:196; "Jefferson Davis to Col. James Chesnut, Jr., Columbia, S.C.," "Telegram," Richmond, October 20, 1862, *JDC*, 5:255; "Jefferson Davis to Col. Jas, Chesnut, A.D.C., Columbia, S.C. (care of Major Melton)," "Telegram," Richmond, August 31, 1863, *JDC*, 6:19; and "Jefferson Davis to Alexander H. Stephens, Vice-President," Richmond, April 19, 1864, *JDC*, 6:231.
[436] "To William R. Cannon," Washington, D.C., February 25, 1850, *PJD*, 4:82. See entry for March 11, 1861, in *Mary Chesnut's Civil War*, 21-22.
[437] Entry for March 1, 1861, in *Mary Chesnut's Civil War*, 13. See "Mrs. Jefferson Davis to Jefferson Davis," [Charlotte, NC], April 7, 1865, *JDC*, 6:539.
[438] Entry for June 29, 1861, in *Mary Chesnut's Civil War*, 8; and entry for March 18, 1861, in ibid., 29.
[439] Entry for March 5 1862, in ibid., 298. See entry for January 11, 1862, in ibid., 276.
[440] Entry for December 6, 1861, in ibid., 255. See Mary A. DeCredico, *Mary Boykin Chesnut: A Confederate Woman's Life* (1997; reprint, Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2002).
[441] See Watkins, *"Company Aytch,"* 9; and Wiley, *Confederate Women*, 153.

obeisance before him, as was due his position. I was proud to receive him in my house – for himself, Jeff Davis."[442] Her social circle was similarly devoted to him. Mary Stark, Chesnut joked, "is a Jeff Davis man – she is thorough, she stands by him," and Sally Buchanan Preston was "in a very ecstasy of loyalty" after breakfasting with him in 1863 as she "hurrahed for Jeff Davis and professed her willingness to fight for him to the death."[443] A popular C.S. song, moreover, featured a poor young woman declaring that "I will be for Jeffdavise till the tenisee river freezes over, / and then be for him and scratch on the ice...."[444] The Illinois U.S. soldier William H. Parkinson also came across a young C.S. woman who stood by a Tennessee road and repeatedly yelled "Hurrah for Jeff Davis" as his regiment marched past in July 1862, prompting a sergeant to retort, "[b]y G – d Madam, *your cunt* is all that saves your life."[445] A crowd of women presented the C.S. president with flowers as he prepared to flee southward from Charlotte in 1865 as well, one of whom received his gold watch when she informed him that she had named her infant child after him.[446] And when "seven thousand ladies of Richmond and vicinity" signed an 1866 petition calling for Davis's release, he declared that their effort was "not ineffectual" because it "refreshed my burdened heart as the shower revives a parched field."[447]

The Davis administration, after all, had, to the horror of C.S. Radicals, even allowed Confederate women to protect white supremacy and vindicate equality among whites by venturing so far into the public sphere as to enter C.S. service. A woman had asked the governor

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[442] Entry for September 23, 1863, in *Mary Chesnut's Civil War*, 433. See "Speech of Jefferson Davis in Columbia," from the Charleston *Daily Courier*, October 6, 1864, *JDC*, 6:349.
[443] Entries for May 24, 1862 and September 23, 1863, in *Mary Chesnut's Civil War*, 349. See entry for April 23, 1865, in ibid., 795.
[444] *Songs of the Civil War*, 179. The sister of the C.S. staff officer Alexander S. Pendleton even wanted to travel all the way over the Blue Ridge Mountains to attend Davis's 1862 inaugural at Richmond. See Sheehan-Dean, *Why Confederates Fought*, 70.
[445] Quoted in Davis, *Jefferson Davis, The Man and His Hour*, 535-36. See entry for March 13, 1862, "Sigismunda Stribling Kimball Journal," Small Special Collections, University of Virginia.
[446] See Beringer and Hattaway, *Jefferson Davis, Confederate President*, 419. Also see *PJD*, 6:207, 396, 518.
[447] "To Varina Davis," Fortress Monroe, January 28, 1866, in Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 2:747-48.

of Virginia on behalf of her female friends to "[s]end me a *good* Musket, Rifle, or double barrel Shot Gun" in 1861, adding that "I think I would prefer the latter as I am acquainted with its use. I believe, Sir, if a Regiment of Yankees were to come we would drive them away or quell a servile insurrection."[448] Her request was denied, for while the pro-Davis Richmond *Dispatch* praised the patriotic enthusiasm of women who were forming unofficial militia companies, it claimed that they would contribute more to the war effort as workers.[449] Yet women soon entered C.S. service as spies thanks to Davis.[450] The C.S. president also praised those of his "fair countrywomen" who "hung upon the rear of armies" as *cantinières*, commissioning the first female officer in American history as well when he impressed Sally Tompkins's private hospital outright but allowed the famous "Angel of the Confederacy" to remain in charge of the facility as a C.S. army captain.[451] And he even seemed to be mulling female combatants when he declared in October 1864 that Confederate women's "gallantry is only different from that of [their] sons in this, that they deem it unfeminine to strike; and yet… at the last moment when trampled upon and it became necessary, they would not hesitate to strike the invader a corpse at their feet."[452]

Yet many C.S. women revered Davis not so much because he opened new opportunities in the public sphere to the "fairest and most patriotic ladies," but rather because he applied equality among whites to the benefit of soldiers and their families.[453] He was therefore pleased to meet the request a lower-class South Carolinian woman who asked for her enlisted fiancée to

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[448] Quoted in Cooper, Jr., *Jefferson Davis, American*, 80. See Andrew Witmer, "Race, Religion, and Rebellion: Black and White Baptists in Albemarle County, Virginia, during the Civil War," in *Crucible of the Civil War*, 147.
[449] See Richmond *Dispatch*, June 1, 1861. The C.S. War Department therefore rejected a petition in late 1864 from twenty-eight Harrisonburg women to "raise a full regiment of ladies – between the ages of 16 and 40 – armed and equipped to perform regular service." Quoted in Gallagher, *The Confederate War*, 77.
[450] C.S. women also smuggled tens of thousands of letters and parcels to and from Union-controlled areas of the Confederacy on behalf of the C.S. Post Office. See New London, Missouri *Ralls County Record*, March 31, 1911.
[451] "Speech of Jefferson Davis at Augusta," from the Richmond *Dispatch*, October 10, 1864, *JDC*, 6:359. See McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, 478; and Ron Maggiano, "Captain Sally Tompkins: Angel of the Confederacy," *OAH Magazine of History*, vol. 16, no. 2 (Winter 2002), 32-38.
[452] "Speech of Jefferson Davis in Columbia," from the Charleston *Daily Courier*, October 6, 1864, *JDC*, 6:354-55.
[453] Ibid., 6:349.

be granted a furlough, after which "I'll make him go straight back when he's done got married and fight just as hard as ever."[454] Praising C.S. soldiers for their "sublime devotion to their country" and the "almost unquestioning confidence which they display in their Government...," Davis declared that "the poor do, indeed, fight the battles of the country. It is the poor who save nations and make revolutions."[455] And the poor, he insisted, should be rewarded accordingly. Noting in an 1864 speech that "I read all letters sent to me from the people," he made a point of replying to soldiers, whom he addressed as his "fellow citizen[s]" and thanked for the "grateful words of approval and confidence they have been pleased to express towards myself."[456] "[T]he humblest soldier could get an interview with him as readily as the greatest general" when he was Secretary of War, moreover, and he encouraged C.S. soldiers to bring him personal requests.[457] Davis, however, was absent on one occasion when an impoverished and distraught man came to the C.S. executive mansion to beseech him to prioritize the exchange of his captured soldier-son, but Varina Davis promised to bring his case to her husband's attention and invited him to tea.[458]

The C.S. president also eliminated flogging as a punishment for minor military infractions and chastised officers whom he deemed overly severe disciplinarians because "[t]he maintenance of our cause rests on the sentiments of the people; letters from the camp

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[454] Quoted in Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 2:326. Davis similarly granted the "2nd Auditor of the C. States" "permission to visit his wounded son at the Hospital, Charlottesville, Va., for a few days…." "Jefferson Davis to W. H. S. Taylor," Office of the President of the C.S., Richmond, June 19, 1862, *JDC*, 5:283. See "Jefferson Davis to General R. E. Lee, Orange C. H., Va.," "Telegram," Richmond, December 7, 1863, *JDC*, 6:128.

[455] "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, July 20, 1861, *JDC*, 5:118; and quoted in Davis, *Jefferson Davis, the Man and His Hour*, 567.

[456] "Speech of Jefferson Davis in Macon, Georgia," from the Richmond *Enquirer*, September 29, 1864, *JDC*, 6:343; and "Jefferson Davis to Henry D. Capers," Richmond, February 27, 1864, *JDC*, 6:192. See "Jefferson Davis to Hon. Wm. M. Brooks, Marion, Ala.," Richmond, April 2, 1863, *JDC*, 5:464; "Jefferson Davis to Govr. J. Whitfield, Bishop Paine, Hon. Jas. T. Harrison, Dr. Sykes," Richmond, May 8, 1863, *JDC*, 5:484; "Jefferson Davis to Rev. A. D. McCoy, Livingston, Alabama," Richmond, September 26, 1863, *JDC*, 6:51; "Jefferson Davis to Col. M. Magivney, Jr., Comdg. 154th Tenn. Regt.," Richmond, January 26, 1864, *JDC*, 6:163; and Cooper, Jr., *Jefferson Davis, American*, 444.

[457] Varina Davis, *op. cit.*, 1:564

[458] See Judith W. McGuire, *Diary of a Southern Refugee during the War* (1867; reprint, New York: Arno Press, 1972), 116-17; and Gordon, "'To Comfort, To Counsel, To Cure'; Davis, Wives, and Generals," in *Jefferson Davis's Generals*, 110-11.

complaining of inequality and harshness in the treatment of the men have already dulled the enthusiasm which filled our ranks with men....”[459] He overrode generals who were eager to execute soldiers convicted by courts martial as well by insisting that they be given sufficient time to petition the executive for clemency. Davis thus had a general “[s]uspend execution of private M. M. White, Compy. E 15th N. C. Regt. until decision of the President is known,” ordered the “[s]entence of Lt. Otey commuted to dismissal from the service,” and even reprimanded officers at times for scheming to rapidly “execute the convict to prevent his appeal to the Executive.”[460]

Davis’s principal favors for C.S. soldiers, however, were monetary in nature. He advised state governments to bestow stipends upon soldiers’ families from 1861 onward, but many of the states disappointed him in that regard, for as he noted in early 1863, “I had hoped that the liberal provisions understood to have been made by the State Legislature would to a great extent have relieved the suffering of the poor, and have quieted the anxiety of the soldiers in regard to the condition of their families.”[461] He therefore encouraged C.S. congressmen to enact new taxes for the benefit of soldiers: “When each family is sending forth its most precious ones to meet exposure in camp and death in battle, what ground can there be to doubt the [citizenry’s] disposition to devote a tithe of its income, and more, if more be necessary, to provide the Government with the means for insuring the comfort of its defenders?”[462] And he urged them to grant pay raises to low-level officers and soldiers in addition to pensions for veterans and war

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[459] “Jefferson Davis to Genl. Beauregard, Manassas, Va.,” Richmond, October 16, 1861, *JDC*, 5:141-42. See Sheehan-Dean, *Why Confederates Fought*, 114.

[460] “Jefferson Davis to Lt. General A. P. Hill, Orange C. H., Va.,” “Telegram,” Richmond, February 23, 1864, *JDC*, 6:188; “Jefferson Davis to John M. Speed, Lynchburg, Va.,” “Telegram,” Richmond, September 8, 1864, *JDC*, 6:333; and “Jefferson Davis to General R. E. Lee,” “(Confidential),” Richmond, February 10, 1865, *JDC*, 6:479. See “Jefferson Davis to General G. T. Beauregard, Charleston, S.C.,” “Telegram,” Richmond, March 12, 1864, *JDC*, 6:204; “Jefferson Davis to General R. E. Lee, Comdg. Army of N. Va., Orange C. H., Va.,” “Telegram,” Richmond, March 25, 1864, *JDC*, 6:209; and “Jefferson Davis to General R. E. Lee, Comdg. Petersburg, Va.,” “Telegram,” Richmond, August 31, 1864, *JDC*, 6:326.

[461] “Jefferson Davis to Genl. T. H. Holmes, Comdg. Trans-Missi. Dept. (By Genl. J. C. Tappan),” Richmond, January 28, 1863, *JDC*, 5:425.

[462] “Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress,” Richmond, January 12, 1863, *JDC*, 5:412.

widows even as he praised them for exempting all C.S. military personnel from taxation.[463] The soldiers, after all, were not just fighting but also laboring on behalf of the Confederacy, enduring "tests of manly fortitude far more severe than the brief fatigues and perils of actual combat."[464]

Davis also sent food from the executive mansion to wounded soldiers, and his wife sold her carriage and horse team for the benefit of C.S. troops and their families.[465] The C.S. president, moreover, exempted over 5,000 so-called bonded farmers from impressment since they agreed to sell their crops exclusively to the C.S. government or to soldiers' families.[466] Literacy rates soared among C.S. soldiers too because the Davis administration let them send mail free-of-charge.[467] And he even impressed horses from wealthy cavalrymen so that lower-class soldiers could serve in the cavalry, declaring in late 1863 that "[i]t would… seem proper that the Government should have complete control over every horse mustered into service, with the limitation that the owner should not be deprived of his horse except upon due compensation being made therefor."[468] Indeed, one U.S. spy in Richmond recollected that by 1863 there was "frequently not a horse was to be seen on the streets, except those in Government employ."[469]

Yet even as Davis vowed with regard to exchanged C.S. prisoners-of-war "that every effort in the power of the Executive will be made to secure the health and comfort of the returned

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[463] See "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Montgomery, April 29, 1861, *JDC*, 5:82; "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, May 2, 1864, *JDC*, 6:244-45; and "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, November 7, 1864, *JDC*, 6:392. Also see Elna C. Green, "Protecting Confederate Soldiers and Mothers: Pensions, Gender, and the Welfare State in the U.S. South, a Case Study from Florida," *Journal of Social History*, vol. 39, no. 4 (Summer 2006), 1079-104.

[464] "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, May 2, 1864, *JDC*, 6:240.

[465] Davis administration supporters, however, bought them back for her. See Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 2:914; Davis, *Jefferson Davis: The Man and His Hour*, 540; and Cooper, Jr., *Jefferson Davis, American*, 504-06.

[466] See Beringer and Hattaway, *Jefferson Davis, Confederate President*, 315.

[467] The Davis administration simultaneously eliminated franking privileges for C.S. congressmen. See ibid., 261. Also "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on bill to abolish the franking privilege. Feb. 15, 1860," *JDC*, 4:197. Literacy rates increased among lower-class whites in the rapidly urbanizing Confederacy as well. See Bernath, *Confederate Minds*, 272.

[468]"Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, December 7, 1863, *JDC*, 6:119. David had accordingly pointed out in June 1860 that there were "draught animals owned by the United States." "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the legislative appropriation bill. June 13, 1860," *JDC*, 4:506.

[469] Quoted in Varon, *Southern Lady, Yankee Spy*, 103.

soldiers," he expected them to return to the fray as soon as their health was restored.[470] Equality among whites did not mean simply taking from the rich on behalf of the poor in Davis's view, for lower-class whites had to earn their benefits through dutiful military service. He accordingly stressed that his inclination to confer favors upon C.S. soldiers was not to be construed by them as a license to shirk their duties.[471] He therefore denied furlough requests from Texan C.S. soldiers who wished to return home ostensibly "for the purpose of recruiting" in 1864, declaring that "I feel confident in their cheerful determination and readiness to make every sacrifice which their country may require."[472] Davis also issued several general amnesties to induce soldiers who were absent-without-leave to return to the ranks, but he "declined to intervene" when courts martial sentenced clear-cut deserters to punishments ranging from dozens of lashes to death.[473]

Universal military service, after all, was the epitome of equality among whites for the C.S. president. "It is joyous in the midst of perilous times," he declared in 1861, "to look around upon a people united in heart, where one purpose of high resolve animates and actuates the

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[470] "Jefferson Davis to Hon. Harrison B. Tomlin, Speaker pro tem. House of Delegates, Richmond, Va.," Richmond, February 27, 1865, *JDC*, 6:489. See "Jefferson Davis to General R. E. Lee, Comdg. Armies &c.," "(Private)," Richmond, April 1, 1865, *JDC*, 6:526. Davis even made recuperating soldiers labor in the C.S. Invalid Corps and sent hitherto exempt government clerks, conscription agents, tax collectors, and officers dropped from the rolls into battle in 1864. See "Jefferson Davis to the Honbles. Secty of the Navy, Secty of War, Secty of State, Secty of the Treasury, Attorney Genl., Postmaster Genl.," Richmond, April 26, 1862, *JDC*, 5:235-36; "Jefferson Davis to Govr. John Milton, Govr. of Florida," Richmond, September 16, 1863, *JDC*, 6:38; "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, December 7, 1863, *JDC*, 6:119; "Jefferson Davis to R. E. Lee," Richmond, June 1, 1864, *JDC*, 6:266; "Jefferson Davis to Maj. Genl. Howell Cobb, Macon, Ga.," "Telegram," Richmond, September 3, 1864, *JDC*, 6:330; "Speech of Jefferson Davis at Augusta," from the Richmond *Dispatch*, October 10, 1864, *JDC*, 6:360; "Jefferson Davis to T. H. Watts, Governor of Alabama," Richmond, January 5, 1865, *JDC*, 6:438; and Beringer and Hattaway, *Jefferson Davis, Confederate President*, 350.

[471] See "Jefferson Davis to the Army of Tennessee," Headquarters Army of Tennessee, October 14, 1863, *JDC*, 6:62.

[472] "Jefferson Davis to Hon. F. B. Sexton, Richmond, Va.," Richmond, February 16, 1864, *JDC*, 6:176.

[473] See Richmond *Dispatch*, October 6, 1862; "Jefferson Davis to Maj. General Saml. Jones, Charleston, S.C.," "Telegram," Richmond, August 29, 1864, *JDC*, 6:324; "Jefferson Davis to Lt. General W. J. Hardee, Army of Tennessee," Richmond, September 16, 1864, *JDC*, 6:335; and "Jefferson Davis to General R. E. Lee," "(Confidential)," Richmond, February 10, 1865, *JDC*, 6:478-79. Davis even authorized C.S. generals to execute confirmed deserters without giving them time "to prepare for death" when "demanded by circumstances of public danger...." "Jefferson Davis to Maj. Genl. McLaws, Savannah, Ga.," "Telegram," Richmond, August 11, 1864, *JDC*, 6:311. The C.S. Congress also stripped soldiers and officers who were absent-without-leave of their pay. See "An Act to prevent the absence of officers and soldiers without leave," April 16, 1863 in *Public Laws of the Confederate States of America, Passed at the Third Session of the First Congress*, 109.

whole; where the sacrifices to be made are not weighed in the balance against honor and right and liberty and equality."[474] Universal military service would, he believed, efface selfishness and parochialism among whites. As he explained in his 1862 inaugural speech, "[t]his great strife has awakened in the people the highest emotions and qualities of the human soul," and "with all its common traditions of glory, of sacrifice and blood, will be the bond of harmony and enduring affection amongst the people, producing unity in policy, fraternity in sentiment, and just effort in war."[475] "The enjoyments and comforts we have been compelled to renounce," Davis reiterated in 1863, "the unceasing labors that have tested our united energies, the sacrifices we have been subjected to in common, and the glory which encircles our brow has made us a band of brothers, and, I trust, we will be united forever."[476] He therefore conscripted not just the "weak and timid" but also the overtly hostile in the name of equality among whites.[477] "To exempt the unwilling," he explained, "would be to offer a premium to disaffection," but he also hoped that "[t]he distribution of this class of men among Regiments of loyal and tried veterans would neutralize their evil influence and in time, perhaps, effect a change in them."[478]

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[474] "Inaugural Address of the President of the Provisional Government," Montgomery, February 18, 1861, *JDC*, 5:53.

[475] "Inaugural Address," Richmond, February 22, 1862, *JDC*, 5:201. See ibid., 5:203.

[476] "By the firm friendship soldiers from different States have formed and cemented by mutual hardships and dangers," he added, "the existence of jealousies and rivalries will be prevented, and… we will go on assisting each other to develop the great political ideas upon which our Government is based and the immense natural resources which nature has lavished upon us." "Speech of Jefferson Davis in Richmond," from the Richmond *Enquirer*, January 7, 1863, *JDC*, 5:393-94. See "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Montgomery, April 29, 1861, *JDC*, 5:84; "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, July 20, 1861, *JDC*, 5:117-18; "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, August 18, 1862, *JDC*, 5:323; "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, January 12, 1863, *JDC*, 5:415; "Speech of President Davis in Charleston," from the Charleston *Daily Courier*, November 3, 1863, *JDC*, 6:77; and "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, December 7, 1863, *JDC*, 6:128. According to Davis, "*friends are drawn together in adversity*." "Speech of Jefferson Davis in Macon, Georgia," from the Richmond *Enquirer*, September 29, 1864, *JDC*, 6:341

[477] Quoted in Gallagher, *The Confederate War*, 94. See "Speech in Jackson, Mississippi," December 26, 1862, in *Jefferson Davis: The Essential Writings*, 281; and "Speech of President Davis in Charleston," *op. cit.*, *JDC*, 6:77.

[478] "Jefferson Davis to Hon. B. H. Hill, C.S. Senator, LaGrange, Ga.," Richmond, October 23, 1862, *JDC*, 5:358-39. Failing that, however, such conscripts always could, as Howell Hinds put it, "answer the same purpose the Yankees say the negroes are that is they may make a good wall to fight behind." "Howell Hinds to Jefferson Davis," Home Hill, Mississippi, October 11, 1863, *JDC*, 6:59.

The *Enquirer* exulted in May 1861 that Davis "has infused a martial spirit in our people that knows no bounds," but not every Confederate soldier shared the C.S. president's enthusiasm that Confederates were becoming "a military people."[479] Notwithstanding Davis's accusations that C.S. Radicals were averse to rendering even "temporary service at least in the defence of their homes...," quite a few of them volunteered for C.S. service in the belief that secession would lead at most to a small war in which neither slavery nor Radical state's rights would be scathed, a belief which Davis derided as "[i]t was to be expected when we entered upon this war that it would expose our people to sacrifices and cost them much, both of money and blood."[480] Yet while they still regarded conscription as, at best, "needlessly harsh," they could not fault him for hypocrisy at least.[481] Many C.S. soldiers believed that Davis possessed, as one lieutenant put it, "marks of greatness about him beyond all persons I have ever seen" thanks to his Mexican War feats and for having personally thwarted a reputed assassin who was "heavily armed" at Montgomery in 1861.[482] And they took him at his word when he claimed to wish that he could share "your dangers, your sufferings, and your privations in the field.... [W]ith pride and affection my heart has accompanied you in every march; with solicitude it has sought to minister to your every want; with exultation it has marked your every heroic achievement."[483] Davis,

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[479] "The Journey of President Davis to Richmond," from the Richmond *Enquirer*, May 30, 1861, *JDC*, 5:103; and quoted in Andrew J. Torget and Edward L. Ayers, *Two Communities in the Civil War* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2007), 285.

[480] "Jefferson Davis to Dr. W. G. Poindexter, Enterprise, Miss.," "Telegram," Richmond, June 12, 1863, *JDC*, 5:513; and "Inaugural Address," Richmond, February 22, 1862, *JDC*, 5:201. See "Jefferson Davis to Hon. R. W. Johnson, Senator, &c.," Richmond, July 14, 1863, *JDC*, 5:548; and "Jefferson Davis to Hon. A. H. Stephens, Crawfordsville, Ga.," "Telegram," Richmond, August 31, 1863, *JDC*, 6:20. Richard Thompson Archer, for instance, was a Virginia-born William and Mary graduate, a wealthy Mississippi planter, and a friend of Davis despite his Radical inclinations. He pledged $10,000 to the Mississippi militia in late 1860, losing a son and cherished nephew as C.S. volunteers as welll. See *PJD*, 6:133.

[481] "Speech of Jefferson Davis at Augusta," from the Richmond *Dispatch*, October 10, 1864, *JDC*, 6:360.

[482] Quoted in Davis, *Jefferson Davis: The Man and His Hour*, 454; and Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 2:75.

[483] Quoted in Cooper, Jr., *Jefferson Davis, American*, 470.

after all, had risked his life caring for ill army recruits during an 1833 Kentucky cholera spate, and he rarely spoke to hospitalized C.S. soldiers "without glistening eyes and faltering voice."[484]

The C.S. president, moreover, stressed that his own family was not exempt from "the duties which patriotism imposes on us all during this great struggle for our homes and our liberties."[485] He had, after all, been wounded at Buena Vista, for "while advancing to meet the enemy... I received a painful wound, which was rendered more severe in consequence of remaining in the saddle all day, although wounded early in the morning. A ball had passed through the foot, leaving in the wound broken bones...."[486] He required crutches for the next several years as the bone fragments were surgically removed, and he was loath thereafter to walk as opposed to riding or taking a coach.[487] His brother-in-law Joseph Davis Howell and nephew Robert Davis also served in the Mexican War as 1st Mississippi Rifles soldiers, and they managed to survive the conflict even though just 376 of the regiment's original 926 troops returned home.[488] Davis's nephew the Confederate private Edward Anderson, however, perished at the first Battle of Bull Run, and the C.S president grieved over his corpse in a field hospital.[489]

Davis also appointed his nephew and political ally Joseph Robert Davis to his personal staff as a C.S. colonel.[490] Radical senators temporarily stymied Colonel Davis's brigadier general nomination by accusing the C.S. president of nepotistic corruption, but he would

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[484] Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 2:111. See *PJD*, 1:272.
[485] "Jefferson Davis to the People of the Confederate States," Executive Office, Richmond, April 10, 1863, *JDC*, 5:470.
[486] "Autobiography of Jefferson Davis," [Beauvoir, Mississippi, November, 1889], *PJD*, 1:lvi.
[487] See "Jefferson Davis to John Jenkins," Brierfield, Mississippi, September 21, 1847, *JDC*, 1:98; and Beringer and Hattaway, *Jefferson Davis, Confederate President*, 9-10.
[488] See Varina Davis, *op. cit.*, 1:285, 288, 354. According to Joseph Davis Howell, "there is not a man in his regiment who would not sacrifice his life to obey him [*i.e.* Davis], so much has his gallant conduct raised him in their estimation. The degree of power his coolness, courage, and discretion have acquired for him in the army generally would be hardly believed at home." "Joseph Davis Howell to Margaret L. Kempe Howell," Camp Allen, near Monterey, October 13, 1846, in ibid., 1:308.
[489] See "To Varina Davis," Richmond, May 16, 1862, in *Jefferson Davis: The Essential Writings*, 235; and Davis, *Jefferson Davis: The Man and His Hour*, 352.
[490] See "From Joseph R. Davis," Jackson, December 13, 1859, *PJD*, 6:264. Joseph R. Davis was a delegate at both 1860 Democratic conventions, wherein he spoke for his uncle. See *PJD*, 6:357.

command an Army of Northern Virginia brigade in the field from September 1862 onward.[491] Confederates respected Davis's family members for risking their lives in C.S. service, and they also knew that few individuals had suffered "a more total loss of property" than Davis, who often emphasized that fact.[492] "The sacrifices of our people have been very heavy both of blood and of treasure," he intoned in July 1863, and "many like myself have been robbed of all which the toil of many years had gathered, but... [w]ith union and energy, the rallying of every man able to bear arms to the defence of his country, we shall succeed…."[493] When he told Charlestonians to turn their city into a "heap of ruins" rather than let it fall to the Union, "[c]ries of 'ruins, ruins'" broke out such that he "felt assured we could part from our property, if necessary, in this way without one tear or sigh of regret."[494] The "Yankees," however, would first have to defeat Varina Davis's brother the C.S. midshipman Jefferson Davis Howell, who helped defend Charleston after passing his exams onboard the Confederate Naval Academy's C.S.S. *Patrick Henry*.[495]

Davis recalled that when he and Joseph R. Davis rode together toward the Bull Run battlefield in 1861, "the wounded generally cheered upon meeting us. I well remember one, a mere stripling, who... took off his cap and waved it with a cheer, that showed within that slender form beat the heart of a hero…."[496] C.S. Radicals were therefore frustrated that their efforts to oppose or at least limit universal military service were opposed by many Confederate soldiers, who, like Davis, often regarded conscription "as a measure equitably to distribute the burden of public defence…."[497] Pro-administration candidates, in fact, received substantially more support

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[491] See Warner, *Generals in Gray*, 68-69.
[492] "Jefferson Davis to Col. James Phelan, Meridian, Missi.," Richmond, March 1, 1865, *JDC*, 6:497.
[493] "Jefferson Davis to Hon. R. W. Johnson, Senator, &c.," Richmond, July 14, 1863, *JDC*, 5:550.
[494] "Speech of President Davis in Charleston," from the Charleston *Daily Courier*, November 3, 1863, *JDC*, 6:77.
[495] See W.S. Fort, "Jefferson Davis Howell, the Confederate officer," 1906, Broadsides and Ephemera Collection, Duke University; and *PJD*, 6:242. The C.S. president was fond of his brother-in-law, who contracted scarlet fever in early 1858 and was consoled by Davis, who was enduring a severe eye inflammation himself. See *PJD*, 6:171.
[496] Quoted in Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 2:97.
[497] "Jefferson Davis to Govr. Z. B. Vance, Raleigh, N. C.," Richmond, November 1, 1862, *JDC*, 5:363.

from soldiers than civilians in the C.S. elections held from May 1863 to early 1864, and when Davis went for a ride about the capital with James Chesnut, Jr. shortly thereafter, "an ambulance of crowded men passed. One asked, 'Is that the president.?' Then they cheered. Pretty plucky for wounded men."[498] Davis accordingly proclaimed in September 1864 that while the absentee "who repents and goes back to his commander voluntarily" would receive "Executive clemency," the defiant deserter would have more to fear from his fellow soldiers than the C.S. government when "his comrades return home...."[499] And Peter Guerrant of the C.S. Engineer Corps, for his part, insisted a month later that "I believe it is the duty of every citizen of the Confederacy who is capable of bearing arms, to be in the army & use every effort to assist in driving a hostile foe, who seeks our entire destruction &c. & the desolation of our homes."[500]

Observing with reference to conscription in September 1864 that there were "not many men between 18 and 45 left," Davis praised "[t]he boys – God bless the boys – [who] are as rapidly as they become old enough, going to the field."[501] And when he sent a "company of Richmond boys (under eighteen years of age)" to help thwart a U.S. raid and began calling for boys as young as twelve to be conscripted, he was generally met with enthusiasm – particularly from the intended conscripts.[502] Davis had often been followed by a cheering "mob of little boys" as he rode about Richmond wearing "the long boots presented by Captain Keary [to] protect me from mud" alongside a pony-riding Jefferson Davis, Jr.[503] Hoping to hasten their entry into equal manhood *via* C.S. service, such boys were enthused by the prospect of having an opportunity to do so thanks to Davis, who was moved to receive a "set of chess-men, carved by a

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[498] Entry for March 3, 1864, in *Mary Chesnut's Civil War*, 578. See Cooper, Jr., *Jefferson Davis, American*, 461-62.
[499] "Speech of Jefferson Davis in Macon, Georgia," from the Richmond *Enquirer*, September 29, 1864, *JDC*, 6:343.
[500] Quoted in Sheehan-Dean, *Why Confederates Fought*, 177.
[501] "Speech of Jefferson Davis in Macon, Georgia," *op. cit*., 6:343.
[502] Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 2:465. See entry for March 20, 1864, in *A Rebel War Clerk's Diary*, 352; and Cooper, Jr., *op. cit.*, 487. See "Jefferson Davis to Hon. J. C. Breckinridge, Secty. of War.," Richmond, March 17, 1865, *JDC*, 6:518.
[503] "Jefferson Davis to Mrs. Davis," Executive Department, Richmond, June 11, 1862, *JDC*, 5:272.

gallant youth... who has since sealed with his blood his devotion to our cause."[504] Andrew Jackson, after all, had been a boy-soldier in the Revolution and "grew to manhood among its struggles; and may not your country claim similar services from the youth of the present day?"[505] Yet Davis was also pleased by the "zeal of the old men" who had accompanied him to counter U.S. cavalry raiders near Richmond in May 1863.[506] And so he called for the conscription of all citizens "over forty-five years and physically fit for service in guarding posts, railroads, and bridges, in apprehending deserters, and, where practicable, assuming the place of younger men detailed for duty with the Niter, Ordnance, Commissary, and Quartermaster's Bureau[s]…."[507]

C.S. Radicals, however, insisted upon exemptions based not just upon age but also occupation, and they managed to secure categorical exemptions for such groups as Know-Nothing-leaning skilled workers in 1862.[508] Davis wanted exemptions granted only on a case-by-case basis to citizens who appealed to the executive on grounds of "individual hardship," but he grudgingly endorsed immunity for all "operatives in woolen and cotton factories," "[p]ersons engaged in foundries, and necessary rail road employees" until early 1864, when the C.S. Congress let him conscript them all.[509] "The object of your legislation," he explained, "has been

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[504] Entry for February 14, 1864, in *Mary Chesnut's Civil War*, 566; and "Jefferson Davis to Col. Wm. R. Gause, 3rd Mo. Infty.," Richmond, November 30, 1864, *JDC*, 6:412. See Girard, *A Visit to the Confederate States of America in 1863*, 107; Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 2:472-73; and James Marten, "A Feeling of Restless Anxiety: Loyalty and Race in the Peninsula Campaign and Beyond," in *The Richmond Campaign of 1862: The Peninsula and the Seven Days*, ed. Gary W. Gallagher (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000), 126.

[505] "Speech of Jefferson Davis in Columbia," from the Charleston *Daily Courier*, October 6, 1864, *JDC*, 6:352. The war, Davis insisted in 1865, "must go on till the last man of this generation falls in his tracks, and his children seize the musket and fight our battle." Quoted in Beringer and Hattaway, *Jefferson Davis, Confederate President*, 383.

[506] Entry for May 4, 1863, in *A Rebel War Clerk's Diary*, 200. See "Howell Hinds to Jefferson Davis," Home Hill, Mississippi, October 11, 1863, *JDC*, 6:60. Davis had predicted as early as August 1862 that it would be "necessary hereafter to extend the provisions of the conscript law so as to embrace persons between the ages of thirty-five and forty-five years." "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, August 18, 1862, *JDC*, 5:324.

[507] "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, December 7, 1863, *JDC*, 6:118. See "Speech of Jefferson Davis in Macon, Georgia," from the Richmond *Enquirer*, September 29, 1864, *JDC*, 6:343; and "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, November 7, 1864, *JDC*, 6:392.

[508] See Beringer and Hattaway, *op. cit.*, 169.

[509] "Jefferson Davis to Governor John Milton, Tallahassee, Florida," Richmond, September 1, 1863, *JDC*, 6:21; and "Jefferson Davis to Govr. J. J. Pettus of Miss., Jackson, Miss.," "Telegram," Richmond, May 1, 1862, *JDC*, 5:238. See "Jefferson Davis to Charles Macbeth, Mayor of Charleston," Richmond, January 19, 1864, *JDC*, 6:156.

not to confer privileges on classes, but to exonerate from military duty such number of persons skilled in the various trades, professions, and mechanical pursuits as could render more valuable service to their country by laboring in their present occupation than by going into the ranks of the Army." "The policy is unquestionable," he added, but "the result would, it is thought, be better obtained by enrolling all such persons and allowing details to be made of the number necessary to meet the wants of the country."[510] And so he began conscripting and detailing skilled workers while placing factories under martial law to avert strikes "in the Government work-shops" and contracted corporations.[511] Yet turning skilled industrial workers into detailed C.S. conscripts who were liable for emergency combat service was not just a military necessity for Davis but an expression of equality among whites as well. "The defense of home, family, and country," after all, "is universally recognized as the paramount political duty of every member of society, and in a form of government like ours, where each citizen enjoys an equality of rights and privileges, nothing can be more invidious than an unequal distribution of duties and obligations."[512]

Exemptions pertaining to planters, however, were of far more concern to the Radicals, who had not been able to secure immunity for planters *qua* planters but were still alarmed by Davis's actual or apparent efforts to eliminate substitution, the Twenty Negro Act, and the state militias themselves. Substitution let a conscript buy his way out by paying for an exempted

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[510] "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, December 7, 1863, *JDC*, 6:117-18. See "Jefferson Davis to Maj. Genl. Howell Cobb, Macon, Ga.," "Telegram," Richmond, September 3, 1864, *JDC*, 6:330; "Jefferson Davis to General J. B. Hood, Lovejoy Station, Ga.," "Telegram (in cipher)," Richmond, September 5, 1864, *JDC*, 6:331; and "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, November 7, 1864, *JDC*, 6:392.

[511] "Jefferson Davis to General G. T. Beauregard, Charleston, S.C.," "Telegram," Richmond, December 28, 1864, *JDC*, 6:429. See Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 2:374-75; Brooke, Jr. *John M. Brooke*, 278-79; and Beringer and Hattaway, *Jefferson Davis, Confederate President*, 261. Secretary of War Davis, after all, had claimed that to "protect the discipline of the army, it has been found necessary, as a general rule, to exclude from the military [land] reserve all persons not under martial law...." Jefferson Davis to Z. Kidwell," War Department, Washington, D.C., March 20, 1854, *JDC*, 2:346. See "Jefferson Davis to James Shields," War Department, Washington. D.C., July 26, 1854, *JDC*, 2:369-71. Davis had also praised migrants from the North for turning Handboro, Mississippi into a manufacturing town, and the C.S.A. set up a powder mill there. See "To the Commissioners of the Gulf and Ship Island Railroad," Portland, Maine, August 28, 1858, *PJD*, 6:212. See *PJD*, 6:214.

[512] "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, November 7, 1864," *op. cit.*, 6:392.

Confederate to replace him, and Davis deplored the old custom as a vestige of British aristocratic "privilege."[513] Insisting that "dissatisfaction has been excited among those who have been unable or unwilling to avail themselves of the opportunity thus afforded of avoiding the military service of their country," he called for "putting an end to substitution" in late 1863.[514] The C.S. Congress responded in early 1864 by conscripting everyone who had hired a substitute.[515]

The Twenty Negro Act, moreover, gave slaveholders one exemption for every twenty of their slaves. Few Confederates actually objected to the law because its official purpose was, as Davis explained in 1862, not to exempt wealthy planters but rather overseers "to keep our negroes in control."[516] Yet he condemned the "inequality of its operation" all the same, notifying the C.S. Congress in early 1863 that "I trust some means will be devised for leaving at home a sufficient local police without making discriminations, always to be deprecated, between different classes of our citizens."[517] It therefore required slaveholders to prove that their exemption requests were for overseers who had worked as such before the war, adding a $500 annual fee for the privilege as well.[518] And the Twenty Negro Act became a nullity by late 1863 when the C.S. Congress authorized the conscription and detailing of overseers to promote the production of foodstuffs rather than cash crops, for Davis told "the officers of the Bureau of Conscription to grant liberal details of overseers until the crops could be made and gathered."[519]

Having told the South Carolina governor in 1863 that he was "disappointed at the discharge of the regiments of State troops serving at Charleston, and hope the militia not subject

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[513] "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, December 7, 1863, *JDC*, 6:117.
[514] Ibid., 6:117.
[515] See Sheehan-Dean, *Why Confederates Fought*, 143.
[516] Quoted in Davis, *Jefferson Davis: The Man and His Hour*, 569.
[517] "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, January 12, 1863, *JDC*, 5:413.
[518] See Jordan, *Black Confederates and Afro-Yankees in Civil War Virginia*, 37; and Beringer and Hattaway, *Jefferson Davis, Confederate President*, 202. The C.S. Congress also required exempts in the teacher category to prove that they had been employed as teachers before the war. See Bernath, *Confederate Minds*, 241.
[519] "Jefferson Davis to Governor John Milton, Tallahassee, Florida," Richmond, September 1, 1863, *JDC*, 6:20-21. See "Jefferson Davis to General R. E. Lee, Comdg. Petersburg, Va.," Richmond, August 23, 1864, *JDC*, 6:320.

to conscription will be organized as rapidly as circumstances will permit," Davis also wanted to conscript Radical-minded "croaker" exempts who had been drafted by the states.[520] Exempts-filled militia units were often unfit for combat at the front, but he began to call them up in April 1864 as "reserves" or "corps of minute men" that would labor and, if necessary, fight under C.S. authority.[521] Universal military service, after all, was both necessary and "just," for "[y]ou force all men to… pay taxes, serve on juries; why should not all men fight your battles? My opinion on this subject has not changed. I believed… that it would have been better had it been the policy from the beginning of the war; and I endorse it in all its length and breadth and depth."[522] And so Davis rejoiced when the C.S. Congress eliminated every exemption category in February 1864 by decreeing that "all white men residents of the Confederate States between the ages of seventeen and fifty shall be in the military service of *the Confederate States for the war*…."[523]

Northern Davis Democrats Fail to Join the Confederate American Revolution

Because the C.S. president and likeminded Confederates such as M. B. Hurst characterized the C.S. cause as "the Second American War for Independence," they assumed that northern Democrats would join them *en masse* to fight for white supremacy and equality among

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[520] "Jefferson Davis to Govr. M. L. Bonham," "Telegram," Richmond, February 7, 1863, *JDC*, 5:432; and "Speech of Jefferson Davis at Augusta," from the Richmond *Dispatch*, October 10, 1864, *JDC*, 6:356.

[521] "Jefferson Davis to General R. E. Lee, Comdg. Army of No. Va. near Fredericksburg, Va.," Richmond, May 26, 1863, *JDC*, 5:497-98. By protecting "cities, rail roads, bridges, &c.," the reserves would, Davis thought, make C.S. veterans "available for active operations in the field." Ibid., 5:497-98. The reserves were also to help "enforce the conscript act." "Jefferson Davis to Maj. Genl. J. P. Anderson, Tallahassee, Fla.," "Telegram," Richmond, May 30, 1864, *JDC*, 6:263. See "Jefferson Davis to Govr. Thos. H. Watts, Governor of Alabama," Richmond, April 23, 1864, *JDC*, 6:234, 238; "Jefferson Davis to Brig. Genl. James Chesnut, Richmond, Va.," Richmond, April 30, 1864, *JDC*, 6:238-39; "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, May 2, 1864, *JDC*, 6:243; and "Jefferson Davis to Maj. General R. Ransom, Comdg. at Richmond, &c.," Richmond, June 1, 1864, *JDC*, 6:265.

[522] "Speech of Jefferson Davis at Augusta," *op. cit.*, 6:360.

[523] "Jefferson Davis to Governor Henry W. Allen, Governor of Louisiana," Richmond, April 9, 1864, *JDC*, 6:222. The C.S. Congress authorized the conscription of all free blacks between the ages of 18-50 as laborers at the same time, and a flood of blacks and aging whites into C.S. service soon allowed thousands of detailed soldiers to fight at the front by filling such roles "as wagoners, nurses, cooks, and other... service[s] for which the negroes may be found competent." "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, December 7, 1863, *JDC*, 6:117. See "An Act to increase the efficiency of the army by the employment of free negroes and slaves in certain capacities," February 17, 1864, in *Public Laws of the Confederate States of America, Passed at the First Session of the Fourth Congress*, 2:135-36; and Sheehan-Dean, *Why Confederates Fought*, 177.

whites against the "Lincolnites."[524] Davis had asserted in an October 1858 Boston speech that if the Republicans were to win the 1860 election, Massachusetts Democrats would rise in "the spirit of the revolution" to have their state "purified, as it were, by fire," for they "can and will whip the Black Republicans."[525] Predicting that northern Democrats would "*not fail to redeem themselves from tyranny even should they be driven to resort to revolution*" in the event of a Republican victory, he also urged New York City Democrats to treat Republicans like Loyalists: "*These higher law preachers should be tarred and feathered, and whipped by those they have thus instigated. This, my friends, is what was called in good old revolutionary times, Lynch Law.*"[526] And he informed the Mississippi legislature that "it gratifies me to be enabled to say that no portion of the speech to which I have referred was received with more marked approbation by the Democracy there assembled than the sentiment which has just been cited."[527]

The C.S. president aspired to realize equality of opportunity among whites as he had "for some time designed to organize a medical board to examine the appointees, and hope soon to do so," but Republicans claimed that the C.S.A. was inimical to equality among whites by citing Radical speeches.[528] Radical depictions of Davis as a nepotistic tyrant, in addition to Radical assertions that the Confederacy was a loose alliance of states which were fervently pro-slavery, rigidly patriarchal, against universal suffrage among white men, opposed to white immigration, and pro-British in orientation, convinced many northern Democrats that Confederates were "Slave Power" oligarchs who were even more hostile to equality among whites than Lincoln.

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[524] Quoted in Beringer and Hattaway, *Jefferson Davis, Confederate President*, 154. See M. B. Hurst, *An Introduction to a History of the Second American War for Independence or The Civil War of the United States Prefaced by a Treatise on the "Democratic Principle" and by an Essay on "Natural Government"* (n.p., 1863).
[525] "Speech of Jefferson Davis at the Grand Ratification Meeting, Faneuil Hall, Monday evening, Oct. 11, 1858," *JDC*, 3:327. See "Reply to William H. Seward," February 29, 1860, *PJD*, 6:280.
[526] "Speech of Jefferson Davis in the City of New York, Palace Garden Meeting, Oct. 19, 1858," *JDC*, 3:335, 338.
[527] "Speech of Jefferson Davis before the Mississippi Legislature. November 16, 1858," *JDC*, 3:358.
[528] "Jefferson Davis to Genl. J. E. Johnston, Manassas, Va.," Richmond, Va., August 20, 1861, *JDC*, 5:124.

Breckinridge had narrowly carried the counties which came to comprise the new state of West Virginia in 1860, but a May 1861 Fairmont assembly called for western Virginia to secede from Virginia because "[o]ur chains are being forged; the clanking may be heard in Richmond, in that secret, that dark and damnable convention."[529] Many wealthy ex-Whig planters in Virginia had actually been quite reluctant to endorse secession for fear that a war would further equalize whites while endangering slavery and Radical state's rights. As the Whig-Know-Nothing-Constitutional Unionist Lexington *Gazette* explained, "[o]ur opposition to Virginia's going into a Southern Confederacy, has been on account of the institution of slavery...," adding that "[w]e are devoted to that institution."[530] Yet the U.S. surgeon of the 12th West Virginia Infantry Alexander Neil believed that *Gazette* readers had created and now controlled the C.S. government, cackling in light of 1864 Confederate defeats as follows: "[h]ow the proud and mighty have fallen by this infatuated game of Secession. They are now reaping its rewards."[531]

'48ers also used the words of C.S. Radicals to convince Democratic German immigrants that "Jeff. Davis and his followers" were, like Europe's reactionary aristocrats, seeking to place "the yoke of bondage" on them.[532] Even Irish Catholic immigrant Democrats could be swayed by such claims, for Sergeant Peter Welsh of the 28th Massachusetts Infantry viewed Confederates as British pawns who were even worse agents of disunion than northern abolitionists. Britain's goal, he averred, "has been for years to divide this country," which "England hates... for its republican liberty and... because Irishmen have a home and a government here and a voice in the

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[529] Quoted in Snell, *West Virginia and the Civil War*, 23. See ibid., 20.
[530] Lexington *Gazette*, March 7, 1861. See ibid., February 7, 1861; Daniel W. Crofts, *Reluctant Confederates: Upper South Unionists in the Secession Crisis* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989); and Andrew W. Torget, "Unions of Slavery: Secession, Politics, and Secession in the Valley of Virginia," in *Crucible of the Civil* War, 15, 17, 19, 21, 25.
[531] Quoted in Snell, *op. cit.*, 166.
[532] Louisville *Journal*, June 11, 1861. See *The Westfalians: From Germany to Missouri*, ed. Walter D. Kamphoefner, *et al.* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1987), 12.

counsels of the nation."[533] Thomas F. Meagher, moreover, had hastened from France to join the 1848 Irish rising. Sporting a new green-white-orange *tricolore* designed for him by sympathetic Frenchwomen, the Jesuit-educated Meagher sang "Vive la! the French are coming... Vive la! the Saxon's running" with John Mitchel and other Irish rebels.[534] He accompanied Mitchel to Australia in chains, but he escaped in 1852 and rose to fame by co-editing the rabidly anti-British New York *Citizen* alongside Mitchel. Meagher, however, broke with him by endorsing an 1861 meeting of Boston Irish Democrats who resolved that "the slave oligarchy of the South" was the paramount threat to "the liberties for which Washington fought," and so the C.S. "Meagher Rifles" of New Orleans re-named themselves the "Mitchel Guards."[535] Hoping that Republicans would extend Irish immigrants the "full equality and fraternity of an American citizen" in exchange for U.S. army service, Meager recruited for his old militia regiment the mostly Irish Catholic 69th New York Infantry, the Democratic colonel of which had been arrested for "disobedience of orders in neglecting to direct his command to parade on the occasion of the reception of the Prince of Wales…."[536] New York state subjected Colonel Thomas Corcoran to a court martial as a result, but the charges were dropped when he agreed to fight the C.S.A. at the head of his regiment, which joined Brigadier General Meagher's new Irish Brigade in 1862.[537]

Davis and his C.S. supporters sought to counter the tendency of Radical writings to dampen Democratic support for the Confederacy in both the North and South by excoriating Radicals. The *Enquirer* hence declared that "he would be a bold man who should say to *our* soldiers, returning to their homes, that they are be disfranchised and to call themselves hereafter

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[533] Quoted in Mahin, *The Blessed Place of Freedom*, 165, 171.
[534] Michael Cavanagh, *Memoirs of Gen. Thomas Francis Meagher* (Worcester, MA: The Messenger Press, 1892), 98. See "1848 Tricolour Celebration: Plans are afoot in Waterford City to celebrate the national flag and to make it an annual event," *History Ireland*, vol. 19, no. 2 (March/April 2011), 6-7.
[535] Quoted in Lonn, *Foreigners in the Confederacy*, 43. See Mahin, *op. cit.*, 80.
[536] Quoted in William Burton, *Melting Pot Soldiers: The Union's Ethnic Regiments* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1998), 188; and New York *Times*, November 17, 1860. See Mahin, *op. cit.*, 234-36.
[537] See Paul R. Wylie, *The Irish General: Thomas Francis Meagher* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2007).

the 'lower classes.'"[538] Davis, moreover, held that shirking Radicals were "not fit to exist among the men who are now periling their lives in the cause in which we are engaged, for he who is so slavish cannot be trusted with the sacred guardianship of the widows and orphans of the soldiers who have died in battle."[539] Stressing that the Radicals were a minority which most certainly did not control the C.S. government, he insisted from 1861 onward that he possessed "the entire and enthusiastic devotion" of a "substantial" majority of Confederates.[540] He even "confidently appeal[led]" to their "love of country for aid" in cowing Radicals within state legislatures and the C.S. Congress, noting with delight in late 1863 that "[t]he indomitable courage and perseverance of the people in defense of their homes have been nobly attested by the unanimity with which the Legislatures of Virginia, North Carolina, and Georgia have recently given expression to the popular sentiment, and like manifestations may be anticipated from all the States."[541]

Radical and pro-Davis Confederates both celebrated the fact that the C.S.A. would be "composed of States homogenous in interest, in policy, and in feeling."[542] Yet whereas Radicals viewed the entire North and even upper South states in which slavery was receding as incompatible with "Southron" civilization, Davis thought that bringing tepidly anti-slavery but staunchly white supremacist northern Democrats into the Confederacy would not undermine its

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[538] Richmond *Enquirer*, April 27, 1863. The *Sentinel*, for its part, insisted that "the raggedest soldier in the army" exceeded the "richest money-grub in Richmond" in "all that entitles a man to respect, as a Christian is superior to a Hottentot." Richmond *Sentinel*, June 5, 1863.

[539] "Speech of Jefferson Davis in Columbia," from the Charleston *Daily Courier*, October 6, 1864, *JDC*, 6:352-53.

[540] "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Montgomery, April 29, 1861, *JDC*, 5:67, 73; and "Jefferson Davis to Govr. Z. B. Vance, Raleigh, N.C.," Richmond, November 1, 1862, *JDC*, 5:363. Davis hence claimed to be "cheered by the evidence of a popular sentiment which supports any measure necessary to protect our country and secure our political independence." "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Montgomery, April 29, 1861, *JDC*, 5:77. See "Inaugural Address," Richmond, February 22, 1862, *JDC*, 5:198; "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, August 18, 1862, *JDC*, 5:323; "Jefferson Davis to Maj. Beverley Matthews, Columbus, Miss.," Richmond, August 18, 1864, *JDC*, 6:318; and "Jefferson Davis to Mayor J. M. Walker," Danville, Virginia, April 10, 1865, *JDC*, 6:543.

[541] "Jefferson Davis to the People of the Confederate States," Executive Office, Richmond, April 10, 1863, *JDC*, 5:470; and "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, December 7, 1863, *JDC*, 6:96.

[542] "Inaugural Address," Richmond, February 22, 1862, *JDC*, 5:200. See "Inaugural Address of the President of the Provisional Government," Montgomery, February 18, 1861, *JDC*, 5:52; and "Arrival of President Davis at Montgomery – His Speech," from the Charleston *Mercury*, February 19, 1861, *JDC*, 5:48.

homogeneity.[543] And so even as he stated in the Emancipation Proclamation's wake that "[t]he people of this Confederacy… cannot fail to receive this proclamation as the fullest vindication of their own sagacity in foreseeing the uses to which the dominant party in the United States intended from the beginning to apply their power…," he insisted that it would be "unjust… to attribute to the whole mass of the people who are subjected to the despotism that now reigns with unbridled license in the city of Washington a willing acquiescence in its conduct of the war."[544]

Davis, in fact, had promised northern Democrats shortly after South Carolina's secession that the rest of the South would stay in the Union and that the Palmetto State might soon return if they were to "woo her with the voice of fraternity, and bring her back to the enticements of affection," by inducing New England to secede instead.[545] And he continued to alarm C.S. Radicals by asserting that he would like to see as much of "the old Union" as possible "restored" by bringing not just the upper South but also most of the North into the Confederacy.[546] Davis, after all, was still looking back fondly "[i]n the history of our own country" to the time when "the most cordial brotherhood of sentiment existed" between northern and southern Americans after "a long and bloody war" against Britain "had been brought to triumphant close" in 1864, during which year he also sighed with regard to secession that "I saw it coming, and for twelve years I worked night and day to prevent it, but I could not. The North was mad and blind."[547]

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[543] See "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, November 18, 1861, *JDC*, 5:170. Also see "Speech at Portland," September 11, 1858, *PJD*, 6:223.
[544] "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, January 12, 1863, *JDC*, 5:411, 409.
[545] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the special message on affairs in South Carolina. Jan. 10, 1861," *JDC*, 5:8. See ibid., 5:24. If Massachusetts invoked its "right to go," Davis declared, "I will neither vote nor one man to coerce her back...." "Speech of Jefferson Davis on retiring from the Senate. Jan. 21, 1861," *JDC*, 5:43.
[546] "An Address to the People of the Free States by the President of the Southern Confederacy," Richmond, January 3, 1863, in Jordan, *Black Confederates and Afro-Yankees in Civil War Virginia*, 320.
[547] "Jefferson Davis to Messrs. A. R. Wright, Y. L. Guerry, J. M. Chambers, Thos. E. Lloyd, Fredk. H. West, R. B. Nesbit, Senators of Georgia," Richmond, November 17, 1864, *JDC*, 6:406; and quoted in Beringer and Hattaway, *Jefferson Davis, Confederate President*, 300.

The C.S. president accordingly informed northern Democrats that the Confederacy was the only government in North America that would defend "the time-honored bulwarks of civil and religious liberty" in tandem with "State Rights," which was "the very organism of politically associated society."[548] To Radical chagrin, he also sought to appeal to them by insisting that Confederates were fighting not for slavery *per se* but rather white supremacy. Warning that the Republicans were threatening "the future harmony and progress of all the States of America" by upending "the respective normal conditions of the white and black races," he urged northern Democrats to help the C.S.A. keep blacks in the "proper condition" of "complete subjugation to the white man," whether as slaves or some other "condition of helotism." All of "the difficulties have arisen," he explained, from "[t]he States of New England," which had, "from the adoption of the Federal Constitution, waged a permanent warfare against the interests of all the other States of the old Union" while disputing the fact that racial subordination of one sort or another had always been "nationally declared to be the proper condition of all of African descent."[549]

"If other States should desire to join our Confederation," Davis affirmed in February 1861, "they can freely come on our terms," adding a few months later that hoped to see "other States, identified in political principles and community of interests... join this Confederacy, giving to its typical constellation increased splendor...."[550] Seeking to present the C.S.A. as the liberator of restive Democrats in the Union rather than as a conquering invader, he wanted them to form successful secession conventions in their respective states, at which point a state could request to become an ally or member of the Confederacy. Davis therefore supplied clandestine

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[548] "An Address to the People of the Free States by the President of the Southern Confederacy," Richmond, January 3, 1863, in Jordan, *Black Confederates and Afro-Yankees in Civil War Virginia*, 319; and "Inaugural Address," Richmond, February 22, 1862, *JDC*, 5:199-200.
[549] "An Address to the People of the Free States by the President of the Southern Confederacy," *op. cit.*, 320.
[550] "Arrival of President Davis at Montgomery – His Speech," from the Charleston *Mercury*, February 19, 1861, *JDC*, 5:48; and "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Montgomery, April 29, 1861, *JDC*, 5:67.

aid to the Union's pro-C.S. Democrats, as when he informed Missouri's Democratic governor in April 1861 that "I concur with you as to the great importance of capturing the Arsenal" at St. Louis and "directed that Capts. Green and Duke should be furnished with two twelve pdr. Howitzers, and two thirty-two pdr. Guns" to "breach the enclosing walls of the place...."[551] He also noted in 1864 that the C.S. Congress had "secretly appropriated $1,000,000" in August 1861 to "'aid the people of Kentucky in repelling any invasion or occupation of their soil by the armed forces of the United States.'" The money was "'to be expended in such manner as the President may think proper'" as "[t]he people of Kentucky were at that time regarded as allies of the Confederacy, sympathizing with its cause, but having no right to call upon this Government to aid in their defence. The appropriation was in its nature a subsidy to an ally."[552] Davis, however, wanted Union states which had at least nominally seceded to become members rather than mere allies of the Confederacy, and so the C.S. government claimed Missouri and Kentucky as Confederate states in 1862 even though the C.S.A. failed to assert *de facto* control over them because Democrat-dominated bodies which actually represented only a minority of each state's citizenry had voted to secede and join the Confederacy.[553] And he sent over a dozen regiments to seceded Virginia in April 1861 even though it had not yet entered into "an alliance offensive and defensive with the Confederate States," let alone become a member of the Confederacy.[554]

Davis also urged Virginia's Democratic governor to assist pro-C.S. Democrats in Maryland, telling him to "[s]ustain Baltimore if practicable. We will reinforce you."[555] The U.S. government declared martial law to prevent Maryland Democrats from proclaiming their state's

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[551] "Jefferson Davis to Gov. C. F. Jackson, of Missouri," Montgomery, April 23, 1861, *JDC*, 5:66.
[552] "Jefferson Davis to R. Hawes, Provl. Govr. of Kentucky, Nelly's Ford P.O., Nelson Co., Va.," Richmond, January 21, 1864, *JDC*, 6:156-57.
[553] See ibid., 6:157; "Jefferson Davis to Genl. J. E. Johnston, Manassas, Va.," Richmond, September 8, 1861, *JDC*, 5:129; and "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, November 18, 1861, *JDC*, 5:167.
[554] "Jefferson Davis to John Letcher," Montgomery, April 19, 1861, *JDC*, 5:64.
[555] "Jefferson Davis to Gov. Letcher, Richmond, Va.," "Telegram.," Montgomery, April 22, 1861, *JDC*, 5:65. See "Jefferson Davis to Messrs. McKaig, Yellott, and Harding," Montgomery, May 25, 1861, *JDC*, 5:100.

secession and thwarted Davis's plans "to advance into Maryland and expel the enemy," but he tried to re-start the process in the second half of 1862 when he sent C.S. armies into Missouri, Kentucky, and Maryland.[556] He therefore selected Enoch Louis Lowe as Maryland's provisional governor and tasked him with assembling a secession convention once the state had been secured by the C.S. army, which Lowe was supposed to augment by recruiting Marylanders. Davis, in fact, wanted to ride into Maryland himself and he journeyed with Lowe as far as the northern Virginia town of Warrenton, where a general's telegram convinced him to turn back for fear of capture.[557] Lowe, for his part, was born in Maryland's Frederick County to a French mother named Adelaide Bellumeau de la Vincendiére and the West Point graduate, War of 1812 hero, stalwart Democrat, and Catholic convert Bradley Lowe. Having been educated at the Jesuit colleges of Clonges Wood in Ireland and Stonyhurst in England, Lowe returned to Maryland in the early 1840s. Rising to prominence as a Democratic lawyer who espoused "[t]he cause of Ireland," he wed President Polk's cousin Esther Winder Polk and was elected governor in 1851.[558] Denouncing the "arrogant conservatism and foppery" of the Whigs, he sought to finish them off as a political force by promoting internal improvements while accusing them of being "blindly devoted to the oligarchy of England."[559] And that "oligarchy," he assured Baltimore's Irish Social and Benevolent Society, would be forced to grant Ireland independence and make "broad concessions" to lower-class whites within Britain itself "as soon as the imperial bugle is heard at Calais or Boulogne challenging to warlike echoes the white cliffs of Albion…."[560]

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[556] "Jefferson Davis to Maj. Genl. G. W. Smith, Army of the Potomac," Richmond, October 10, 1861, *JDC*, 5:139.
[557] See James Longstreet, *From Manassas to Appomattox: Memoirs of the Civil War in America* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1908), 285; Emory M. Thomas, "Ambivalent Visions of Victory: Davis, Lee, and Confederate Grand Strategy," in *Jefferson Davis's Generals*, 39; *PJD*, 9:xlvii; and Cooper, Jr., *Jefferson Davis, American*, 430.
[558] Quoted in Andrew E. Eichmann, A.M., "Enoch Lewis Lowe," *Historical Records and Studies*, vol. 1 (New York: The United States Catholic Historical Society, 1900), 149.
[559] Quoted in ibid., 153.
[560] Quoted in ibid., 153. See ibid., 141-59; and *PJD*, 9:381.

Lowe helped Breckinridge take Maryland in 1860 but fled to Richmond when the U.S. army secured Maryland in 1861. His career, moreover, earned him a reference in the C.S. poem "Maryland, My Maryland," which was written by Baltimore's James Ryder Randall. Son to an Irish immigrant, the devoutly Catholic and Democratic Randall charmed Maryland's leading Catholic families thanks to his Georgetown education and literary talents. In 1860, however, he took a teaching position at the predominantly French Creole Poydras College in Louisiana for the sake of his health. He wrote "Maryland, My Maryland" for the New Orleans *Sunday Delta* after his old Georgetown classmate Francis Xavier Ward was killed fighting alongside his fellow Democrats against the 6th Massachusetts Infantry in the notorious April 1861 Baltimore riot.[561] The C.S. sympathizer and medical supplies smuggler Jennie Carie adapted Randall's poem to a carol, and "Maryland, My Maryland" became a *de facto* C.S. national anthem which hailed the "fearless" Enoch L. Lowe and invoked the American Revolution's famous "Maryland Line."[562]

Yet the C.S. president harbored ambitions beyond turning Kentucky, Missouri, and Maryland into Confederate states under clear C.S. control, for as Davis's first unofficial emissaries to the Lincoln administration boasted in April 1861, the "disintegration" of the "old Union" had "only begun." They "did not ask the Government of the United States to recognize the independence of the Confederate States" because the Republican-controlled Union was, in their view, a fundamentally illegitimate regime which, as the C.S. president had put it a few months earlier, "should cease to exist."[563] Lucius B. Northrop accordingly concurred with his friend the C.S. president in an August 1861 letter that it was vital to form, at the least, "[a]

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[561] See New Orleans *Sunday Delta*, April 26, 1861.

[562] See John N. Somerville, Jr., "James Ryder Randall (1839-1908)," in *Southern Writers: A New Biographical Dictionary*, eds. Joseph M. Flora, Bryan Giemza, and Amber Vogel (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2006), 330-31.

[563] "The Commissioners in Reply to Mr. Seward," Washington, D.C., April 9, 1861, *JDC*, 5:91-92; and "Inaugural Address of the President of the Provisional Government," Montgomery, February 18, 1861, *JDC*, 5:50. See "Jefferson Davis to Govr. H. T. Clark of N. Carolina, Raleigh, N.C.," Richmond, April 8, 1862, *JDC*, 5:229.

Confederacy with its northern borders covered by friendly states."[564] Having claimed that C.S. forces would always enter Union states with "a desire to aid the people" by rescuing them from Republican tyranny, Davis issued general orders in 1862 instructing each Confederate general "at the head of an invading army" to notify Democrats within every invaded Union state that "their own State Government in the exercise of its sovereignty can secure immunity from the desolating effects of warfare on the soil of the State by a separate treaty of peace which this Government will ever be ready to conclude on the most just and liberal basis."[565] Seceding states of not just the upper South but also the lower North would thus become allies and perhaps even members of the Confederacy as C.S. armies drove "the Yankee hordes" of the Republican Party "back upon their city of Boston, or some other place from which it is harder to return."[566]

Davis had warned the Republicans in 1861 that if they inflicted such "dire calamities" as massive property destruction or large-scale expulsions upon the C.S. citizenry, their deeds would "fall with double severity upon themselves...."[567] Confederate troops campaigning in Maryland or the North would usually impress property from Democratic civilians with C.S. currency or promises of future payment as compensation, prompting Davis to boast that they had "vindicated the good name of American citizens."[568] Republican property, in contrast, was often targeted for confiscation or outright destruction. As the pro-Republican New York *Times* reported in July 1863 with reference to a prominent pro-abolitionist Pennsylvanian Republican congressman,

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[564] "L. B. Northup to Jefferson Davis," Office of the Commissary General, Richmond, August 21, 1861, *JDC*, 5:126.
[565] "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, November 18, 1861, *JDC*, 5:168; and "Jefferson Davis to Genl. R. E. Lee, Comdg. &c., Genl. B. Bragg, Comdg. &c., Genl. E. K. Smith, Comdg. &c.," [September 7, 1862], *JDC*, 5:338-39. See "Jefferson Davis to R. Hawes, Provl. Govr. of Kentucky, Nelly's Ford P. O., Nelson Co., Va.," Richmond, January 21, 1864, *JDC*, 6:157.
[566] "Speech of Jefferson Davis," [Mobile, October 1863], in Girard, *A Visit to the Confederate States of America in 1863*, 106.
[567] "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, July 20, 1861, *JDC*, 5:112. See "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the special message on affairs in South Carolina. Jan. 10, 1861," *JDC*, 5:20-21.
[568] "An Address to the People of the Free States by the President of the Southern Confederacy," Richmond, January 3, 1863, in Jordan, *Black Confederates and Afro-Yankees in Civil War Virginia*, 319.

"[t]he only private property [Confederates] destroyed... was the extensive Iron Works of Hon. THADDEUS STEVENS…. They consisted of a large charcoal furnace, forge, rolling-mill, coal-house, shops, &c."[569] And the entire Republican-leaning town of Chambersburg, Pennsylvania was burned down by C.S. cavalrymen in July 1864 when it failed to pay a vast ransom of gold.[570]

In April 1861, moreover, a Chambersburg Republican public assembly had asserted that Davis intended to "march upon the Capitol of our country at the head of 25,000 men, and drive out the Constituted Authorities of the land, and seat himself in the mansion of the Chair of State."[571] The C.S. president was indeed eager to take George Washington's namesake city and force "those who control the Government at Washington," namely, Lincoln's "partisans at the North," to flee toward Boston.[572] And he was willing to expel Republicans *en masse* from Confederate-occupied Union states as "alien enemies."[573] The Union, after all, had subjected "entire communities of women and children" to "banishment from their homes" in Union-occupied areas of the Confederacy. [574] If Confederates had to take in "homeless refugee[s]" or evacuate cities menaced by U.S. forces, then Republicans could hardly complain if C.S. armies treated them in kind upon entering Union states.[575] Nor could they object if they were placed

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[569] New York *Times*, July 26, 1863.
[570] See Everard H. Smith, "Chambersburg: Anatomy of a Confederate Reprisal," *The American Historical Review*, vol. 96, no. 2 (April 1991), 432-55.
[571] Quoted in Edward L. Ayers, *In the Presence of Mine Enemies: The Civil War in the Heart of America, 1859-1863* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2003), 144.
[572] "Jefferson Davis to Govr. Z. B. Vance, Raleigh, N.C.," Richmond, January 8, 1864, *JDC*, 6:145. The U.S. Naval Academy had in fact re-located from Maryland to Rhode Island for security's sake in 1861. See "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, December 7, 1863, *JDC*, 6:102; and "Jefferson Davis to R. Hawes, Provl. Govr. of Kentucky, Nelly's Ford P. O., Nelson Co., Va.," Richmond, January 21, 1864, *JDC*, 6:157.
[573] "Jefferson Davis to Hons. Geo. B. Hodge & W. B. Machen, M.C. from Kentucky," *JDC*, 5:334.
[574] "Jefferson Davis to Alexander H. Stephens," Richmond, July 2, 1863, *JDC*, 5:516; and "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, May 2, 1864, *JDC*, 6:240. See Mark Grimsley, *The Hard Hand of War: Union Military Policy Toward Southern Civilians, 1861-1865* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 85-95.
[575] "Jefferson Davis to the Army of Tennessee," Headquarters Army of Tennessee, October 14, 1863, *JDC*, 6:61. See "Jefferson Davis to Genl. B. Huger, Norfolk, Va.," "Telegram," Richmond, February 27, 1862, *JDC*, 5:207; "Jefferson Davis to Col. Jas. Chesnut, A.D.C., Charleston, S.C.," "Telegram," Richmond, December 20, 1864, *JDC*, 6:16; "Jefferson Davis to General G. T. Beauregard, Charleston, S.C.," "Telegram (in cipher)," Richmond, December 20, 1864, *JDC*, 6:425; and "Jefferson Davis to General W. J. Hardee, Charleston, S. C.," "Telegram (in cipher)," Richmond, February 14, 1865, *JDC*, 6:480.

under the rule of pro-C.S. Democratic minorities in Confederate-controlled Union states, for Lincoln had "promise[d] to support with his army one tenth of the people of any [Confederate] State who will attempt to set up a [pro-Union] Government over the other nine tenths…."[576]

To encourage northern Democrats to press for secession, rise against the U.S. government, and welcome Confederate forces as liberators, Davis commissioned over twenty northerners as generals, one of whom was Richard Griffith. Born and raised in Pennsylvania, he moved to Vicksburg and served in the 1st Mississippi Rifles. The C.S. president made Colonel Griffith a brigadier general in November 1861, and when the Pennsylvanian was mortally wounded during an 1862 battle, Davis visited his deathbed and reportedly said, "My dear boy, I hope you are not seriously hurt," after which Griffith grasped his hand and answered, "Yes, I think fatally; farewell, Colonel."[577] Griffith, however, was dwarfed in importance by Samuel Cooper, who was not just foremost among the C.S. generals from the North but also the very highest-ranking Confederate general. Born and raised in New York, he graduated from West Point in 1815, distinguished himself as an army administrator, and was elevated to adjutant general by Secretary of War Davis. In that capacity, he advised Davis as to administrative matters, relayed his orders to field commanders, and translated works by the French officer Charles Radziminski and the French riding master François Baucher to improve the U.S. army's cavalry training system.[578] Colonel Cooper, moreover, oversaw the 1854 enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Act in Boston, and Davis authorized him "to call for any U.S. troops whom it may be practicable to bring to the aid of the law and is functionaries" if met by resistance.[579] He also

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[576] "Jefferson Davis to Govr. Z. B. Vance, Raleigh, N.C.," Richmond, January 8, 1864, *JDC*, 6:145.
[577] Quoted in Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 2:316.
[578] See "Samuel Cooper to Jefferson Davis," Adjutant General's Office, Washington, November 7, 1855, in Louis P. Garesché, *Biography of Lieut. Col. Julius P. Garesché, Assistant Adjutant-General, U.S. Army* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1887), 217; *PJD*, 5:441, 458, 465; and *PJD*, 6:532.
[579] "Jefferson Davis to Samuel Cooper," War Department, Washington, D.C., May 31, 1854, *JDC*, 2:361. See *PJD*, 5:222.

told Maine's Whig congressman Ephraim W. Farley that a proposed trans-continental subterranean telegraph line could only be justified as a military necessity and mediated Davis's quarrels with Secretary of War Floyd, who had publicly criticized his predecessor's rather petty attempts to hinder the delivery of a ceremonial sword from Congress to General John E. Wool.[580]

Cooper often dined with Davis at the latter's Washington, D.C. residence, and they would stay up late into the night translating French military works. And he offered his sword to the C.S.A. in March 1861 even thought he had declared at the start of Floyd's term that while he had "the greatest affection and admiration" for Davis, "another four years" of work at that pace "would have killed me."[581] Davis immediately made him a brigadier general, appointing him the adjutant general and inspector general as well. Cooper outranked all other C.S. generals by dint of seniority, and he inspected War Department facilities in addition to field armies throughout the war. He also relayed and explained directives from the C.S. president, who always had Cooper formally confirm his orders even when he sent them directly to field commanders *via* couriers or telegraphs. Cooper's primary role, however, was to show northern Democrats that the C.S. government wanted to bring them into the Confederate fold as equal and even favored citizens. The New York City Democratic journalist Charles E. L. Stuart had been named in honor of the Jacobite leader Charles Stuart, and he defected to the C.S.A. in search of a commission. Davis only granted him a minor War Department post, judging that he would serve as a propagandist far better than as an officer. Undaunted, Stuart wrote articles for Democratic

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[580] See *PJD*, 5:391. Davis claimed that Wool had not asked for the sword to be sent and supposedly feared that it would be lost or stolen *en route*. See *PJD*, 6:545. See William C. Davis, "General Samuel Cooper," in *Leaders of the Lost Cause: New Perspectives on the Confederate High Command*, ed. Gary W. Gallagher and Joseph T. Glatthaar (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 2004), 101-33.
[581] Quoted in Allen, *Jefferson Davis, Unconquerable Heart*, 215.

newspapers that likened the C.S. cause to the American Revolution and highlighted Cooper's prominent station to prove that Davis was friendlier toward northern Democrats than Lincoln.[582]

In June 1862, moreover, Davis notified the governor of South Carolina that "General Cooper was directed to proceed to Charleston to make a thorough examination of the troops and defenses and to confer fully with General Pemberton."[583] Philadelphia's John C. Pemberton graduated from West Point in 1837, confronted British troops in Maine during the 1842 "Aroostook War," and fought with Davis at Monterrey, after which he was wounded storming Chapultepec. Having wed Norfolk's Martha Thompson in 1848, Captain Pemberton fought the Seminoles and then served in the Kansas and Utah territories. He evidently did not resent Davis for seeking to commute the death sentence of Corporal John White, who had assaulted him in 1853, to hard labor, for he sided with the C.S.A. in April 1861 even though two of his brothers fought for the Union. And it was largely thanks to his northern background in addition to his wife's friendship with Varina Davis that he attained the rank of major general in early 1862.[584]

Davis raised Pemberton to lieutenant general in October and put him in charge of the Department of Mississippi and Eastern Louisiana, "having confidence in his ability to make the most of the means for the protection of Missi…."[585] He believed that Pemberton's tens of thousands of troops at Vicksburg would drive northwestern Union states into secession, for he promised to let those states use the Mississippi under terms of free trade if they seceded and allied with the Confederacy.[586] The Republicans, Davis explained in early 1863, were desperate to acquire "possession of the great artery, the control of the Mississippi river, to answer the

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[582] See Davis, *Jefferson Davis: The Man and His Hour*, 283, 312; and Davis, "General Samuel Cooper," in *Leaders of the Lost Cause*, 108, 117.
[583] "Jefferson Davis to Gov. F. W. Pickens, Columbia, S.C.," "Telegram," Richmond, June 19, 1862, *JDC*, 5:282.
[584] See "Jefferson Davis to His Excellency, Francis Pickens, Columbia, S.C.," Richmond, November 29, 1861, *JDC*, 5:177; Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, r2:209; and *PJD*, 5:187-88.
[585] "Jefferson Davis to Hon. J. Phelan, C.S. Senate," Richmond, October 11, 1862, *JDC*, 5:353.
[586] See "Jefferson Davis to Genl. R. E. Lee, Comdg. &c., Genl. B. Bragg, Comdg. &c., Genl. E. K. Smith, Comdg. &c.," [September 7, 1862], *JDC*, 5:338-39.

demands of the North West," and because Pemberton would surely thwart their efforts, there was bound "to come that dissatisfaction in the North West, which will rive the power of that section; and thus we see in the future the dawn – first separation of the North West from the Eastern States…."[587] And to make sure that Pemberton would be able to hold Vicksburg, the C.S. president furnished him "[g]uns and ammunition most effective against iron clads," namely, "two 6.4 in. double bd. Brookes."[588] Having reiterated in May that "Genl. Pemberton… has my full confidence," Davis was distraught when the Pennsylvanian surrendered his garrison to a besieging Union army on July 4, 1863.[589] Yet instead of blaming Pemberton, he lashed out at the Radicals who were rebuking him for having trusted Vicksburg to a northerner. When Pemberton was exchanged in March 1864, Davis declared that the Pennsylvanian's "devotion to our country's cause" put that of the Radicals who had accused him of treason to shame and promptly restored him to service.[590] Decrying "the injustice of the prejudice which has existed against you," he also assured him that he "sincerely hope[d] you rightly believe… [it] is subsiding."[591] Radical invective induced Pemberton to resign in May all the same, but Davis convinced him to return to service, re-commissioning him as a lieutenant colonel of artillery in the Virginia theatre and promoting him once more to become the C.S. inspector general of artillery in early 1865.[592]

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[587] "Speech of Jefferson Davis in Richmond," from the Richmond *Enquirer*, January 7, 1863, *JDC*, 5:392. See "Jefferson Davis to Genl. T. H. Holmes, Comdg. Trans-Miss. Dept., Little Rock, Ark.," Vicksburg, Mississippi, December 21, 1862, *JDC*, 5:387-88.

[588] "Jefferson Davis to Hon. Jas. A. Seddon, Secty. of War, Richmond, Va.," "Telegram," Mobile, Alabama, December 31, 1862, *JDC*, 5:389; and "Jefferson Davis to Lt. Genl. J. C. Pemberton, Jackson, Miss.," "Telegram," Richmond, April 21, 1863, *JDC*, 5:475. See "Jefferson Davis to Hon. J. A. Seddon, Secty. of War, Richmond, Va.," "Telegram," Jackson, Mississippi, December 23, 1862, *JDC*, 5:388; and "Jefferson Davis to Lt. Genl. J. C. Pemberton, Jackson, Missi.," "Telegram," Richmond, [probably April 22, 1863], *JDC*, 5:476.

[589] "Jefferson Davis to Govr. J. Whitfield, Bishop Paine, Hon. Jas. T. Harrison, Dr. Sykes," Richmond, May 8, 1863, *JDC*, 5:484.

[590] "Jefferson Davis to Lt. General J. C. Pemberton," Richmond, March 11, 1864, *JDC*, 6:203. See "To William M. Brooks," Richmond, April 2, 1863, *PJD*, 9:122-24.

[591] "Jefferson Davis to Lt. General J. C. Pemberton," Richmond, March 11, 1864, *JDC*, 6:203.

[592] See Michael B. Ballard, *Pemberton: The General Who Lost Vicksburg* (Oxford: University of Mississippi Press, 1991). Pemberton's Georgian pharmacist nephew the C.S. colonel Dr. John S. Pemberton, moreover, suffered a severe saber wound during the April 1865 Battle of Columbus. Seeking to wean himself off a resulting morphine

Hardly any northern Democrats were willing to leave home to enter C.S. service like Cooper and Pemberton, but a few of them did work to foment insurrection and instigate secession in their respective states from 1861 onward. The *Pennsylvanian*, for instance, was edited by one of Buchanan's relatives, and it urged the Keystone State to secede and join the Confederacy alongside more than a dozen other Democratic newspapers in Pennsylvania affiliated with such pro-Buchanan politicians and militia officers as Robert Monaghan and William B. Reed.[593] Philadelphia's Charles J. Peterson, after all, had warned in 1852 that while slavery was an undesirable institution which had been imposed "by England, against the wishes of the colonists," pro-racial equality abolitionism might well push Democratic Pennsylvanians into seceding alongside the slave states.[594] His prediction proved to be inaccurate, but pro-C.S. sentiments simmered among quite a few Pennsylvania Democrats – especially Irish Catholic coal miners – and sporadically erupted into small-scale violence against blacks and Republicans.[595]

Confederate-friendly Democrats also flocked to join the Sons of Liberty, a furtive pro-C.S. organization bearing the name of the American Revolution's original. The Sons were an outgrowth of the Knights of the Golden Circle, which was a Radical secret society that emerged in the late 1850s and aspired to spread slavery around the Gulf of Mexico's entire perimeter.

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addiction, he developed a concoction based upon the popular French drink "Vin Mariani" that he called French Wine Coca, which went on to become the basis of the Coca-Cola formula. See Monroe M. King, "Dr. John S. Pemberton: Originator of Coca-Cola," *Pharmacy in History*, vol. 29, no. 2 (1987), 85-89; and Richard Gardiner, "The Civil War Origin of Coca-Cola in Columbus, Georgia," *Muscogiana: Journal of the Muscogee Genealogical Society*, vol. 23 (Spring 2012), 21-24.

[593] See William C. Wright, *The Secession Movement in the Middle Atlantic States* (Madison, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1973); Russell F. Weigley, "The Border City in Civil War, 1854-1865," in *Philadelphia: A 300-Year History* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1982), 363-417; and Christian B. Keller, "Keystone Confederates: Pennsylvanians Who Fought for Dixie," in *Making and Remaking Pennsylvania's Civil War*, ed. William Blair and William Pencak (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001), 1-23.

[594] J. Thorton Randolph [Charles Jacob Peterson], *The Cabin and Parlor; or, Slaves and Masters* (Philadelphia: T. B. Peterson, 1852), 168.

[595] Davis, after all, had had many "admirers" within the Pennsylvania Democracy. "From Thomas Sletor, Jr., et al.," November 14, 1856, *PJD*, 6:515. See James Ford Rhodes, "The Molly Maguires in the Anthracite Region of Pennsylvania," *The American Historical Review*, vol. 15, no. 3 (April 1910), 547-61; and James M. Gallman, "Preserving the Peace: Order and Disorder in Civil War Philadelphia," *Pennsylvania History*, vol. 55, no. 4 (October, 1988), 201-15.

Pro-C.S. northern Democrats joined a branch of the K.G.C. called the Order of American Knights, but they were uncomfortable with the slavery-in-the-abstract stance of the Knights and formed the Sons of Liberty in 1864 to be more consonant with their own and official C.S. ideology.[596] It was thanks to rumors that the Sons were plotting a massive rebellion, as well as to Confederate successes in using "cavalry accompanied by light batteries… to prevent the enemy from using the Mississippi for commercial purposes," that the C.S. president still hoped, in Varina Davis's words, to bring the "Western States" into "union with the Southern States, their natural allies, their neighbors and congeners in manners and tastes."[597] As St. Louis's pro-C.S. Democratic agitator J. W. Tucker informed Davis on a March 1864 visit to Richmond, "[t]here exists in the North West and North a secret political organization" dedicated to "everlasting opposition to Black and Red Republicanism." The Sons had, he boasted, conducted several sabotage operations against the U.S. army, and they were willing to "mak[e] open war with the perverted government of the United States" if Davis could supply them with sufficient war *matériel*, for they had recruited "*Four Hundred and ninety thousand men*, distributed as follows: Illinois – 110,000, Indiana – 120,000, Ohio – 40,000, Pennsylvania – 15,000, New York – 40,000, New Jersey – 15,000." Yet the C.S. president was rather disappointed to learn that their ultimate goal was to bring about "the formation of a North West Republic including Michigan, Minesota [*sic*], Wisconsin, Iowa, Illinois, Indiana and Ohio," one which would have "the most

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[596] See C. A. Bridges, "The Knights of the Golden Circle: A Filibustering Fantasy," *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, vol. 44, no. 3 (January 1941), 287-302; Ollinger Crenshaw, "The Knights of the Golden Circle: The Career of George Bickley," *The American Historical Review*, vol. 47, no. 1 (October 1941), 23-50; Florence L. Grayston, "Lambdin P. Milligan – A Knight of the Golden Circle," *Indiana Magazine of History*, vol. 43, no. 4 (December 1947), 379-91; Mark A. Lause, *A Secret Society History of the Civil War* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2011), 51-66; and Keehn, *Knights of the Golden Circle*.

[597] "Jefferson Davis to General E. K. Smith," Richmond, July 14, 1863, *JDC*, 5:553; and Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 2:212. See "Jefferson Davis to Lt. Genl. T. H. Holmes," Richmond, July 15, 1863, *JDC*, 5:556.

friendly relations, commercially and otherwise, with the Confederate States" but would not join them for fear that they might come to espouse slavery-in-the-abstract under Radical auspices.[598]

Further to the west, a C.S. army invaded New Mexico in 1861 to install Davis's private secretary Robert Josselyn as provisional Confederate governor. A veteran of the 1st Mississippi Rifles, Josselyn was born in Massachusetts and educated in Vermont.[599] Captain George Madison peeled off from that army, moreover, to disrupt U.S. logistics in Colorado, where he also hoped to raid gold mines and recruit Democrats. Many of the several hundred Colorado Democrats who agreed to enter C.S. service were captured by the U.S. army in 1862, but a few of them went on to form the Reynold's Gang, which plundered gold mines up into 1864. Indeed, pro-Confederate sentiment was so rife among Colorado Democrats that they elected the Alabama emigrant and former C.S. soldier James B. Grant governor in 1883. And in 1885 Davis's daughter Margaret Howell Davis and her banker husband Joel Addison Hayes moved from Memphis to Colorado Springs, where they became leading figures in Democratic circles.[600]

Like the Davis administration itself, northern Democrats who were willing to fight on behalf of the C.S.A. usually had scant regard for Radical state's rights. Noting "that by a recent enactment the question of *secret service* is transferred to the War Department" from the C.S. Congress, J. W. Tucker claimed that "there is an important sense in which the Chief Magistrate of the Republic is *the Government*; and this *ought* to be so; since to him attaches the responsibility of failure, and to him pertains the glory of success."[601] Missouri's Mexican War hero Waldo P. Johnson, moreover, entered the U.S. Senate in 1861 as a Democrat. He was

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[598] "J. W. Tucker to Jefferson Davis," Spotswood Hotel, Richmond, March 14, 1864, *JDC*, 6:204-05.
[599] See *PJD*, 2:108-09. Josselyn had also championed his former commander as a presidential candidate for 1860 until Davis made his intentions clear. See "From Joseph R. Davis," Jackson, December 13, 1859, *PJD*, 6:264.
[600] See Ray C. Colton, *The Civil War in the Western Territories: Arizona, Colorado, New Mexico, and Utah* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1984), 13-49; and Susan Schulten, "The Civil War and the Origins of the Colorado Territory," *The Western Historical Quarterly*, vol. 44, no. 1 (Spring 2013), 21-46.
[601] "J. W. Tucker to Jefferson Davis," Spotswood Hotel, Richmond, March 14, 1864, *JDC*, 6:206.

expelled in early 1862 due to his C.S. sympathies and promptly entered Confederate service as a lieutenant colonel. After he was wounded at Pea Ridge, he also raised a cavalry regiment and six infantry companies in Missouri. Having observed in late 1863 that Johnston's "long experience with public affairs and his well known zeal and devotion to our cause would make him a most useful legislator," Davis informed the nominal C.S. governor of Missouri that he was "much gratified to learn that you have offered the vacant Senatorship to Col. Waldo P. Johnson."[602]

Yet to Davis's disappointment, most of the northern Democrats who harbored C.S. sympathies resisted the U.S. government by turning to Radical state's rights. The "Peace Democrats" whom Republicans likened to venomous copperhead snakes invoked Radical state's rights to hinder the U.S. war effort in hopes of forcing an armistice that would discredit the Republicans, whose subsequent electoral defeat might well render Confederates willing to re-join the Union."[603] Roger B. Taney, for instance, was a Maryland lawyer who took pride in the fact that he and his Irish ancestors "were Roman Catholics," and he manumitted his chattels because slavery was, as he declared in 1819, "a blot on our national character, and every real lover of freedom, confidently hopes that it will be effectually, though it must be gradually, wiped away…."[604] Taney was President Jackson's acting Secretary of War in 1831 and his Attorney General from 1831-33. After he was confirmed as the Supreme Court's Chief Justice in 1835, he riled northern Whigs by ruling in favor of Democratic state governments that were attempting to

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[602] "Jefferson Davis to Govr. Thomas C. Reynolds, Governor of Missouri," Richmond, December 10, 1863, *JDC*, 6:130. See James W. Goodrich, "Waldo Porter Johnson (1817-1885)," in *Dictionary of Missouri Biography*, ed. Lawrence O. Christensen, *et al.* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1999), 438-39.

[603] See Charles H. Coleman, "The Use of the Term 'Copperhead' during the Civil War," *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, vol. 25, no. 2 (September 1938), 263-64; Frank L. Klement, *The Copperheads in the Middle West* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960); Hubert H. Wubben, *Civil War Iowa and the Copperhead Movement* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1980); Kenneth A. Deitreich, "Edward G. Roddy and the Anti-War Movement in Civil War Pennsylvania," *Pennsylvania History*, vol. 66, no. 3 (Summer 1999), 364-77; and Joanna D. Cowden, *"Heaven Will Frown on Such a Cause as This": Six Democrats Who Opposed Lincoln's War* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2001).

[604] *Memoir of Roger Brooke Taney, Ll.D., Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States*, ed. Samuel Tyler (Baltimore: J. Murphy, 1872), 9; and quoted in Timothy S. Huebner, "Roger B. Taney and the Slavery Issue: Looking beyond – and before – *Dred Scott*," *The Journal of American History*, vol. 97, no. 1 (June 2010), 17.

curb corporate power. And he outraged their Republican heirs *via* the 1857 *Dred Scott* ruling, which not only declared that slaveholders had the right to take their chattel property into any U.S. territory, but also that no state could grant blacks citizenship. Davis, for his part, had been confident that Tawney would make such a ruling given his strong opposition to black citizenship and prior opinions in favor of slaveholder property rights as an anti-Douglas Democrat.[605] He therefore declared that *Dred Scott* "claims the respect and obedience of every citizen of the United States."[606] During the war, however, the Chief Justice did not call for Democrats to rebel against Republican "tyranny," confining his efforts instead to striking down President Lincoln's *habeas corpus* suspensions after the 1861 arrest of the Maryland Democrat and pro-C.S. saboteur John Merryman even though Davis was himself moving to impose martial law in the Confederacy. Lincoln, for his part, simply ignored Taney, who passed away in October 1864.[607]

George E. Pugh, moreover, was a lawyer, Mexican War veteran, and Democratic Ohio U.S. senator. He converted to Catholicism in 1855 after marrying the French-American Theresa Chalfant, and Davis expressed sadness in early 1861 at severing – at least temporarily – "the ties which have so long bound us to our northern friends, of whom we are glad to recognize the Senator as a type."[608] Pugh, however, had begun to annoy him in the late 1850s by gravitating toward Douglas and opposing military spending in the name of Radical state's rights. He even sided with Toombs once, decrying the army as "unnecessary" and "hurtful to the public" while

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[605] See "Speech of Jefferson Davis in Senate Feb. 13 and 14, 1850 on Slavery in the Territories," *JDC*, 1:291; and "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Compromise Bill, July 18, 1850," *JDC*, 1:411.

[606] "Speech of Jefferson Davis before the Democratic State Convention at Jackson, Miss., July 6, 1859," from the New York *Daily Tribune*, August 31, 1859, *JDC*, 4:75. See "Speech at Jackson," November 4, 1857, *PJD*, 6:159. Davis voted to print 20,000 pamphlet copies of the *Dred Scott* decision too. See *PJD*, 6:542.

[607] See "In the United States Circuit Court, Chambers, Baltimore, Maryland. Before Taney, Chief Justice. Ex Parte John Merryman," *The American Law Register*, vol. 9, no. 9 (July 1861), 524-38; Don E. Fehrenbacher, "Roger B. Taney and the Sectional Crisis," *The Journal of Southern History*, vol. 43, no. 4 (November 1977), 555-66; James F. Simon, *Lincoln and Chief Justice Taney* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2006); and Brian McGinty, *The Body of John Merryman: Abraham Lincoln and the Suspension of Habeas Corpus* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012).

[608] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the special message on affairs in South Carolina. Jan. 10, 1861," *JDC*, 5:9-10.

deploring the fact that U.S. officers were paid more than their British equivalents.[609] Pugh's seat was taken in 1861 by his nemesis the pro-abolitionist Republican Salmon P. Chase, whom he had previously defeated in 1855. And he responded not by calling Democrats to arms, but rather by running for Ohio's lieutenant governorship in 1863 on a Radical state's rights platform.[610] Pugh partially redeemed himself in Davis's eyes when offered his legal services to the incarcerated former C.S. president at Fort Monroe in tandem with New York City's famous Irish Catholic Democratic lawyer Charles O'Conor, a former presidential elector for Franklin Pierce.[611] It had been more ironic, however, when Francis Key Howard was imprisoned in that fortress. A grandson of Taney's legal partner and brother-in-law Francis Scott Key, who had been inspired to write "The Star Spangled Banner" after witnessing the British bombardment of Fort McHenry as a prisoner onboard a Royal Navy warship. Howard was arrested in September 1861 after printing pro-C.S. pieces in the Baltimore *Exchange* and imprisoned in Fort Monroe.[612]

Taney, Pugh, O'Conor, and even Howard were all disappointments for the C.S. president in comparison to John Ross Key, who was another grandson of Francis Scott Key and put his skills as a map-maker for the U.S. Coast Survey at the Confederacy's disposal as a lieutenant in the C.S. Engineer Corps.[613] But at least they were not "War Democrats." Davis had predicted in early 1861 that hardly any Democrats would help the Republicans invade seceding slave

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[609] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the bill regulating pay of Army officers. Feb. 15, 1859," *JDC*, 3:557.
[610] See William A. Taylor, *Ohio in Congress from 1803-1901: With Notes and Sketches of Senators and Representatives and Other Historical Data and Incidents* (Columbus, OH: The XX Century Publishing Co., 1900), 76-77; and George E. Pugh, "War will Follow," December 20, 1860, in *The Politics of Dissolution: The Quest for a National Identity and the American Civil War*, ed. Marshall L. DeRosa (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1998), 115-47.
[611] See *PJD*, 6:178.
[612] See Frank Key Howard, *Fourteen Months in American Bastiles* (Baltimore: Kelly, Hedian, & Piet, 1863).
[613] See Thomas Cooper De Leon, *Four Years in Rebel Capitals: An Inside View of Life in the Southern Confederacy, from Birth to Death; from Original Notes, Collated in the Years 1861 to 1865* (1890; reprint, Mobile: The Gossip Printing Company, 1892), 301.

states.[614] The War Democrats, however, resolved to destroy the C.S. government without seriously damaging either slavery or white supremacy in the South, a feat for which they believed they would be rewarded by the northern electorate at the expense of the Republicans.[615] James Guthrie of Kentucky, for instance, was a lawyer, financier, railroad promoter, and President Pierce's Treasury Secretary. He had also been Davis's classmate and friend at St. Thomas College. Yet he called for the Confederacy to be defeated as a War Democrat even as he denounced any and all Republican efforts to destroy slavery or promote racial equality.[616]

Pennsylvania's George B. McClellan, moreover, was a member of West Point's famous Napoleon Seminar, and Secretary of War Davis thanked him for his Mexican War feats and Democratic politics by picking him to lead a transcontinental railroad survey, tasking him as well with the construction of a "military road" in the Oregon territory.[617] He also promoted McClellan to captain in 1855, assigned him to determine the best location for a future U.S. coal depot at Santo Domingo, and "selected him for one of the military commission sent to Europe during the War of the Crimea."[618] McClellan visited France's famed Saumur cavalry academy, and he recommended that the U.S. army model its training regimen after Radziminski's system, which he deemed far superior to British methods.[619] Davis hoped to bring Radziminski himself over to command a new cavalry regiment, but when his hopes were dashed by southern Radicals

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[614] See "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the special message on affairs in South Carolina. Jan. 10, 1861," *JDC*, 5:28, 31. Also see "Inaugural Address," Richmond, February 22, 1862, *JDC*, 5:200.
[615] See Christopher Dell, *Lincoln and the War Democrats: The Grand Erosion of Conservative Tradition* (Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Presses, 1975); and Gary W. Gallagher, *The Union War* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011), 116-17.
[616] See Robert S. Cotterill, "James Guthrie – Kentuckian, 1792-1869," *Register of Kentucky State Historical Society*, vol. 20, no. 60 (September 1922), 290-96; and *PJD*, 5:71. James W. Denver, moreover, had championed Davis's 1850s initiatives as a Mexican War veteran, California Democrat, House Military Affairs Committee member, and the chairman of the Select Committee on the Pacific Railroad and Telegraph. He was also the Kansas territorial governor from 1857-59. Denver became a War Democrat brigadier general during the Civil War. See *PJD*, 6:108.
[617] "Jefferson Davis to George B. McClellan," War Department, Washington, D.C., May 9, 1853, *JDC*, 2:219. See "Jefferson Davis to Joseph G. Totten," War Department, Washington, D.C., April 5, 1853, *JDC*, 2:196-97.
[618] Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 2:309. See *PJD*, 5:402.
[619] See *PJD*, 6:393, 395-96.

and northern Republicans in Congress, he chose McClellan to reform the cavalry using Samuel Cooper's Radziminski and Baucher translations.[620] And while he was let down when McClellan resigned in 1856 to pursue more lucrative opportunities as a civilian, he was even more disappointed when he returned to service in 1861 and secured western Virginia for the Union.[621]

Lincoln put McClellan in charge of the Army of the Potomac even though the latter was coming to be known as the "Young Napoleon," feuded with Republican officers under his command, and had proclaimed upon entering western Virginia that "[n]otwithstanding all that has been said by the traitors to induce you to believe that our advent among you will be signalized by interference with your slaves understand one thing clearly – not only will we abstain from all such interference but we will on the contrary with an iron hand crush any attempt at insurrection on their part."[622] Most congressional Republicans, however, detested McClellan, and they inadvertently strengthened the appeal of Copperheads within the northern Democracy by seeking to remove him alongside the other likeminded War Democrat generals.

A few leading War Democrat officers were killed rather than cashiered. William P. Sanders, for instance, was born in Kentucky but grew up in Mississippi. When he was in danger of being expelled from West Point due to failing grades, Secretary of War Davis interceded on his behalf. Sanders, however, sided with the Union even though he had, as the C.S. general E. Porter Alexander recalled, "frequently claimed connection or relationship with Jefferson Davis."[623] He was slain defending Knoxville in November 1863. Amiel W. Whipple of Massachusetts, moreover, was assigned to lead the first transcontinental survey by Secretary of

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[620] See *PJD*, 5:406, 458.
[621] See ibid., 6:396, 500.
[622] "To the Union Men of Western Virginia," *OR*, series II, 1:753. See Stephen W. Sears, *George B. McClellan: The Young Napoleon* (Boston: De Capo Press, 1999); and Marion V. Armstrong, *Unfurl Those Colors! McClellan, Sumner, and the Second Army Corps in the Antietam Campaign* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2008).
[623] *Fighting for the Confederacy: The Personal Recollections of General Edward Porter Alexander*, ed. Gary W. Gallagher (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989), 28. See Hsieh, "I Owe Virginia Little, My Country Much," in *Crucible of the Civil War*, 46.

War Davis, who promoted him to captain even though he also reprimanded him for negligence *vis-à-vis* the Jules Marcou incident. Whipple became a Catholic in 1857, and he served as McClellan's chief topographical engineer until he was given a brigade of his own in 1862. But he received the last rites at Chancellorsville in May 1863 thanks to a Confederate sniper.[624]

War Democrats, however, were more commonly removed from command by the Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War, which Republican-dominated congressional body was formed after the English-born Republican U.S. senator for Oregon Colonel Edward D. Baker was killed at Ball's Bluff in October 1861. Baker had reinforced Democratic perceptions of the Mormons as "Yankee" abolitionists by hunting down Joseph Smith's murderers in Missouri as an Illinois militia colonel in 1844. He also drew close to Lincoln as a Whig congressman for Illinois, and their friendship endured even though Baker led a regiment in the Mexican War, which Lincoln staunchly opposed, and moved to Oregon in 1852.[625] Baker was one of over a thousand Union casualties at Ball's Bluff, which northern Virginia battle was lost under the watch of Charles P. Stone, a Democratic officer from Massachusetts who had graduated from West Point in 1845 and converted to Catholicism.[626] Stone stayed loyal to the Union even though Davis had been the best man at the wedding of his wife's parents, promoting him to first lieutenant in 1853 as well. He ascended to brigadier general in 1861 thanks to his old Mexican War commander Winfield Scott. But he also drew the ire of such pro-abolitionist Republicans as Charles Sumner and the Massachusetts governor John Albion Andrew by ordering U.S. soldiers

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[624] See David E. Conrad, "The Whipple Expedition in Arizona 1853-1854," *Arizona and the West*, vol. 11, no. 2 (Summer 1969), 147-78; *PJD*, 5:338; and Derek Smith, *The Gallant Dead: Union and Confederate Generals Killed in the Civil War* (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 2005), 141-42.
[625] See Harry C. Blair and Rebecca Tarshis, *Colonel Edward Baker: Lincoln's Constant Ally* (Portland, OR: Oregon Historical Society, 1960).
[626] See Scannell O'Neill, "Convert Sons of West Point," *The Rosary Magazine, Conducted by the Dominican Fathers*, vol. 32 (January-June, 1908), 182.

to restore fugitive slaves to their Confederate owners.[627] McClellan blamed Baker for the Ball's Bluff debacle, but the Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War accused Stone of treason and had him arrested in February 1862. He was released after spending nearly six months in prison without being brought to trial, and he never received an apology from the Republicans even though he was restored to service in 1863. An embittered Stone resigned in 1864 as a result and worked for a Virginia mining company after the war up until 1869, when he became the chief of staff and principal *aide-de-camp* for the French emperor's Egyptian client ruler Ismail Pasha.[628]

Similar fates befell other prominent U.S. army War Democrats. The Irish-born and French-fluent Catholic James Shields, for instance, was a hero of the Mexican War as well as a Democratic U.S. senator for Illinois from 1849-54 and Minnesota from 1858-59. Even though he had nearly challenged Lincoln to a duel in 1842 when the future U.S. president mocked him in a public letter, he was accepted into U.S. service as a brigadier general of volunteers. Yet thanks to congressional Republican hostility and his own failings as an officer, his promotion to major general was rescinded in March 1862, prompting him to angrily resign. Shields moved to Missouri in 1866 and went on to represent that state in both the House and Senate as a Democrat.[629] McClellan's friend Fitz John Porter, moreover, was arrested and court-martialed after the second battle of Bull Run. He was convicted of misconduct for openly criticizing the character, decisions, and policies of his commander John Pope by David Hunter, who presided over the court martial which dishonorably discharged him in January 1863. Porter was offered a

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[627] See Richard F. Miller, "Brahmin Janissaries: John A. Andrew Mobilizes Massachusetts' Upper Class for the Civil War," *The New England Quarterly*, vol. 75, no. 2 (June 2002), 204-34.
[628] See Kim Bernard Holien, *General Charles P. Stone, the Battle of Ball's Bluff and the Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War* (Fairfax, VA: George Mason University, 1984).
[629] See New York *Times*, June 3, 1879; and Michael Murphy, "James Shields and Ireland," *Seanchas Ardmhacha: Journal of the Armagh Diocesan Historical Society*, vol. 20, no. 2 (2005), 163-74.

commission by Isma'il Pasha as well, but he declined in order to clear his name at home.[630] And while Davis's "dear and intimate friend" the Kentuckian U.S. army major Robert Anderson became a national hero in the Union by moving his vulnerable Charleston garrison to Fort Sumter in February 1861, he ended up as a symbol of Democratic persecution at Republican hands.[631] Thanks to his War Democrat politics and conciliatory attitude toward Confederates, Anderson was denied any real position of importance after Lincoln relieved him of command of the Department of Kentucky in October 1861. He retired in October 1863 and passed away in 1871 as a resident of France, for he and Davis had once enjoyed exchanging French *bon mots*.[632]

What many northern Democrats took to be a systematic purge of Democratic officers coincided with an ascendance of pro-Republican officers, whom the Davis administration usually subjected to worse treatment as prisoners-of-war than captured Democrats even though Radicals wanted them both to be treated as "abolition officers."[633] The most prominent "abolition officer" was Ulysses S. Grant, who had resigned from the army in 1854 when exaggerated rumors as to his drunkenness began circulating thanks in part to McClellan. His father was a pro-abolitionist Ohio Whig, and Secretary of War Davis predictably spurned a request from him to restore his son to service.[634] Grant returned to the army in 1861, however, and his conspicuous victories propelled him up through the ranks. His "hard war" strategies, moreover, resulted in personal and professional friction with War Democrat officers who favored a conciliatory "soft war." General Grant, after all, strongly supported black enlistment, and when the C.S. government

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[630] See Otto Eisenschiml, *The Celebrated Case of Fitz John Porter: An American Dreyfus Affair* (Indianapolis, IN: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1950).
[631] Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 1:560. See "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the special message on affairs in South Carolina. Jan. 10, 1861," *JDC*, 5:8.
[632] See, for instance, "To Robert Anderson," Washington, January 20, 1850, *PJD*, 4:58.
[633] Richmond *Dispatch*, July 2, 1862.
[634] See Joan Waugh, *U. S. Grant: American Hero, American Myth* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009), 7, 16, 18.

began to form a few black regiments in 1865, he endorsed citizenship for at least black U.S. soldiers so as to "get all the negro men we can before the enemy can put them in their ranks."[635]

U.S. president Grant went on to support the efforts of his fellow Republican the Tennessee governor William G. Brownlow to protect equal rights for blacks even as he stripped the Catholic former Union general William S. Rosecrans of the U.S. ambassadorship to Mexico. Ohio's "Old Rosy," for his part, had converted to Catholicism while teaching at West Point in 1845.[636] A Democrat who accused the Democracy's foes of harboring an "intense hatred for Catholicity," Rosecrans disliked the institution of slavery but was no proponent of racial equality.[637] Having made his reputation in the 1850s as an engineer in the U.S. army and nascent western Virginia coal industry, Brigadier General Rosecrans helped McClellan secure what would become West Virginia. He also performed well when he was sent to the western theatre, and so he was given command of the Army of the Cumberland as a major general. But when he nearly lost that whole army at Chickamauga in September 1863, he was denounced by Republican newspapers as a traitor and stripped of command by Grant, who had already come to detest him in 1862. "Old Rosy" therefore did his best upon his election in 1880 as a Democratic California congressman to defeat a bill bestowing a generous pension upon his old nemesis.[638]

That bill was also opposed by many former C.S. prisoners-of-war, for Grant had not only stopped all prisoner exchanges in April 1864 as the U.S. army's commanding general, but also forbade northern Democrats to succor captured Confederates. C.S. prisoners-of-war would often send Davis and his wife carvings or rosaries, and he sought to return the favor by sending

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[635] Quoted in Jordan, *Black Confederates and Afro-Yankees in Civil War Virginia*, 236. See Howard C. Westwood, "Grant's Role in Beginning Black Soldiery," *Illinois Historical Journal*, vol. 79, no. 3 (Autumn 1986), 197-212.
[636] See Rose, *Victorian America and the Civil War*, 66.
[637] Quoted in William B. Kurtz, *Roman-Catholic Americans in the North and Border States during the Era of the American Civil War* (PhD Dissertation; Charlottesville: University of Virginia, 2012), 265.
[638] See Leslie J. Gordon, "The Failed Relationship of William S. Rosecrans and Grant," in *Grant's Lieutenants: From Cairo to Vicksburg*, ed. Steven E. Woodworth (Lawrence: Kansas University Press, 2001), 109-27.

provisions to them *via* northern Democrats. The Lincoln administration had paroled the captured Kentuckian C.S. brigadier general William N. R. Beale to organize special shipments of Confederate cotton into New York City, where Democrats purchased it to raise funds for C.S. prisoners-of-war. Grant, however, revoked his parole. Beale languished in a Fort Lafayette cell until August 1865, and Davis would later write to him in hopes of proving that "private contributions" from northern Democrats "were pillaged by the U.S. Officers," for "[y]ou know by experience how poorly our men in Northern prisons were fed…."[639] Arthur H. Edey, moreover, was a northern Democrat who joined a Texan C.S. regiment to fight against "the cruelty and barbarity of our common [*i.e.* Republican] enemy." He was captured by U.S. forces but refused an offer of parole in exchange for swearing an oath of loyalty. Having managed to escape, he told Davis in March 1865 that he had organized a school for imprisoned Confederates at Elmira. Thanks to "[t]hose angels upon Earth" the pro-Confederate women of both the North and South, supplies "came pouring in, classes were organized, and the school put under the charge of Mr. Eugene Davis of Charlottesville, Va." "Everything was working splendidly," he claimed, until Grant cut off all such aid. He therefore hungered for vengeance upon Grant, whom he held responsible for the "the shooting of five of our men by a negro on post," as well as the death of "[a] young man, Charles A. Kingland, 1st Texas Vols…. [who] was quite sick when he was captured. He originally came from Mass." Kingland had, unlike many "cheats and oath-takers" from the South, scorned to swear fealty to the Union for the sake of a parole and medical care. His "name should adorn the page of Texas history," Edey insisted, for "how crushing and

[639] "Jefferson Davis to Genl. W. N. R. Beall," Beauvoir, Missi 25th Oct. 1880, Private Collection of Edward and Jean George, Frostburg, Maryland. See Beringer and Hattaway, *Jefferson Davis, Confederate President*, 301.

vast are the sacrifices of those who for principles leave their parents in the North to uphold the liberty which Washington fought for, and which you, as his successor, are pledged to defend."[640]

Such was the hatred for Grant the "Butcher" among Confederates and pro-C.S. Democrats alike that the Baltimore Democrat and discharged Confederate soldier Michael O'Laughlen was arrested for plotting to assassinate him in April 1865. O'Laughlen, after all, had been involved in John Wilkes Booth's 1864 plot to kidnap Lincoln. Booth was an estranged son of the well-known English actor and abolitionist immigrant Junius B. Booth. He expressed his antipathy toward his father and older Republican brother Edwin by flirting with Catholicism during the 1850s, as well as by switching his support from the Know-Nothing *cum* Republican Maryland congressman Henry Winter Davis to the Democracy. Booth, moreover, had been preparing to perform in a Richmond play when John Brown attacked Harpers Ferry. Having joined a Virginia militia company to be present at Brown's execution, he was soon smuggling supplies and messages on behalf of the C.S. secret service. And he resolved to kill rather than kidnap Lincoln in April 1865 when he heard him sanction citizenship for black U.S. soldiers.[641]

Booth and his fellow conspirators did not just assassinate or attempt to kill prominent Republicans, for they also targeted leading Douglas Democrats who had become *de facto* or even *de jure* Republicans. Douglas himself sided with the Republicans in late 1860 to foil Davis's efforts within a special Committee of Thirteen to avert secession by proposing constitutional

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[640] "Arthur H. Edey to Jefferson Davis," Texas Depot, Richmond, March 6, 1865, *JDC*, 6:504-07. See Davis, *Jefferson Davis: The Man and His Hour*, 199.

[641] See Gerald S. Henig, *Henry Winter Davis: Antebellum and Civil War Congressman from Maryland* (Woodbridge, CT: Twayne Publishers, 1973); Paul Serup, *Who Killed Abraham Lincoln? An Investigation of North America's Most Famous Ex-Priest's Assertion That the Roman Catholic Church was Behind the Assassination of America's Greatest President* (Prince George, BC: Salmova Press, 2009); and Nora Titone, *My Thoughts Be Bloody: The Bitter Rivalry Between Edwin and John Wilkes Booth That Led to an American Tragedy* (New York: The Free Press, 2010).

amendments that would open all U.S. territories to slavery and forever ban black citizenship.[642] A few of his notable supporters, in fact, had already become outright Republicans by that point. His ally the Wisconsin U.S. senator James R. Doolittle, for instance, joined the Republicans in the mid-1850s because "Calhounism" was becoming the Democracy's "cardinal creed."[643] David Wilmot, moreover, spent years of fruitless opposition to Buchanan within the Pennsylvania Democracy upon returning from the Free Soil Party, and he sought the Pennsylvania governorship as a Republican in 1857. He lost that contest, but he became a Republican U.S. senator in 1861 by organizing a coalition of War Democrats and Republicans in the state legislature to thwart Pierce's old Postmaster General James Campbell, who then retreated into quietude. Wilmot served in that capacity until 1863, receiving a federal judgeship as well for stalwartly supporting Lincoln's candidacy at the 1860 Republican convention.[644]

Yet the trickle of Douglas Democrats entering Republican ranks became a veritable flood after the Little Giant died in June 1861. Douglas's ally James H. Lane was an Indiana congressman from 1853-55, after which he moved to Kansas and strongly opposed the introduction of slavery there – ostensibly to keep blacks from entering the territory.[645] In 1861, however, he returned to Congress as a pro-abolitionist Republican senator for the new state of Kansas, and he also raised "Jayhawker" abolitionist irregulars in conjunction with the 1st Kansas Infantry (Colored) as a brigadier general.[646] The Massachusetts Democrat George Bancroft,

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[642] Douglas's crucial abstentions in the committee were tantamount to Republican "nay" votes. See "Jefferson Davis to John J. Pettus," Washington, D.C., December 16, 1860, *JDC*, 4:560. In February 1861, moreover, Douglas united with Republicans to torpedo the Supreme Court nomination of Pennsylvania's Jeremiah Sullivan Black, who was Buchanan's attorney general and enemy of the Little Giant within the northern Democracy. See *PJD*, 6:165.
[643] Doolittle quoted in "Remarks of Jefferson Davis concerning Senator Davis's resolutions concerning the relations of the states. May 24, 1860," *JDC*, 4:349. See *PJD*, 6:542.
[644] See James H. Duff, "David Wilmot, the Statesman and Political Leader," *Pennsylvania History*, vol. 13, no. 4 (October 1946), 283-89.
[645] See "From William H. Russell," Leavenworth, Kansas, September 12, 1856, *PJD*, 6:480.
[646] See Ian Michael Spurgeon, *Man of Douglas, Man of Lincoln: The Political Odyssey of James Henry Lane* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2008). Indeed, Kansas became such a staunchly Republican state during

moreover, had initially supported Van Buren but agreed to serve as Polk's Secretary of the Navy, in which role he established the U.S. Naval Academy. A renowned historian whose works disparaged Britain and promoted Manifest Destiny, Bancroft supported Pierce and Buchanan during the 1850s. But he campaigned for Douglas in 1860. And he seemed to repudiate his old anti-slavery but pro-white supremacy stance in favor of abolitionist racial equality by endorsing Lincoln in 1863. He had, after all, befriended Macaulay in 1846 as Polk's minister to Britain.[647]

Orestes Brownson, too, was, like Bancroft, a famous intellectual who was critical of New England's "Brahmin" Whig elites, and he was employed by him when Van Buren made Bancroft Boston's chief customs collector in 1837. Brownson was also a Democrat and one of the most famous Catholic converts in the Union. He opened a correspondence with Calhoun as well in hopes of improving conditions for lower-class whites in the North. The South Carolinian urged him to sever his ties with Van Buren, for whom "Democracy is but a profession, which is laid aside whenever it stands in the way of obtaining political power," but Brownson went on to become a Douglas Democrat and supporter of the Lincoln administration.[648] His faith was shaken when the Union's Catholic clergy censured him for urging the U.S. president to embrace abolitionism as a means to win the war but also as an end in itself. Yet his attempt to run for

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the Civil War that even Samuel D. LeCompte became a Republican by 1865. See William E. Treadway, "The Gilded Age in Kansas," *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, vol. 40, no. 1 (Spring 1974), 4-5. Buchanan, moreover, appointed Pennsylvania's John White Geary the territorial governor of Kansas in 1856, but Geary ended up serving in the Union army during the Civil War and later became a Republican governor of Pennsylvania. See *PJD*, 6:156.

[647] See Lillian Handlin, *George Bancroft: The Intellectual as Democrat* (New York: Harpercollins, 1984); and William P. Leeman, "George Bancroft's Civil War: Slavery, Abraham Lincoln, and the Course of History," *The New England Quarterly*, vol. 81, no. 3 (September 2008), 462-88.

[648] "To the Rev. O[restes] A. Brownson, [Boston?]," Fort Hill, 1st Feb: 1844, *PJCC*, 17:743. See Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., "Orestes Brownson: An American Marxist before Marx," *The Sewanee Review*, vol. 47, no. 3 (July-September 1939), 317-23.

Congress in 1862 as a Republican was unsuccessful in large part because many Republican and especially ex-Know-Nothing voters had little enthusiasm for him due to his Catholicity.[649]

Yet Douglas Democrat defections coupled with War Democrat purges actually buoyed Davis's hopes that an ideologically-purified northern Democracy would rise in rebellion, for as one Mississippian living in Illinois had told him in late 1860, "[t]here are a good many good Democrats in the north but our Leaders have yielded to northern fanaticism little by little untill [*sic*] the field has been taken and we are powerless for good."[650] To his disappointment, however, northern Democrats did not rebel on behalf of the C.S.A. in 1861 or '62, and he surmised that they had appealed to Radical state's rights rather than to arms as a result of fear. When the Irish-born Massachusetts Catholic priest and U.S. army chaplain Thomas Scully was captured in 1862, after all, he explained that northern Democrats feared that they would become the primary targets of Republican wrath if they were perceived as pro-Confederate in any way.[651]

Davis was disappointed but not surprised that Democrats in New England and other Republican-dominated areas of the upper North would engage in little more than symbolic acts of resistance, as when the Democratic alumni of Maine's Bowdoin College defied Republican graduates who wished to strip the C.S. president of his honorary college membership.[652] Even Franklin Pierce was seemingly cowed by Republican intimidation, for the former president's caustic denunciations of the Lincoln administration ceased when congressional Republicans threatened to have him arrested for treason after the U.S. soldiers who ransacked Davis's

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[649] See Theodore Maynard, *Orestes Brownson: Yankee, Radical Catholic* (New York: The MacMillian Company, 1943); and Carl F. Krummel, "Catholicism, Americanism, Democracy, and Orestes Brownson," *American Quarterly*, vol. 6, no. 1 (Spring 1954), 19-31.

[650] "Sidney Noble to Jefferson Davis," Otter Creek, Illinois, December 12, 1860, *JDC*, 4:554.

[651] Ironically, Father Scully would be embroiled in a bitter political struggle with the Republicans all the same, for the Universalist divine and Harvard trustee Alonzo Ames Minor organized a Republican campaign to ban all Massachusetts Catholic schools in the 1880s. **S**ee *A Frenchman, A Chaplain, and A Rebel*, 121, 125-26.

[652] See Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 2:904-05. Unfortunately for Davis, William Pitt Fessenden received an honorary degree from Bowdoin at the same time in August 1858. See *PJD*, 6:196.

Brierfield home found letters from Pierce promising that northern Democrats would instigate a civil war within the North if the Republicans were to win the 1860 election.[653] And when some Kentucky delegates nominated Pierce for the presidency to "great applause" at the 1864 Democratic convention, it was revealed that he had, as the New York Copperhead and well-connected City Hall clerk S. J. Anderson told Davis in August 1864, already refused "several days before the meeting of the Convention. I was not surprised – he is of the common clay."[654]

The C.S. president, however, had not thought that Republicans would be able to cow lower North Democrats. It was therefore with surprised anger that he declared in early 1861 that when "Lincoln comes in he will have but to continue in the path of his predecessor...," for Buchanan's "soi disant democratic administration" was refusing to surrender federal installations in the fledgling Confederacy.[655] Buchanan's decision was all the more disappointing for Davis because the Secretary of the Navy Isaac Toucey had, according to the Republican press, deliberately placed U.S. navy ships in locations where they could be easily captured by C.S. forces. Toucey, after all, was from Connecticut. He had been Polk's Attorney General as well as a vital ally of the Pierce administration in the Senate, and he turned to Radical state's rights as

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[653] See Donald B. Cole, "Franklin Pierce Charged with Disloyalty: 1861-1862," *The New England Quarterly*, vol. 34, no. 3 (September 1961), 385-89.

[654] "S. J. Anderson to Jefferson Davis," Mayor's Office, New York City, August 30, 1864, *JDC*, 6:325. War Democrats had threatened Anderson "with a formal expulsion from the city of New York, on account of an article… published some weeks ago in the 'Metropolitan Record.'" Ibid., 5:325. He was, after all, close to the influential Connecticut Democrat Thomas H. Seymour, a congressman who became the governor of Connecticut in 1850 thanks to his Mexican War exploits under the command of the future pro-Davis C.S. governor of South Carolina Milledge L. Bonham. Seymour was the U.S. minister to Russia for the Pierce and Buchanan administrations. He failed to become governor again in 1860 and once more in '63. And he was defeated by McClellan's supporters at the 1864 Chicago convention. See William Frank Zornow, "McClellan and Seymour in the Chicago Convention of 1864," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, vol. 43, no. 4 (Winter 1950), 282-95.

[655] "Jefferson Davis to Franklin Pierce," Washington, D.C., January 20, 1861, *JDC*, 5:38.

a Peace Democrat after he was replaced by his Connecticut political enemy the Democratic defector Gideon Welles, an old Van Buren ally who had joined the Republican Party in 1854.[656]

Instead of supporting Democratic officials and officers like Toucey, Buchanan had punished them. Davis's friend and former commanding officer David Emanuel Twiggs, for instance, had asserted in 1835 that the future C.S. president was "so perfect a Soldier that he is ready for any duty."[657] His uncle the Georgia Democrat David Emanuel had become the Union's first Jewish governor in 1801, and he was himself a warm supporter of the Pierce administration.[658] Brigadier General Twiggs was also a War of 1812 and Mexican War veteran, but he surrendered the entire Department of Texas, which contained about one-fifth of the U.S. army's total soldiery, in early 1861 without firing a shot. And he became a Confederate major general shortly after President Buchanan accused him of treason in February 1861 and expelled him from the U.S. army.[659] His daughter Marion, after all, was engaged to Secretary of War Davis's old favorite the Jewish South Carolinian and Quartermaster General of the C.S. army Colonel Abraham C. Myers, whom Radical Confederates despised but cynically defended when his corrupt dealings in office came to light in 1862 and greatly embarrassed the C.S. president.[660]

Buchanan's unexpected attempts to hinder the C.S.A. were even worse instances of treason in Davis's view than John Adams's manifold but unsurprising efforts to emulate "the

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[656] See John E. Talmadge, "A Peace Movement in Civil War Connecticut," *The New England Quarterly*, vol. 37, no. 3 (September 1964), 306-21; Joanna D. Cowden, "The Politics of Dissent: Civil War Democrats in Connecticut," *The New England Quarterly*, vol. 56, no. 4 (December 1983), 538-54; and *PJD*, 6:61.
[657] "David E. Twiggs to Thomas S. Jesup," February 7, 1835, *PJD*, 1:355.
[658] See "From David E. Twiggs," December 28, 1853, *PJD*, 5:279.
[659] The aged Georgian, however, resigned as the Department of Louisiana's commander in October 1861 due to failing health. See Russell K. Brown, "An Old Woman with a Broomstick": General David E. Twiggs and the U.S. Surrender in Texas, 1861," *Military Affairs*, vol. 48, no. 2 (April 1984), 57-61. Davis liked Twiggs, but Twiggs actually harbored quiet resentments against Davis in the belief that he had been unfair to him as the Secretary of War. See "To William H. Emory," Washington, D.C., June 15, 1859, *PJD*, 6:255; and *PJD*, 6:256, 380.
[660] See *PJD*, 5:388. Radicals in the C.S. Senate initiated an official investigation into Davis's conduct after he ignored their attempt to annoy him by promoting Myers, whom Davis relieved of command in March 1863. See "Jefferson Davis to Col. A. C. Myers, Q. M. Genl., Richmond, Va.," Richmond, February 5, 1863, *JDC*, 5:430; and Davis, *Jefferson Davis: The Man and His Hour*, 537-38.

Britons," and so "Presdt. Buchanan has forfeited any claim which he may have had on our forbearance and support."[661] The C.S. president forgave him insofar as the "feeble" Pennsylvanian was motivated not so much by conviction as by an "increasing dread of northern excitement," for Republican papers were charging him with treason, Republican senators were threatening to impeach him, and Republican mobs were hanging him in effigy.[662] But that was still no excuse. His ambassador to Colombia the Iowa Democrat George W. Jones, after all, sent two sons into the C.S. army even though he had been recalled by Lincoln and imprisoned for a month upon returning home in July 1861 as a suspected traitor. Jones was a War of 1812 drummer-boy and a U.S. senator from 1849-59 who had been Davis's personal friend since his college years at Transylvania, where Davis was, according to Jones, "considered the best looking as he was the most intelligent and best loved student in the University."[663] Lieutenant Davis had supported his efforts to bring slaves and skilled French immigrants into the Michigan territory for lead mining purposes during the early 1830s. Jones, in turn, introduced Davis to Franklin Pierce in 1838.[664] And he went on to exceed the expectations of the Confederate president, who wrote to him in January 1861 declaring that "I know you will sympathize with us although you cannot act with us," and "that we shall never find you or yours in the ranks of our enemies."[665]

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[661] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the special message on affairs in South Carolina. Jan. 10, 1861," *JDC*, 5:6; and "Jefferson Davis to J. J. Pettus," Washington, D.C., January 4, 1861, *JDC*, 4:565. See "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the special message on affairs in South Carolina. Jan. 10, 1861," *JDC*, 5:3, 8, 13; "Jefferson Davis to Franklin Pierce," Washington, D.C., January 20, 1861, *JDC*, 5:38; and David M. Potter, *The Impending Crisis: America Before the Civil War, 1848-1861*, ed. Don E. Fehrenbacher (1976; reprint, New York: Harper Collins, 1977), 541.

[662] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the special message on affairs in South Carolina. Jan. 10, 1861," *JDC*, 5:2; and "Jefferson Davis to J. J. Pettus," *op. cit.*, 4:565.

[663] Quoted Cooper, Jr., *Jefferson Davis, American*, 26.

[664] Jones was therefore relieved to hear from his old classmate a year later that "[m]y health is better than when we parted, and I hope to visit Sinsinawa next summer looking something less pales and yellow than when you saw me last winter...." "Jefferson Davis to George W. Jones," West Warrenton, Mississippi, February 9, 1839, *JDC*, 1:4.

[665] "Jefferson Davis to George W. Jones," Washington, D.C., January 20, 1861, *JDC*, 5:39. Davis also remarked that he was "sorry to be separated from many true friends at the North, whose inability to secure an observance of the Constitution does not diminish our gratitude to them for the efforts they have made." Ibid., 5:39. See New York *Times*, December 12, 1861; John Carl Parish, *George Wallace Jones* (Iowa City: The State Historical Society of Iowa, 1912), 4-10, 30; and Allen, *Jefferson Davis, Unconquerable Heart*, 96-97.

Davis trusted that northern Democrats would emulate Jones *en masse* once their fears as to Republican wrath were dispelled by victorious C.S. armies sweeping into the North. Several of his 1861 speeches predicted that the Confederacy's "banner will float in triumph everywhere," whether at Philadelphia or even upon the banks of the Susquehanna.[666] And "in that belief," John B. Jones noted, "the people were well pleased with their President."[667] Yet it began to seem quite unlikely that C.S. armies would ever penetrate so far north by the second half of 1863, for while Davis expected that Democrats in Union-controlled areas of the upper South would augment invading C.S. armies, few such recruits actually joined those armies. He had assumed in 1861 that Marylanders would "come to us" by joining an invading C.S. army, particularly from locales "where our friends are to be found."[668] Yet when the Army of Northern Virginia entered Maryland in the summer of 1862, its commander regretfully informed him that while many Maryland Democrats had evinced "sympathy" for the C.S. cause, "I do not anticipate any general rising."[669] Davis was also happy to receive "a company from Wheeling" in March 1862, but his hope that Democratic western Virginians would flock to join incursive Confederates was dashed later that year.[670] And he had expected tens of thousands of Democrats to enlist when Kentucky was invaded in the autumn of 1862 by C.S. forces led by his friend and fellow Buena Vista veteran General Braxton Bragg, a North Carolina-born Louisianan whom he had told in August that "[r]evolutions develop the high qualities of the good and the great...."[671] Bragg, after

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[666] "The Journey of President Davis to Richmond," from the Richmond *Enquirer*, May 30, 1861, *JDC*, 5:104. See Davis, *An Honorable Defeat*, 175; and Cooper, Jr., *Jefferson Davis, American*, 328, 352-53. Also see "To John Forsyth," Richmond, July 18, 1862, in *Jefferson Davis: The Essential Writings*, 257.
[667] Entry for July 22, 1861, in *A Rebel War Clerk's Diary*, 36.
[668] "Jefferson Davis to Genl. J. E. Johnston, Manassas, Va.," Richmond, September 25, 1861, *JDC*, 5:136.
[669] Quoted in Beringer and Hattaway, *Jefferson Davis, Confederate President*, 177.
[670] "Jefferson Davis to Genl. J. E. Johnston, Centerville, Va.," Richmond, March 4, 1862, *JDC*, 5:210. See "Jefferson Davis to Genl. R. E. Lee," Richmond, September 28, 1862, *JDC*, 5:345.
[671] "Revolutions," Davis told Bragg before the invasion, "develop the high qualities of the good and the great...." "To General Braxton Bragg," Richmond, August 5, 1862, in *Jefferson Davis: The Essential Writings*, 259. See Steven E. Woodworth, "Davis, Bragg, and Confederate Command in the West," in *Jefferson Davis's Generals*, 71.

all, was a sterling Democrat. He had been a longstanding enemy of Winfield Scott within the U.S. army, and his older brother Thomas was the Democratic governor of North Carolina from 1855-59 as well as a Democratic U.S. senator from 1859-61 who the C.S. Attorney General upon his expulsion from the Senate. [672] Bragg, moreover, had welcomed the Irish Catholic priest Francis Coyle as a chaplain after Father Coyle had received permission from Davis, Mallory, and the Irish-born Bishop of Mobile John Quinlan to recruit two Irish Catholic companies and induct several Mobile Daughters of Charity as C.S. nurses.[673] And so while Davis was pleased at first to hear that "[i]n Kentucky we are getting recruits rapidly – 2300 had joined at last report," he would soon bitterly note that "[t]he expectation that the Kentuckians would rise en masse with the coming of a force which would enable them to do so… has been sadly disappointed…."[674]

Davis's hopes pertaining to the U.S. government's "impending doom" were therefore sustained primarily by the fact that many northern Democrats were coming to believe that he had been correct to assert that the Republicans would, if victorious, destroy white supremacy and equality among whites everywhere.[675] The C.S. president constantly urged such "true friends" in the northern Democracy as George W. Jones to make sure that their fellow Democrats fully understood that what had occurred in 1860 was "a transfer of the government into the hands of the abolitionists."[676] And that message began to resonate among northern Democrats as never before when Lincoln started raising black regiments, which both Confederates and northern Democrats often believed would be used not just against the C.S.A. but also, in the March 1863

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[672] "To General Braxton Bragg," Richmond, August 5, 1862, in *Jefferson Davis: The Essential Writings*, 259. See Rembert W. Patrick, *Jefferson Davis and His Cabinet* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1944), 298-302.
[673] See *A Frenchman, A Chaplain, and a Rebel*, 30, 58.
[674] "Jefferson Davis to Genl. R. E. Lee," Richmond, September 28, 1862, *JDC*, 5:346; and "Jefferson Davis to Major General T. H. Holmes," Richmond, October 21, 1862, *JDC*, 5:356. See Davis, *Jefferson Davis: The Man and His Hour*, 472.
[675] "Jefferson Davis to the People of the Confederate States," Richmond, April 10, 1863, *JDC*, 5:471.
[676] "Jefferson Davis to George W. Jones," Washington, D.C., January 20, 1861, *JDC*, 5:39.

words of one C.S. soldier, as "home garrisons" for the subjugation of all northern Democrats.[677] The war, Davis explained in 1864, was not a conflict between northern and southern nations but rather "two hostile federations" engaged in a continent-wide ideological struggle, and "[t]he end," he insisted, "must be the defeat of our enemy," which included anybody in any section who would support what he claimed was a Republican abolitionist crusade for racial equality.[678]

Many War Democrats became Peace Democrats after the Emancipation Proclamation, and quite a few Peace Democrats started to eschew Radical state's rights in favor of more blatant and even violent forms of resistance.[679] Between 75% and 90% of the military-age white males in Confederate states served in the C.S. army. The typical rate for Union states, in contrast, was about 35%.[680] Democrats were slightly underrepresented in the U.S. army at the war's outset, and their presence began to decrease markedly in the Preliminary Emancipation Proclamation's wake. As Robert Cummings of the 8th Pennsylvania Cavalry remarked from a hospital bed in late 1862, "I did not think when I enlisted that it was the cussed nigger that I was going to fight for instead of my country...."[681] 53% of the civilian citizenry voted for Lincoln in 1864, but 78% of the soldiers did so.[682] The principal postwar Union veterans' organization, moreover, was the Grand Army of the Republic, and it was a veritable branch of the Republican Party. Its most famous commander, after all, was the Republican U.S. senator for Illinois John A. Logan, who had been a Douglas Democrat congressman in the late 1850s but distanced himself from his Democratic compatriots as a major general serving under Ulysses S. Grant. He was the military

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[677] Quoted in Sheehan-Dean, *Why Confederates Fought*, 113.
[678] "Jefferson Davis to Messrs. A. R. Wright, Y. L. Guerry, J. M. Chambers, Thos. E. Lloyd, Fredk. H. West, R. B. Nesbit, Senators of Georgia," Richmond, November 17, 1864, *JDC*, 6:404; and "Speech of Jefferson Davis in Macon, Georgia," from the Richmond *Enquirer*, September 29, 1864, *JDC*, 6:342.
[679] See Thomas E. Rodgers, "Liberty, Will, and Violence: The Political Ideology of the Democrats of West-Central Indiana during the Civil War," *Indiana Magazine of History*, vol. 92, no. 2 (June 1996), 133-59.
[680] See Sheehan-Dean, *op. cit.*, 14.
[681] Quoted in Jordan, *Black Confederates and Afro-Yankees in Civil War Virginia*, 141.
[682] See James M. McPherson, *For Cause and Comrades* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 176.

governor of conquered Vicksburg and commanded the Grand Review of the U.S. army at Washington, D.C. in May 1865, shortly after which he formally joined the Republican Party.[683]

Many Democrats in the lower North, upper South, and Appalachia had believed that the C.S.A. was controlled by an aristocracy that would treat poor whites little better than black slaves, but they often came to think that the Republicans were the primary threat to white supremacy and equality among whites in the Emancipation Proclamation's wake as the influence of Douglas Democrats like Logan waned among them.[684] John S. Carlile, for instance, was a northwestern Virginia Democrat who hoped to phase both slavery and the black race out of Virginia. He championed enhanced representation for western Virginia and universal suffrage among white men in the 1850 constitutional convention, but he was so appalled to see wealthy Radical eastern slaveholders who had defected to the Whigs in the 1830s or '40s return to prominence in the Virginia Democracy that he was elected to Congress in 1855 as a Know-Nothing. Having supported the Constitutional Union Party in 1860 and called for northwestern Virginia to separate from Virginia when Virginia seceded from the Union, Carlile was elevated to the U.S. Senate and served in that capacity throughout the war. But he became a Peace Democrat when congressional Republicans abolished slavery in Washington, D.C. and stymied his efforts to keep any new enslaved or free blacks from entering western Virginia. Carlile even voted against West Virginia statehood upon concluding that the C.S. government had been right to warn that the Republicans were, as the Lynchburg *Daily Virginian* put it, bent on "Africanizing" northwestern Virginia.[685] Insisting as well that the Confederacy would never

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[683] See John N. Dickinson, "The Civil War Years of John Alexander Logan," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, vol. 56, no. 2 (Summer 1963), 212-32; and James Pickett Jones, *John A. Logan: Stalwart Republican from Illinois* (1983; reprint, Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2001).
[684] See Frank L. Klement, "Midwestern Opposition to Lincoln's Emancipation Policy," *The Journal of Negro History*, vol. 49, no. 3 (July 1964), 169-83.
[685] Lynchburg *Daily Virginian*, September 24, 1862.

enfranchise slaves even if it moved to "arm and emancipate them," he deplored the prospect of a Republican-dominated and hence racially-egalitarian Union with such vitriol that the Lincoln administration issued pre-emptive orders for his arrest in June 1864 as a likely C.S. convert.[686] He was, after all, encouraging Democrats to evade conscription or desert by asserting that Republicans wished to "exterminate the white race in the South and repeople it in order that there be no Union with slaveholders."[687] Such deserters were often willing to impart intelligence to the C.S. government, moreover, and they had become so common by 1864 that captured Republicans pretended at times to be deserters belonging to "the Peace party of the North West" in hopes of evading the harsh treatment generally meted out to Republican prisoners-of-war.[688]

New York City's Irish Catholic Democrats had been underrepresented in the U.S. army since 1861, and they also withdrew their support for the U.S. war effort in 1863. They did so thanks in part to the pointless decimation of the Irish Brigade in late 1862 at the Battle of Fredericksburg, a disaster which occurred thanks to the pro-Republican Rhode Island "Yankee" general Ambrose E. Burnside.[689] The Emancipation Proclamation, however, was even more important as a de-motivating factor, for the Catholic archbishop of New York City John Hughes had warned in 1861 that if the war became a crusade "for the abolition of slavery," Irish Catholic Democrats would "turn away in disgust from the discharge of what would otherwise be a

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[686] Quoted in Jordan, *Black Confederates and Afro-Yankees in Civil War Virginia*, 236.
[687] *The Wheeling Press*, August 21-22, 1862. See Jason Miller, "To Stop these Wolves' Forays: Provost Marshals, Desertion, the Draft, and Political Violence on the Central Illinois Home Front," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, vol. 105, no. 2-3 (Summer-Fall 2012), 202-24.
[688] "Jefferson Davis to Hon. Alexander H. Stephens, Vice-President," Richmond, January 6, 1865, *JDC*, 6:442. See "Robert E. Lee to Jefferson Davis," Hd. Qrs., August 12, 1864, *JDC*, 6:315. For Carlile's career, see Robert Orr Curry, *A House Divided: A Study of Statehood Politics and the Copperhead Movement in West Virginia* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1984), 10-11, 106-08, 139; and Snell, *West Virginia and the Civil War*, 57-58.
[689] See McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, 606-07; and Kevin Kenny, *The American Irish* (New York: Longmans, Green, and Co., 2000), 125.

patriotic duty."[690] And Father Gache had already noticed that they were becoming scarce in U.S. ranks by October 1862, relating as well that upon encountering one such wounded Union soldier, he told him that "I was a priest, and asked him if by chance he was a Catholic. 'Oh, yes, Father, I am,' he answered, pitifully attempting the sign of the cross, 'I'm Catholic and I'm a Democrat too.' – meaning that he wasn't an Abolitionist and had done nothing to merit Southern wrath."[691]

"[T]he great commercial emporium of our country," after all, was the principal stronghold of Davis's allies within the northern Democracy.[692] When the unofficial C.S. envoy John Forsyth failed to convince the U.S. government to hand over Fort Sumter, he therefore proceeded to New York City, where cotton-trading Democratic merchants sold him a hundred tons of artillery-grade powder, two thousand pistols, and a thousand rifles.[693] They used blockade runners to smuggle the supplies into the Confederacy, and quite a few of them also worked as spies for the C.S. government.[694] But they balked at the prospect of armed rebellion. The shipping merchant and Democratic mayor of New York City Fernando Wood, for instance, called for his city to secede and become a Confederate ally in 1861.[695] His name, after all, had been mentioned as a vice presidential running-mate for a Davis candidacy at the 1860 Charleston convention.[696] The resulting anger of New York Republicans and Douglas Democrats, however, induced him to re-invent himself as a War Democrat. He somewhat redeemed himself in Davis's

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[690] Quoted in Hennessey, *American Catholics*, 149. See "Louis-Hippolyte Gache to Father D. Yenni, S.J.," Camp Lee's Mill, November 22, 1861, in *A Frenchman, A Chaplain, and a Rebel*, 64; "Louis-Hippolyte Gache to André Cornette," Richmond, July 8, 1862, in ibid., 119-20; and Thomas T. McAvoy, "Orestes A. Brownson and Archbishop John Hughes in 1860," *The Review of Politics*, vol. 24, no. 1 (January 1962), 19-47.
[691] "Louis-Hippolyte Gache to André Cornette," Richmond, July 8, 1862, in *A Frenchman, A Chaplain, and a Rebel*, 119.
[692] "Speech of Jefferson Davis at the Crystal Palace Banquet in New York," from the Washington *Union*, July 20, 1853, *JDC*, 2:249.
[693] See Davis, *Jefferson Davis: The Man and His Hour*, 308.
[694] See "J. Fowlkes to Jefferson Davis," Memphis, Tennessee, September 29, 1861, *JDC*, 5:138; and Ludwell H. Johnson, "Commerce Between Northeastern Ports and the Confederacy, 1861-1865," *The Journal of American History*, vol. 54, no. 1 (June 1967), 30-42.
[695] See Tyler G. Anbinder, "Fernando Wood and New York City's Secession from the Union: A Political Reappraisal," *New York History*, vol. 68, no. 1 (January 1987), 66-92.
[696] See "H. M. Salomon to Jefferson Davis," Washington, D.C., April 27, 1860, *JDC*, 4:247.

eyes when he became a Peace Democrat congressman in 1863, but he was still disappointing in that role. As a Richmond paper explained in May 1863, "[a] 'Peace and Reunion' Convention is to meet ere long in the city of New York. The men who call this Convention, of whom Fernando Wood is the most prominent, denounce separation in the bitterest terms. If this be the feeling of the friends of peace at the North, we may form some estimate of the length of the war."[697]

The Irish Catholic Democrats of New York City, in contrast, were driven into rebellion by such Democratic editors as Wood's brother Benjamin, whose "national democratic paper the News" had been staffed thanks in part to Davis's recommendations and was denied access to the U.S. mail in 1861.[698] In response, Benjamin Wood declared that every Republican ought to receive "a coat of tar and feathers," and that northern Democrats should rise in rebellion "if abolition is to be the watchword."[699] Woods's *Daily News* was seconded by such other New York City Democratic papers as *La Crosse Democrat* and the *New York Freeman's Journal and Catholic Register*, the latter of which was edited by John McMaster. The son of a New York Presbyterian minister, he was inspired by the writings of John Henry Newman to convert to Catholicism.[700] Having been educated at a Belgian seminary, he returned home in 1848 and changed his name from "MacMaster" to appear more Irish. A champion of the Pierce administration who constantly accused Republicans of being anti-Catholic, McMaster was incarcerated in 1861 as a suspected traitor. Yet his newspaper lived on thanks to his friend John H. Van Evrie, an influential New York City "scientific" racialist who opposed every form of

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[697] Richmond *Southern Illustrated News*, May 30, 1863.
[698] "Jefferson Davis to Fernando Wood," Senate Chamber, January 16, 1860, *JDC*, 4:140.
[699] Benjamin Wood, *Fort Lafayette or, Love and Secession* (New York: Carleton, 1862), 32, 119. See Menahem Blondheim, *Copperhead Gore: Benjamin Wood's Fort Lafayette and Civil War America* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006).
[700] See Thomas T. McAvoy, "Public Schools vs. Catholic Schools and James McMaster," *The Review of Politics*, vol. 28, no. 1 (January 1966), 19-46; Frank L. Clement, "Catholics as Copperheads during the Civil War," *The Catholic Historical Review*, vol. 80, no. 1 (January 1994), 36-57; and Jennifer L. Weber, *Copperheads: The Rise and Fall of Lincoln's Opponents in the North* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 161.

inequality among whites. Defending slavery even as he asserted that better versions of white supremacy might be developed, he used an 1853 letter from Davis that lauded him for exposing the "fallacy" of racial equality to promote his work of that year *Negroes and Negro "Slavery*," which was re-issued in 1861 and '63.[701] Van Evrie backed Breckinridge in 1860, and he continued his efforts to "enlighten the people," "sav[e] the Dema party," and bring about "the victory over Abolitiondom" after the Democracy was "defeated worse than the Whigs of 1852" by urging New York City's Irish Catholic Democrats to rebel in both the *Freeman's Journal* and his own newspaper the *Day-Book*, which the U.S. government banned from the mail as well.[702]

Van Evrie hence claimed in his revised version of *Negroes and Negro "Slavery"* that "[a] party strongly imbued with the false theories and absurd assumptions of British writers and abolition societies, is in possession of the Federal Government…." Informing his readers that "the great British 'anti-slavery' imposture… is now working out its legitimate and designed purpose in the destruction of the American Union," he insisted that the Republicans were seeking to destroy slavery as a means to the end of imposing racial equality, for "[t]he whole mighty question… hinges on the apparently simple question of *fact* – is the negro, except in color, a man like ourselves, and therefore should be amalgamated in the same system?" Answering in the

[701] Davis also sought to secure Van Evrie a patronage position for having "labored to beat down fanaticism and treason by facts and philosophy." "To Robert McClelland," Washington, D.C., October 6, 1854, *PJD*, 5:85. Van Evrie, in turn, warned Davis that northeastern Republicans would likely attempt to bring about the upper North's secession in the event of a Democratic victory in the 1856 election. See "J. H. Van Evrie to Jefferson Davis," New York City, November 2, 1855, *JDC*, 2:546-47.

[702] "J. H. Van Evrie to Jefferson Davis," New York City, November 2, 1855, *JDC*, 2:546-47; and "J. H. Van Evrie to Jefferson Davis," Washington, D.C., June 7, 1858, *JDC*, 3:264. See George M. Frederickson, *The Black Image in the White Mind: The Debate on Afro-American Character and Destiny, 1817-1914* (New York: Harper & Row, 1971), 92-96; and *PJD*, 5:86. Davis had also described southern slavery as not so much the optimal form of white supremacy as a mere improvement upon a barbaric African custom in the *Day-Book*. See New York *Day-Book*, June 20, 1859.

negative, he openly called for "the universal uprising of the northern masses in favor of a government of WHITE MEN, and the 'Union as it was' with our white brethren of the South."[703]

Thanks in large part to Van Evrie's rhetoric, the first imposition of conscription in New York City touched off a massive riot there in July 1863. The predominantly Irish Catholic Democratic insurgents burned down vast amounts of Republican-owned property and drove out most of the city's black population, lynching a dozen or so blacks as they openly cheered for the Confederate president.[704] The Draft Riot was suppressed only when U.S. troops were brought back from the front and killed more than a hundred rioters. They did so, moreover, at the behest of Davis's old enemy the commander of the Department of the East General John E. Wool, whose reputation Van Evrie had endeavored to besmirch during the 1850s with the assistance of Nathaniel Stimson, a newspaperman who abandoned the Whigs after falling out with New York City's anti-Democratic, devoutly Protestant, and Massachusetts-born abolitionist businessman Arthur Tappan.[705] Davis and likeminded Confederates, however, thought that the riot would be the first of many such rebellions in the North. The C.S. soldier John Bagby hence observed that "[t]he news from New York of the terrible riot in that city in which the citizens resisted & put down the effort at conscription makes me hope that a great change is going on in the public sentiment of the north."[706] Even a few War Democrats, after all, had praised the rioters. Maria Lydig Daly, for instance, was married to the famous New York City judge, War Democrat, and

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[703] J. H. Van Evrie, M.D., *Negroes and Negro "Slavery:" The First an Inferior Race: The Latter its Normal Condition*, 3rd ed. (New York: Van Evrie, Horton & Co., 1863), v-vii.
[704] See Scott Reynolds Nelson and Carol Sheriff, *A People at War: Civilians and Soldiers in America's Civil War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 200. Also see James McCague, *The Second Rebellion: The New York City Draft Riots of 1863* (New York: The Dial Press, 1968); and E. M. Schorb, "Copperheads: The New York Draft Riots," *The American Scholar*, vol. 63, no. 1 (Winter 1994), 86-88.
[705] See "To Nathaniel Stimson," Washington, D.C., December 14, 1857, *PJD*, 6:165-66; and Samuel Rezneck, "The Civil War Role 1861-1863 of a Veteran New York Officer Major-General John E. Wool (1784-1869)," *New York History*, vol. 44, no. 3 (July, 1963), 237-57.
[706] Quoted in Sheehan-Dean, *Why Confederates Fought*, 128.

son of Irish immigrants Charles P. Daly, and she sneered that "I hope it will give the Negroes a lesson, for since the war commenced, they have been so insolent as to be unbearable."[707]

The C.S. president also believed that northern Democrats were bound to rebel due to the fact that they could not defeat the Republicans electorally. They had no choice but to rebel against the "perverted" U.S. government, he surmised, for if they failed to do so and the C.S.A. were confined to the slave states or even destroyed as a result, they would be continually defeated in all future northern elections by the Republicans, who truly had become "a sectional majority."[708] As the Mexican War veteran, Kentucky-born Alabama Democrat, pro-Davis Confederate congressman, and C.S. colonel Stephen F. Hale had informed his fellow Democrat the Transylvania alumnus and pro-Confederate governor of Kentucky Beriah Magoffin in late 1860, "the true men at the North" would be "utterly powerless" to thwart "the policy of the Republicans" electorally. Yet they might still defeat "British fanaticism" and save "religious liberty" alongside the other "great principles" which had been "baptized with the blood of the Revolution" if they were to fight rather than vote against "a party pledged for the destruction not only of their [*i.e.* slaveholders'] rights and their property, but the equality of States ordained by the Constitution, and the heaven-ordained superiority of the white over the black race."[709]

Democrats made gains in the 1862 mid-term elections, but the Republicans were still "a very decided majority" at both the federal and state levels as the 1864 election neared.[710] Van Evrie sought to foment yet more violence between parties by urging the Democracy to nominate

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[707] Entry for July 23, 1863, in Maria L. Daly, *Diary of a Union Lady, 1861-65*, ed. Harold Earl Hammond (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000), 251.
[708] "Inaugural Address," Richmond, February 22, 1862, *JDC*, 5:200. See "Jefferson Davis to George W. Jones," Washington, D.C., January 20, 1861, *JDC*, 5:39; and "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, November 18, 1861, *JDC*, 5:170.
[709] "Stephen F. Hale to Beriah Magoffin," Frankfort, December 27, 1860, in Dew, *Apostles of Disunion*, 99-101.
[710] "Jefferson Davis to Govr. Z. B. Vance, Raleigh, N.C.," Richmond, January 8, 1864, *JDC*, 6:146. See Bruce S. Allardice, "'Illinois is Rotten with Traitors!' The Republican Defeat in the 1862 State Election," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, vol. 104, no. 1/2, (Spring-Summer 2011), 97-114.

Davis as its candidate and call for the replacement of the U.S. Constitution by the C.S. version in its platform.[711] Most Peace Democrats, however, ignored him and forged a tenuous compromise with the War Democrats at the Chicago convention instead.[712] Having secured a vice presidential candidate in George H. Pendleton, who had represented Ohio as a congressman since 1857 and was married to Francis Scott Key's daughter Alice, together with a platform pledge to offer the C.S.A. an immediate armistice as a prelude for negotiations to restore the Union, they accepted McClellan for the presidency. The Young Napoleon rejected the platform insofar as he insisted upon destroying the C.S. government by force if necessary even though he had himself been removed from command in November 1862, soon after which an Irish-born sergeant in the 8th Ohio Infantry noted that "a very mutinous feeling" was "apparent everywhere" in the Army of the Potomac.[713] But he vowed to rescind the Emancipation Proclamation and extend the utmost leniency to all defeated Confederates. S. J. Anderson, in fact, even told the C.S. president that northern Democrats would like to nominate him in a future U.S. presidential election, for "[y]our gallantry in the field, your endurance under unparalleled difficulties, your manhood everywhere, have all determined them to cling to you to the last extremity." They "fully appreciate[d] the historical fact that Southern Statesmen and Southern policy moulded the character and guided the prosperity of the country prior to the election of Lincoln," after all, "and they pant and sigh for the restoration of that statesmanship and policy."[714]

Unfortunately for Anderson, Davis had emphasized from 1861 onward that while northern Democrats were welcome to join the Confederacy, Confederates could not be expected

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[711] See Thomas J. Pressly, *Americans Interpret Their Civil War* (1954; reprint, New York: The Free Press, 1962), 96.
[712] See Thomas S. Mach, *"Gentleman George" Hunt Pendleton: Party Politics and Ideological Identity in Nineteenth-Century America* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 2007).
[713] Thomas F. Galwey, *The Valiant Hours: Narrative of "Captain Brevet" and Irish Americans in the Army of the Potomac*, ed. W. S. Nye (Harrisburg: Stackpole Books, 1961), 53. See Charles R. Wilson, "McClellan's Changing Views on the Peace Plank of 1864," *The American Historical Review*, vol. 38, no. 3 (April 1933), 498-505.
[714] "S. J. Anderson to Jefferson Davis," Mayor's Office, New York, August 30, 1864, *JDC*, 6:325.

to return to a Democrat-controlled Union any more than the Patriots of ’76 would have submitted to a Parliament in which a conciliatory party had taken power.[715] But it still followed that an 1864 Democratic electoral victory would very much lower the stakes of the war, for even as he stressed that he had no intention of surrendering to a President McClellan, he acknowledged that a defeat at his former protégé’s hands would not lead to “subjugation” or “degradation” for Confederates.[716] And if northern Democrats truly did not wish to turn their states into members or satellites of the C.S.A., Confederates could at least live on terms of peace and even amity with a Democrat-ruled North once the C.S. army had “push[ed] the enemy back to the banks of the Ohio, and thus give[n] the peace party of the North an accretion no puny editorial can give.”[717]

At the same time, however, Davis regarded such outcomes as moot possibilities given that the Democracy had little chance to win the 1864 election. As he explained in early 1865, “the publication of Mr. McClellan’s letter avowing his purpose to force reunion by war if we declined reconstruction when offered” had been an empty controversy among northern Democrats, who had never had much prospect to offer either peace or “soft war” to the Confederacy.[718] Another wave of Democrats, after all, joined the Republicans when the Republican Party temporarily re-named itself the National Union Party to facilitate Democratic defections before the 1864 election. Most of the defectors were Douglas Democrats, but Davis

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[715] See “Jefferson Davis to Thos. A. R. Nelson, Esq.,” Richmond, Va., August 13, 1861, *JDC*, 5:122; “Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress,” Richmond, January 12, 1863, *JDC*, 5:411; and “Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress,” Richmond, December 7, 1863, *JDC*, 6:127.

[716] “Speech of Jefferson Davis at Montgomery,” from the Charleston *Daily Courier*, October 3, 1864, *JDC*, 6:347. See “Jefferson Davis to Genl. R. E. Lee, Comdg. &c., Genl. B. Bragg, Comdg. &c., Genl. E. K. Smith, Comdg. &c.,” [September 7, 1862], *JDC*, 5:339; and “To Robert E. Lee,” Richmond, July 31, 1862, in Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 2:543.

[717] “Speech of Jefferson Davis at Augusta,” from the Richmond *Dispatch*, October 10, 1864, *JDC*, 6:358. See “Speech of Jefferson Davis in Columbia,” from the Charleston *Daily Courier*, October 6, 1864, *JDC*, 6:356.

[718] “Jefferson Davis to Hon. Alexander H. Stephens, Vice-President,” Richmond, January 6, 1865, *JDC*, 6:444.

was shaken and frustrated to see some of his former northern allies bolt as well.[719] Lincoln had thus considered selecting Daniel S. Dickinson as his running-mate even though the old anti-Van Buren New York Democrat had been the "one Senator from a Northern State" to support Davis's 1850 efforts to let slavery into Utah and New Mexico.[720] Dickinson also endorsed Breckinridge in 1860, but he ended up in the National Union coalition as a War Democrat who announced in 1863 that he was "now in favor of emancipation, and of employing negro troops."[721] Lincoln, in turn, selected Dickinson to negotiate an amicable final settlement of the Hudson Bay and Puget Sound companies' unresolved compensation claims in 1864, but for his running mate he picked Senator Andrew Johnson, who had regarded Davis as a haughty would-be aristocrat ever since the Mississippian inadvertently insulted his erstwhile profession in 1846 by insisting that a tailor would never be able to lead a regiment as effectively as a West Point graduate.[722] Davis had apologized, but Johnson still did all he could as a National Union War Democrat to convince Tennesseans that the Confederacy was a planter oligarchy dedicated to inequality among whites.

Yet Davis was actually pleased on the whole to see Lincoln easily defeat McClellan, who received 45% of the vote. He feared that Radicals would be eager to surrender to McClellan rather than make further sacrifices of property and principle for the sake of the C.S. war effort.[723] More importantly, he and many other Confederates thought that the northern Democrats who had

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[719] Pennsylvania's John P. Heiss, for instance, edited the pro-Davis Washington *Union* from 1845-48 and the New Orleans *Delta* from 1851-55, which was so laudatory of Davis that it was often believed to be owned by him. He also performed various legal and illegal deeds for William Walker, but he opposed the Confederacy after gravitating toward Douglas. See "To John P. Heiss," Oakland, Maryland, September 8, 1859, *PJD*, 6:261-63; and *PJD*, 6:97. The Indiana Democratic U.S. senator Graham N. Fitch, moreover, nearly fought a duel with Douglas and endorsed Breckinridge in 1860, but he ended up commanding the 46th Indiana Infantry as a War Democrat. See *PJD*, 6:365.

[720] "Jefferson Davis to B. Pendleton and others," Brierfield, Mississippi, November 10, 1850, from the *Mississippi Free Trader*, November 30, 1850, *JDC*, 1:581.

[721] "Speech of Hon. Daniel S. Dickinson, A Life-Long Democrat, but One Loyal to his Flag and Country," in *A Savory Dish for Loyal Men* (Philadelphia: n.p., 1863), 11.

[722] See "Remarks on the Bill Making Alterations in the Pay Department of the Army – Second Exchange with Andrew Johnson," May 30, 1846, *PJD*, 2:630-634.

[723] See "Jefferson Davis to Govr. Z. B. Vance, Raleigh, N.C.," Richmond, January 8, 1864, *JDC*, 6:145-46; and "Jefferson Davis to Hon. Herschel V. Johnson, Sandy Grove, near Burton P.O., Georgia," Richmond, July 22, 1864, *JDC*, 6:338.

placed their hopes in the electoral process would now conclude that they had to resort to arms, for as the C.S. soldier Richard H. Dulaney explained in September 1864, Lincoln's re-election "will cause a revolution in the North West, while Maclellan, if elected, will be able to rally more men to the army than any other man can do."[724] S. J. Anderson, moreover, informed Davis that Peace Democrats had agreed to McClellan's candidacy precisely because violence was likely to flare no matter which party won the election. He doubted that the Republicans would relinquish control of the U.S. government if McClellan were "enthusiastically elected in defiance of force and fraud." Conversely, a Republican triumph would soon see Democrats who refused to join the National Union sent to "the gallows and the block!" Democratic "hatred for Lincoln and his administration" would then be so fervent "that, under such circumstances, *General* McClellan would be the better candidate to organize and lead *armed resistance*, if necessary." It was hence rather encouraging that the Young Napoleon "has ambition enough for Bonaparte," although "how much may be the measure of his capacity, you are a far better judge than I can be."[725]

To Davis's disappointment, however, no Democratic rising occurred after the 1864 election to rival the New York Draft Riot even though no less a personage than the North Carolina-born Mississippian Jacob Thompson had been attempting to incite full-scale rebellion among northern Democrats.[726] Thompson was Buchanan's Secretary of the Interior and a staunch Davis Democrat who asserted in an 1859 Raleigh speech that while he abhorred the idea of living in a racially egalitarian Union under the Republicans, he did not want North Carolina to

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[724] Quoted in Sheehan-Dean, *Why Confederates Fought*, 175-76.
[725] "S. J. Anderson to Jefferson Davis," Mayor's Office, New York, August 30, 1864, *JDC*, 6:324-26.
[726] See John W. Oliver, "Draft Riots in Wisconsin during the Civil War," *The Wisconsin Magazine of History*, vol. 2, no. 3 (March 1919), 334-37; Robert E. Sterling, "Civil War Draft Resistance in Illinois," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, vol. 64, no. 3 (Autumn 1971), 244-66; Arnold Shankman, "Draft Resistance in Civil War Pennsylvania," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. 101, no. 2 (April 1977), 190-204; Robert D. Sampson, "'Pretty Damned Warm Times': The 1864 Charleston Riot and 'The Inalienable Right of Revolution,'" *Illinois Historical Journal*, vol. 89, no. 2 (Summer 1996), 99-116; and Michael Kleen, "The Copperhead Threat in Illinois: Peace Democrats, Loyalty Leagues, and the Charleston Riot of 1864," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, vol. 105, no. 1 (Spring 2012), 69-92.

join a Radical southern polity that would re-open the African slave trade and vitiate democratic equality among whites either.[727] But when leading Radicals assured him in December 1860 that Democrats like Davis and himself would hold a preponderant share of power in a new Confederacy if they were to endorse secession, Thompson gave a secessionist speech in Baltimore, resigned as the Secretary of the Interior, and entered C.S. service as a lieutenant colonel who served as a staff officer for several prominent generals.[728] In April 1864, moreover, Davis tasked him with inciting Democratic uprisings in the North as a new C.S. secret service agent, ordering him to base his operations in the midst of the pro-C.S. French-Canadian Catholic population at Montreal, the bishop of which later "sent green chartreuse from his own stores" to comfort Davis at Fort Monroe and oversaw the education of his children, whom their mother sent to Montreal shortly after the Confederacy's demise to be educated by French-Canadian nuns.[729]

Thompson arrived there in May and orchestrated the raid on St. Albans, Vermont by escaped C.S. prisoners-of-war in October 1864 alongside the Lincoln kidnapping scheme, for John Wilkes Booth visited several C.S. agents over the course of a ten-day visit to Montreal that same month.[730] He attempted to incite Democratic rebellions in the northwestern states as well, but his efforts came to naught thanks in large part to the Ohio Peace Democrat leader Clement C. Vallandigham, an Ohio congressman from 1858 to 1863 who openly praised the Confederacy's commitment to religious toleration and other forms of equality among whites.[731] Yet

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[727] See "Jefferson Davis to J. Thompson," Senate Chamber, May 28, 1860, *JDC*, 4:371; and *PJD*, 6:525-26.
[728] See New York *Times*, December 20, 1860. For Thompson's career, see J. Harvey Mathes, *The Old Guard in Gray: Researches in the Annals of the Confederate Historical Association: Sketches of Memphis Veterans Who Upheld Her Standard in the War, and of Other Confederate Worthies* (Memphis: S. C. Toof & Co., 1897), 200-01.
[729] Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 2:775. See "Jefferson Davis to Hon. Jacob Thompson, Care of Govr. Chas. Clark, Macon, Mississippi," "Telegram," Richmond, April 7, 1864, *JDC*, 6:236; and "Varina Davis to Jefferson Davis," Montreal, December 14, 1865, in *Jefferson Davis: Private Letters*, 215.
[730] See Oscar A. Kinchen, *General Bennett H. Young: Confederate Raider and a Man of Many Adventures* (West Hanover, MA: Christopher Pub. House, 1981).
[731] See Bertram W. Korn, "Congressman Clement L. Vallandigham's Championship of the Jewish Chaplaincy in the Civil War," *American Jewish Historical Quarterly*, vol. 53, no. 2 (December 1963), 188-91.

Vallandigham also defined the goal of the northern Democracy to be the restoration of "the Union as it was" in a well-known May 1862 speech. The U.S. army arrested him in May 1863 all the same due to the fact that he had been reproving the Lincoln administration in the name of Radical state's rights, prompting George E. Pugh to demand a writ *habeas corpus* on his behalf.

The Lincoln administration rebuffed Pugh but expelled Vallandigham to the C.S.A. for fear that he was gaining support as a martyr. Davis, however, was frustrated by Vallandigham's unwillingness to call for rebellion against the U.S. government. He therefore ordered the arrest of the "Hon. C. L. Vallandigham as an alien enemy…."[732] Vallandigham won the Ohio Democracy's nomination for the 1863 gubernatorial election, but he had to run his campaign from Upper Canada as he was unwelcome in both the Union and Confederacy. He and his running mate Pugh were defeated, however, and he would disappoint the C.S. government yet again after Thompson traveled from Lower Canada to recruit him into the Sons of Liberty, within which he rose to the highest ranks. Accepting C.S. funds to "fan a flame which might sweep over the whole North-west," Vallandigham returned to Ohio in disguise and addressed the Democratic convention in Chicago, where Thompson planned to initiate an uprising by sending a hundred or so C.S. personnel from Québec to commandeer Great Lakes steamers and liberate Camp Douglas's prisoners-of-war for raids on Chicago Republican targets in conjunction with the Sons.[733] The U.S. army, however, foiled the plot, although the C.S. navy master John Y. Beall escaped on a captured steamer and would later be executed for trying to derail Union troop trains near Buffalo in February 1865.[734] And when several leading Sons were tried by a military

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[732] "Jefferson Davis to Genl. B. Bragg, Comdg. &c., Shelbyville, Tenn.," "Telegram," Richmond, June 2, 1863, *JDC*, 5:503. See Frank L. Klement, "Clement L. Vallandigham's Exile in the Confederacy, May 25-June 17, 1863," *The Journal of Southern History*, vol. 31, no. 2 (May 1965), 149-63.
[733] "From Jacob Thompson," Toronto, C.W., September 12, 1864, *PJD*, 11:25.
[734] See *Trial of John Y. Beall: As a Spy and Guerrillero, by Military Commission* (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1865); and *Memoir of John Yates Beall: His Life; Trial; Correspondence; Diary; and Private Manuscript Found Among His Papers, Including His Own Account of the Raid on Lake Erie* (Montreal: John Lovell, 1865).

commission for their roles in the scheme and other pro-C.S. activities in September 1864, Vallandigham testified against them. Pugh, for his part, served as a government witness, and he went on to lose his bid for election to Congress, which the Republicans held as well in 1864.[735]

Davis rejected Radical proposals to spread small pox or yellow fever in the large cities of the North as such plagues would probably kill far more lower-class Democrats than well-to-do Republicans, but he did encourage Thompson to touch off another Democratic insurrection in New York City. Thompson accordingly sent funds to James McMaster's Democratic circle for weapons purchases, and he also dispatched an eight-man "Army of Manhattan" in November 1864 to burn such prominent Republican-owned targets as the luxurious St. Nicholas Hotel with a "greek fire" concoction developed by a Cincinnati chemist.[736] Even though the saboteurs set off twenty or so fires on the day of the 1864 election, a Democratic uprising failed to materialize, although several thousand U.S. soldiers were once more diverted to New York City just in case.[737] The Army of Manhattan next sought to organize an armed group of Democrats who were to seize City Hall and proclaim New York City's accession to the C.S.A. on Evacuation Day, which commemorated the British withdrawal from New York during the American Revolution. The plot fizzled, however, and the C.S. operatives fled back to Québec, although one of them, Robert C. Kennedy, was later arrested *en route* to Richmond and executed in March

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[735] See Frank L. Clement, *The Limits of Dissent: Clement L. Vallandigham and the Civil War* (Bronx, NY: Fordham University Press, 1998). Also see Stephen E. Towne, "Worse than Vallandigham: Governor Oliver P. Morton, Lambdin P. Milligan, and the Military Arrest and Trial of Indiana State Senator Alexander J. Douglas during the Civil War," *Indiana Magazine of History*, vol. 106, no. 1 (March 2010), 1-39.

[736] See Ernest A. McKay, *The Civil War and New York City* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1990), 287-90; and Cooper, Jr., *Jefferson Davis, American*, 498. Also see Clint Johnson, *A Vast and Fiendish Plot: The Confederate Attack on New York City* (New York: Citadel Press Books, 2010).

[737] See Edward G. Longacre, "The Union Army Occupation of New York City, November 1864," *New York History*, vol. 65, no. 2 (April 1984), 133-58.

1865. Kennedy was a Louisianan of Irish descent, a West Point drop-out, and a captured C.S. army captain, but he had managed to escape in October 1864 and make his way to Montreal.[738]

The failure of northern Democrats to rebel against the U.S. government in 1864 was a devastating blow for Davis, who had already begun to occasionally lash out at them in frustration a year earlier, as when he complained in January 1863 that "the States heretofore regarded as conservative" in the North had, for the most part, fought thus far as "allies" rather than enemies of "the Abolitionists." And so he warned with reference to Republican "atrocities" that northern Democrats could not "be held wholly guiltless while permitting their continuance without an effort at repression."[739] Yet if it was disheartening for Davis to realize by early 1865 that northern Democrats had mostly resolved to shun the C.S. cause for the sake of the Democracy's long-term viability in the North, it was even more discouraging for him to see that many Democrats in Union-controlled areas of the upper South still believed that the Confederacy was opposed to equality among whites.[740] The Emancipation Proclamation had re-kindled his hope that invading C.S. armies would be greeted as liberators in states such as Kentucky or Missouri. "[A] gentleman entirely trustworthy from New York," after all, told him in April 1863 that an entire U.S. army corps had been "despatched Westward in night trains since Sunday 22d March" because "a great crisis is expected in Kentucky."[741] And he remarked in July 1863 with regard to

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[738] See New York *Times*, February 28, 1865; O. Edward Cunningham, "'In Violation of the Laws of War': The Execution of Robert Cobb Kennedy," *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association*, vol. 18, no. 2 (Spring 1977), 189-201; and Nat Brandt, *The Man Who Tried To Burn New York* (1986; reprint, Lincoln, NE: Excel Press, 1999).

[739] "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, January 12, 1863, *JDC*, 5:409; and "An Address to the People of the Free States by the President of the Southern Confederacy," Richmond, January 3, 1863, in Jordan, *Black Confederates and Afro-Yankees in Civil War Virginia*, 319.

[740] See Joel H. Silbey, *A Respectable Minority: The Democratic Party in the Civil War Era, 1860-1868* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1978); Mark E. Neely, Jr., *The Union Divided: Party Conflict in the Civil War North* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002); and Thomas E. Rodgers, "Copperheads or a Respectable Minority: Current Approaches to the Study of Civil War-Era Democrats," *Indiana Magazine of History*, vol. 109, no. 2 (June 2013), 114-46.

[741] "Jefferson Davis to Genl. R. E. Lee, Commanding &c. and Genl. J. E. Johnston," "Telegram," Richmond, April 1, 1863, *JDC*, 5:463-64.

the Missourians in C.S. service that "[t]heir patriotism will be remembered. I hope others will emulate their heroism and follow their example."[742] Davis maintained well into 1864 that "it is in the power of the men of the Confederacy to plant our banners on the banks of the Ohio…," for large-scale C.S. forays into upper South areas under Union control would, he predicted, allow the C.S.A. "probably to obtain a large accession of recruits."[743] As he notified the C.S. Congress in November 1864, "Arkansas has been recovered with the exception of a few fortified posts, while our forces have penetrated into central Missouri, affording to our oppressed brethren in that State an opportunity, of which many have availed themselves, of striking for liberation from the tyranny to which they have been subjected."[744] Yet all such lingering hopes on his part were dashed by early 1865, compounding his gloom and bitterness *vis-à-vis* the northern Democracy.

After all, John L. O'Sullivan himself had urged Davis to abandon all hope of the C.S.A. winning independence, let alone taking the lower North. He instead advised him in September 1864 to agree to a convention of states that "*could* elaborate a new system which with complete sectional autonomy and substantial independence will equal a true compact of federation."[745] O'Sullivan, for his part, had coined the term "Manifest Destiny" in an 1845 article blasting Whigs for being subservient to "our old rival and enemy" Britain, which was trying to thwart "the fulfillment of our manifest destiny to overspread the continent" with assistance from Louis Philippe's "France, strangely coupled with her against us, under the influence of the Anglicism

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[742] "Jefferson Davis to Genl. J. C. Pemberton, Enterprize, Missi.," "Telegram," Richmond, July 20, 1863, *JDC*, 5:571.
[743] "Speech of Jefferson Davis in Columbia," from the Charleston *Daily Courier*, October 6, 1864, *JDC*, 6:355; and "Jefferson Davis to Maj. Genl. D. H. Maury, Mobile, Ala.," "Telegram," Richmond, September 2, 1864, *JDC*, 6:330. See "Jefferson Davis to Lt. Genl. T. H. Holmes, Trans-Missi. Dept.," Richmond, February 26, 1863, *JDC*, 5:440-41; "Jefferson Davis to Genl. R. E. Lee, Comdg. &c. near Fredericksburg, Va.," Richmond, May 31, 1863, *JDC*, 5:502; "Jefferson Davis to Lt. General L. Polk, Meridian, Missi.," "Telegram," Richmond, January 26, 1864, *JDC*, 6:163; "Jefferson Davis to Lt. General James Longstreet, Greenville, Tenn.," Richmond, March 7, 1864, *JDC*, 6:200; and "W. N. Pendleton to Jefferson Davis," Dalton, Georgia, April 16, 1864, *JDC*, 6:228.
[744] "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, November 7, 1864, *JDC*, 6:385.
[745] "From John L. O'Sullivan," September 21, 1864, *PJD*, 11:58.

strongly tinging the policy of her present prime minister, Guizot."[746] He also put the Secretary of War Davis in touch with the New York City camel expert Edward Magauran in 1854, hailing him as well for promoting trans-continental railroads and other internal improvements of military value while serving as the ambassador to Portugal for the Pierce and Buchanan administrations.[747] O'Sullivan was living abroad in 1861 and offered his pen to the C.S.A. as a propagandist, in which capacity he claimed that southern secession would never have happened if the North had only listened to "CALHOUN," who was "one of the most devoted friends of the Union under the Constitution."[748] And he requested Confederate citizenship to reward his "active, useful, & zealous" service, for "[w]here else am I," he asked Davis, "to find any thing left of all that constituted the reasons for my Americanism or patriotism?"[749] Yet even he would come to claim that the C.S.A. would do better to abandon an increasingly hopeless war effort and focus instead on helping northern Democrats salvage as much as possible of the Union as it was. Davis, however, intoned from his Fort Monroe cell that the feckless, foolish, and traitorous northern Democracy had doomed white supremacy and equality among whites in not just the South but also the North by failing to join his Confederate American Revolution, and so "[t]he war between labor and capital gives cause for gravest apprehensions. The colossal wealth of the few grows in geometrical proportions, while the toiling millions plod on their weary way."[750]

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[746] John L. O'Sullivan, "Annexation," *United States Magazine and Democratic Review*, vol. 17, no.1 (July-August 1845), 7.
[747] See *PJD*, 5:254, 327.
[748] Quoted in Robert Sampson, *John L. O'Sullivan and His Times* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 2003), 230. See ibid., 230-31. Also see Julius W. Pratt, "The Origin of 'Manifest Destiny,'" *The American Historical Review*, vol. 32, no. 4 (July 1927), 795-98.
[749] "From John L. O'Sullivan," September 21, 1864, *PJD*, 11:58; and quoted in Chaffin, *Fatal Glory*, 9.
[750] Quoted in Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 2:894. Secretary of War Davis had sought to purge Whig officers, but "rank Whigs" in the U.S. navy took advantage of Secretary of the Navy Dobbin's initiative to make aging or surfeit officers retire to remove men of the Democratic "creed." "From William M. Armstong," Norfolk, September 25, 1856, *PJD*, 6:49. Philadelphia's James Stokes Biddle was one such officer. He was also the Shamokin & Pottstown Railroad's president and an "extreme" Democrat who openly sympathized with the C.S.A. but stopped short of overtly resisting the U.S. war effort. He ran unsuccessfully for mayor in 1871. See *PJD*, 6:49.

Chapter 5
The Faith of Pro-Davis Confederates in French Intervention

"Would heaven only send us a Napoleon!"[1]

Joseph Davis, Jr., 1861

When Jefferson Davis praised Confederate Virginians in the wake of the Emancipation Proclamation for fighting and winning battles near "where some of the fiercest battles of the Revolution were fought" and noted that it was "upon your soil [that] it closed with the surrender of Cornwallis," he reminded his audience that France and the new American nation had been "allies in war."[2] Davis was confident that Napoleon III's France would play a similar role in the Confederacy's new American Revolution for white supremacy and equality among whites due to economic reasons such as French investment in Virginia's massive James River and Kanawha canal project. Emotional and ideological factors, however, would, he thought, prove even more decisive, and he raised Francophone Creole Confederates alongside pro-Confederate resident French citizens to prominence in hopes of cultivating French sympathy. He also believed that Napoleon III's France would naturally want to help protect white supremacy in the C.S.A. from the ostensibly British-backed forces of pro-racial equality abolitionism in the Americas, which belief was strengthened by the fact that over 40,000 French soldiers invaded Mexico in 1861 and restored white rule there by toppling Benito Juárez's mestizo-led government. He hence instructed Confederate agents in Europe to stress that the C.S.A. was committed not so much to slavery *per se* as to white supremacy by any means necessary. Napoleon III, he thought, would surely see that an emerging French-led world order of free trade, equality among whites, and imperial white supremacy would be grievously set back if the British Empire and its proxies in

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[1] Quoted in entry for July 19, 1861, *Mary Chesnut's Civil War*, 103. Joseph Davis, Jr. was President Davis's nephew as well as a C.S. marine.

[2] "Speech of Jefferson Davis in Richmond," from Richmond *Enquirer*, January 7, 1863, *JDC*, 5:391; and "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, January 12, 1863, *JDC*, 5:398.

the Americas were to re-affirm Britain's old principles of "non-effective" blockades and abolitionism by destroying the Confederacy. The adherents of the Left and Right on both sides of the Atlantic, after all, detested Bonapartist France and the C.S.A. alike, and they were flocking to the U.S. army from Europe, Britain, and British North America even as the French Zouaves were shattering the pro-British Cruzob in Mexico and heading north to Texas and the Confederate border. Davis therefore told C.S. propagandists and diplomats to depict the Confederacy as a would-be ally of Napoleon III's government that embraced Catholic and ethnic whites as an essentially "Latin" American nation, an ally which could wage Napoleonic warfare in its own right and would be delighted to place "Anglo-Saxon" textile factories on both sides of the Atlantic at the mercy of a Confederate-French-Egyptian global cotton monopoly. And the C.S. president even evoked Thomas Jeffersons's Monticello by placing a bust of Napoleon I in his Richmond office, confidently expecting recognition and support from Napoleon III's France.[3]

All this appalled Radical Confederates, who were increasingly alarmed by what the C.S.A. was becoming under the Davis administration and began to liken the Confederate president to Napoleon III as a tyrannical military dictator. As for his wife, "[t]hese men call Mrs. Davis the Empress – Eugénie, &c &c – and do not like her."[4] One such Radical was the South Carolina governor Francis W. Pickens, although he was a relatively moderate example as he had not flirted with the Whigs, remaining a Democrat throughout the antebellum in contrast to most southern Radicals. Pickens was related to Calhoun, but he was committed to Radical state's rights and hoped to bring about southern secession rather than using it as a means to the end of changing northern behavior.[5] They did share an aversion for Van Buren, support for whom

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[3] See Fox-Genovese and Genovese, *The Mind of the Master Class*, 693.
[4] Entry for June 29, 1861, in *Mary Chesnut's Civil War*, 85.
[5] For Pickens's life and career, see John Boyd Edmunds, *Francis W. Pickens: A Political Biography* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1967).

among Virginia Democrats induced Calhoun to inform Pickens in 1835 that the ascension "of the base, corrupt, profligate & low minded regency at Albany, but proves what progress has already been made towards our subjugation."[6] Pickens, however, denounced Calhoun's stance on state government-built infrastructure and would even differ from his relative at times just to irk him.[7]

Governor Pickens was pleased when Davis finally called for secession in early 1861 "at whatever hazard."[8] In return, he accepted the "formation of a new union" as opposed to a loose alliance or separate state independence, "rejoic[ing] that South Carolina has proposed the constitution of the United States as a basis for a new government for the Southern States...." He also endorsed Davis for the C.S. presidency, asserting that due to his knowledge of "the highest and most scientific branches of modern warfare," the seceding states ought to "elect immediately a Commander-in-Chief for the States.... I think you are the proper man to be selected at this juncture, and I hope it will be done unanimously...."[9] Relations between the two, however, soon began to break down, for Pickens began reminding "commander General" Davis of the "honor and rights of South Carolina" in the name of Radical state's rights.[10] He offended him as well by suggesting troop movements for South Carolina's benefit without being "fully informed" as to the big picture, prompting the C.S. president to brusquely inform him that "[y]our proposition can not be accepted."[11] Pickens, moreover, held that the paramount purpose of the C.S.A. was to protect "our peculiar form of civilization." Aspiring to "consolidate the slave holding race in one government," he did not want to bring white supremacist northerners who regarded slavery as a necessary evil into the Confederacy even though he had been President Buchanan's minister to

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[6] "To F[rancis] W. Pickens, [Representative from S.C.], Edgefield, S.C.," Fort Hill, 19th May 1835, *PJCC*, 12:534.
[7] See *PJCC*, 23:xv-xvi.
[8] "Jefferson Davis to F. W. Pickens," Washington, D.C., January 13, 1861, *JDC*, 5:37.
[9] "F. W. Pickens to Jefferson Davis," January 23, 1861, *JDC*, 5:45-46. See "Jefferson Davis to F. W. Pickens," *op. cit.*, 5:36; and "Jefferson Davis to F. W. Pickens," Washington, D.C., January 20, 1861, *JDC*, 5:40.
[10] "F. W. Pickens to Jefferson Davis," February 27, 1861, *JDC*, 5:58.
[11] "Jefferson Davis to Govr. F. W. Pickens, Columbia, S.C.," "Telegram," Richmond, November 1, 1862, *JDC*, 5:362.

Russia.[12] He was outraged as a result when Davis put the Pennsylvanian John C. Pemberton in charge of South Carolina's defense, inducing Davis to avow that "[m]y own confidence… in Genl. Pemberton is such that I would be satisfied to have him in any position requiring the presence of an able General."[13] And while Pickens wanted the upper South states to secede, he was even willing for them to remain outside the Confederacy, informing Davis with reference to seizing Fort Monroe that "I would prefer Virginia and Maryland to do it, than to involve our Confederate Government in it yet, unless we are called on by Virginia and Maryland."[14]

Refusing to accede to C.S. martial law in South Carolina, Pickens eventually forced Davis to impose it without the state government's assent.[15] Pickens, moreover, was willing to accept conscription if it were carried out by the states, but the institution of direct, French-style C.S. conscription induced him to flout the Davis administration by granting individual exemptions.[16] In response, Davis asserted that Confederate conscription was constitutional because the C.S. Constitution had "delegate[d] to Congress the power to declare war and raise armies," reminding Pickens that states could only nullify unconstitutional national legislation like protective tariffs: "On a memorable occasion in the history of South Carolina the State authorities nullified an act of Congress because of unconstitutionality, but on no occasion did any portion of her citizens ever maintain the right of that State to modify an order of the General Government." "In other words," then, "the assertion of such a right on the part of a State is

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[12] "F. W. Pickens to Jefferson Davis," April 16, 1861, *JDC*, 5:63. See "F. W. Pickens to Jefferson Davis," March 17, 1861, *JDC*, 5:60.
[13] "Jefferson Davis to Govr. F. W. Pickens, Columbia, S.C.," Executive Office, Richmond, August 16, 1862, *JDC*, 5:320. See "Jefferson Davis to Govr. F. W. Pickens, Columbia, S.C.," Richmond, August 5, 1862, *JDC*, 5:311.
[14] "F. W. Pickens to Jefferson Davis," April 16, 1861, *JDC*, 5:63.
[15] See "Jefferson Davis to Govr. Pickens of S.C., Columbia, S.C.," Richmond, April 30, 1862, *JDC*, 5:237; and "Jefferson Davis to Govr. F. W. Pickens, Columbia, S.C.," Richmond, August 5, 1862, *JDC*, 5:311.
[16] See Beringer and Hattaway, *Jefferson Davis, Confederate President*, 162.

tantamount to a denial of the right of the Confederate Government to enforce the exercise of any delegated power and would render a Confederacy an impracticable form of Government."[17]

Pickens's belief that the British aristocracy would support C.S. slaveholders as fellow Cavaliers beholden to King Cotton also exacerbated his differences with Davis, whom he notified in April 1861 that "Mr. Bunch, the British Consul," had told him that Britain was eager to recognize a pro-British Confederacy.[18] And he warned Davis at the same time that "the sagacious and ambitious Emperor of the French" had designs on Louisiana and the Gulf South as a whole, asserting that southerners had no reason whatsoever to trust Napoleon III because "Louisiana was sold to us by Napoleon [I] under peculiar circumstances and for a small song, for if he had not sold, the British Navy would have taken it in six weeks.... It was under these circumstances ceded to the United States of America."[19] Fortunately for Davis, Pickens was replaced as governor in late 1862 by the Mexican War veteran, Davis Democrat, and Confederate brigadier general Milledge L. Bonham, who convinced the South Carolina legislature to pledge its support for the C.S. government's policies and received the following praise from Davis in late 1863: "It is most gratifying to me to receive this expression of its commendation of my official conduct…. I am cheered by this approval and patriotic resolution… of a people determined to uphold the hands of the Chief Magistrate in the hour of trial…."[20]

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[17] "Jefferson Davis to the Governor and Executive Council of So. Ca.," Executive Office, Richmond, September 3, 1862, *JDC*, 5:335-36. Davis would therefore "'countervail' or countermand" Pickens's exemptions if necessary. Asserting that "the publication of orders exhibiting a direct conflict between the Confederate and State Executives" would have a "deplorable effect upon public opinion" and "greatly embarrass the conduct of the war," he was confident that Pickens's exemptions would be "held erroneous by the Courts." "The right thus asserted," after all, "is to my mind so devoid of foundation, that I hesitate in attributing to you the intention of maintaining it, and still entertain the hope that I may have misapprehended your meaning." Ibid., 5:335-36.

[18] "F. W. Pickens to Jefferson Davis," April 16, 1861, *JDC*, 5:62.

[19] "F. W. Pickens to Jefferson Davis," January 23, 1861, *JDC*, 5:46.

[20] "Jefferson Davis to Govr. M. L. Bonham, Columbia, S.C.," Richmond, December 16, 1863, *JDC*, 6:131. For the amiable relations between Davis and Bonham, see "Jefferson Davis to Govr. M. L. Bonham, Columbia, S.C.," Richmond, March 31, 1864, *JDC*, 6:215; entry for October 7, 1864, in *Mary Chesnut's Civil War*, 650-51; and "Jefferson Davis to General James Chesnut, Columbia, S.C.," "Telegram," Richmond, October 31, 1864, *JDC*, 6:367-68. Bonham's successor Andrew G. McGrath, moreover, was usually amenable to the Davis administration,

Economic Incentives for a French Intervention on Behalf of Davis's Confederacy

In contrast to Pickens, Davis was banking on the fact that France had significant assets in the C.S.A. that the U.S. government was jeopardizing. France had imported three-fourths of its tobacco from the South in 1860, and the Confederacy was holding nine thousand hogsheads of French-purchased tobacco in trust at several large Richmond warehouses from 1861 onward.[21] Purchased by the French firm Huller before and after Virginia's secession, the tobacco damaged France's relations with the U.S. until the fall of Confederate Virginia, for Huller's agent M. Luel and the pro-C.S. French consul at Richmond Alfred Paul continually but fruitlessly importuned the U.S. government to allow French ships through the Union's blockade of the Confederacy to collect the tobacco.[22] The Union finally allowed the French to collect what remained of their tobacco after it captured Richmond, but that hardly made up for the fact that U.S. cavalry raids had all but destroyed the French-owned Kanawha canal, which was one of the ambitious canal projects that Napoleon III thought would confer decisive naval and commercial advantages unto France as against Britain. The Virginia Board of Public Works took over the faltering James River and Kanawha canal project in 1820, continuing construction *via* a state-supported canal company.[23] Irish and German immigrants as well as hired-out slaves made slow but steady progress on the canal, but in 1859 Governor John Letcher sold the company and 300,000 acres of canal-route land to a French-Belgian consortium on condition that France would invest 100

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and the C.S. president thanked him for "the assurances of support to my Administration." "Jefferson Davis to Governor A. G. Magrath, Columbia, S.C.," Richmond, January 4, 1865, *JDC*, 6:437. President Pierce, after all, had nominated Magrath to the U.S. District Court for South Carolina. See John B. Edmunds, Jr., "South Carolina," in *The Confederate Governors*, ed. Wilfred Buck Yearns (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1985), 162-85.

[21] See *PJD*, 10:133.

[22] See Warren F. Spencer, "French Tobacco in Richmond during the Civil War," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. 71, no. 2 (April 1963), 185-202.

[23] Jefferson's and Madison's friend the Pennsylvania Quaker Isaac Briggs played an important role in the initial canal construction, and he wrote to Calhoun in relation to slavery as follows: "The morality of the question has been so often handled that it has become perfectly trite – on this point, I have not the smallest doubt, we think alike. We, in common with all good citizens, lament the existence, in our otherwise happy land, of the slavery of one degraded Class of human beings…." At the same time, however, Briggs allowed that slavery rather than white rule *per se* was the "*one* stain on our national character." "From Isaac Briggs," Wilmington, Del. 12th mo 19th. 1816, *PJCC*, 1:371.

million francs to widen the canal and extend it to Cincinnati.[24] The French, in turn, hoped that the canal would re-direct U.S. mineral and agricultural exports away from Britain toward France.

A canal enthusiast like Napoleon III, Secretary of War Davis had justified federal canal-building as a military necessity, dispatching U.S. army engineers to improve the Appomattox River in conjunction with the city of Petersburg and survey a canal route across the Isthmus of Darien near Philadelphia.[25] His friend the U.S. ambassador to France Charles J. Faulkner, moreover, played a key role in brokering the James River and Kanawha canal deal, which was completed in March 1861 when the Virginia legislature sold its last shares to "Bellot Minieries, Freres et Cie," the Franco-Belgian president of which was investing in the Norfolk and Saint-Nazaire Navigation Company by the late 1850s thanks to A. Dudley Mann of Pierce administration fame.[26] Ernest Bellot des Minières was also close to Napoleon III and the leading French banks, improving westerm France's port facilities, and a C.S. sympathizer hoping to fund the Southern Pacific Railroad Company. And so he wrote a pro-Confederate propaganda piece in 1861 warning that the French Kanawha canal would be doomed if the C.S.A. were defeated.[27]

George Wythe Randolph had also helped to convince des Minières to invest in the James River and Kanawha canal. A grandson of Thomas Jefferson, Randolph was born at Monticello, served as a U.S. navy midshipman, and became a prominent pro-Pierce Richmond Democratic lawyer. He established the Richmond Mechanics' Institute; yearned to industrialize Virginia; hoped to gradually remove the institution of slavery and the black race alike from the South; and

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[24] See Thomas Harding Ellis and Ernest Bellot des Minières, *Correspondence of the President of the James River and Kanawha Company, with an Association of French Capitalists: Who Propose to Complete the Canal and Water Line Improvement, from Buchanan to the Ohio River*, vol. 63 (Richmond: Dispatch Job Office, 1860).
[25] See "To Henry Dodge," August 13, 1856, *PJD*, 6:493-94; and *PJD*, 6:537.
[26] See Francis Balace, *La Belgique et la guerre de secession, 1861-1865* (Paris: Librairie Droz, 1979), 75.
[27] See Ernest Bellot des Minières, *La question américaine: suive d'un appendice sur le cotton, le tabac et le commerce general des anciens étas-unis*, 2nd ed. (Paris: Dentu, 1861).

formed the famous Richmond Howitzers in response to John Brown's Harpers Ferry raid.[28] Perturbed as well by the Prince of Wales's U.S. tour, Randolph became a C.S. brigadier general in February 1862 after serving as a Confederate emissary to the Union. Davis soon made him his Secretary of War, in which capacity he annoyed Radical Confederates by letting Father Michael O'Keefe become the chaplain of an entire brigade, for Randolph was a Catholic-friendly "high church" Episcopalian.[29] Radicals, however, were even more incensed by the fact that Randolph based C.S. conscription policies on Napoleon III's example, implementing the Bonapartist ideal that every citizen ought to serve in the military whether as a volunteer or as a conscript.[30] Yet he inadvertently angered the C.S. president as well, ironically doing so by following Davis's own headstrong example. He refused to be Davis's "chief clerk," issued orders without consulting him, and resigned in November when Davis chastised him as follows: "The appointment of commissioned officers is a constitutional function which I have neither power nor will to delegate…."[31] Having come down with tuberculosis, Randolph made his way to southern France in 1864 to recover his health and negotiate Confederate arms contracts with French firms. And he convinced the C.S. capital's military authorities to incarcerate the suspected U.S. spy Mary

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[28] For Randolph's biographical details, see George Shackelford, *George Wythe Randolph and the Confederate Elite* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1988).

[29] See *A Frenchman, A Chaplain, and A Rebel*, 77. Father Gache, however, exaggerated when he claimed with reference to "General Randolph, the former Secretary of War," that "several of his relatives have been converted." "Louis-Hippolyte Gache to Philip de Carrière," Lynchburg General Hospital, May 19, 1863, in ibid., 180.

[30] See Napoleon III, *Napoleonic Ideas*, 83-84.

[31] Quoted in Thomas, *The Confederate Nation*, 191; and "Jefferson Davis to Hon. G. W. Randolph, Secretary of War," Richmond, November 14, 1862, *JDC*, 5:372. Davis also wrote to Randolph in August "suggesting to you the propriety of accepting the opinion although your judgment may not be entirely convinced." "Jefferson Davis to Hon. G. W. Randolph, Sec. of War," Richmond, August 9, 1862, *JDC*, 5:316. Also see "Jefferson Davis to Hon. G. W. Randolph, Secretary of War," Richmond, November 12, 1862, *JDC*, 5:369; "Jefferson Davis to Hon. G. W. Randolph, Secretary of War," Richmond, November 14, 1862, *JDC*, 5:371; "Jefferson Davis to Hon. G. W. Randolph," Richmond, November 15, 1862, *JDC*, 5:374; Archer Jones, "Some Aspects of George W. Randolph's Service as Confederate Secretary of War," *The Journal of Southern History*, vol. 26, no. 3 (August 1960), 299-314; Steven E. Woodworth, *Jefferson Davis and His Generals: The Failure of Confederate Command in the West* (Lawrence: Kansas University Press, 1990), 179-80; and Rable, *The Confederate Republic*, 170-71.

Caroline Allen in the Sisters of Charity's St. Francis Sale convent before he departed.[32] Her husband, after all, had been a leading Richmond Whig whose father was a Scottish immigrant.[33]

The Davis administration spent vast sums defending and repairing the Kanawha canal not only because it was militarily useful but also to win French goodwill by protecting French property. On July 1, 1862, for instance, the C.S. War Department placed the following ad in several Virginia newspapers: "THE PROMPT REPAIR OF THE injury done to the James River and Kanawha Canal by the late freshet being a matter of great public importance, the Government of the Confederate States wishes to employ 500 HANDS to work upon the Canal near Lynchburg, for which the highest prices will be paid in cash."[34] The Union, however, posed an even greater threat, and the Confederates were unable to stop a March 1865 U.S. cavalry raid which destroyed locks, bridges, and workshops along eighty-nine miles of the canal, and which swept up scores of defecting slaves and conscripted free black laborers.[35] The C.S. government commenced repairs but soon wholly lost control of the canal, at which point Napoleon III's ambassador to the U.S. unsuccessfully demanded compensation. The new state of West Virginia and the reconstructed government of Virginia soon abrogated the French canal contract, but President Grant's desire to complete the canal as a U.S. internal improvement was thwarted by the fact that railroads were, as Claudius Crozet predicted, rendering inland canals obsolete.[36]

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[32] Allan was accused of revealing C.S. troop movements and the identities of pro-C.S. northerners in letters to her Ohio relatives. Randolph, for his part, actually helped Allan insofar as a Richmond prison was the alternative. See the Richmond *Whig*, March 3, 1864; and Varon, *Southern Lady, Yankee Spy*, 105.
[33] See Atlanta *Southern Confederacy*, July 23, 1863.
[34] Quoted in Martinez, "The Slave Market in Civil War Virginia," in *Crucible of the Civil War*, 112.
[35] See Jordan, *Black Confederates and Afro-Yankees in Civil War Virginia*, 54, 75.
[36] See William Seymour Edwards, *Coals and Cokes of Western Virginia: A Hand-book on the Coals and Cokes of the Great Kanawha, New River, Flat Top, and Adjacent Coal Districts in West Virginia* (Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co., 1892), 127; Wayland Fuller Dunaway, *History of the James River and Kanawha Company* (PhD dissertation; New York: Columbia University, 1922), 440-42; Lonn, *Foreigners in the Confederacy*, 2; Virginius Dabney, *Richmond: The Story of a City* (1976; reprint, Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1992), 117; and Balace, *La Belgique et la Guerre de Sécession*, 75-76.

Ernest Bellot des Minières also predicted that a French-Confederate alliance predicated upon an exclusive free trade treaty would dominate the global cotton market. France, after all, had become one of the world's leading cotton producers thanks to its Egyptian client state, and "[d]ans sa sollicitude pour tout ce qui touché aux interest de la France, l'Empereur n'a rien épargné pour encourager ou plutôt créer la culture du cotton dans l'Afrique française." France and the Confederacy would, he hoped, be able to extort the cotton-starved Anglo-Protestants of Britain and the North. Yet if the U.S. defeated the Confederates, "l'habitant blanc du Sud" would either be expelled or exterminated, and an overwhelmingly black South would supply the Anglo-Protestant abolitionist powers with limitless cotton as an obedient agricultural colony.[37]

Charles Frédéric Girard made similar claims. Born in France to peasant parents, Girard became a pupil of the famous Swiss scientist and pro-white supremacy racial theorist Louis Agassiz. Accompanying his mentor to the U.S. when Agassiz joined Harvard in 1846, Girard became an ichthyology expert and attained a position in 1850 at the Smithsonian, which federal institution he helped place at the service of Secretary of War Davis, who had already vitiated the original Smithsonian mission to foster Anglo-American friendship and pursue non-military science. Having collaborated with the War Department to produce such works as the 1852 *Report on the Reptiles in Marcy and McClellan's Exploration of the Red River in Louisiana*, Girard left the Smithsonian in 1856 to become a professor at Georgetown, from which Catholic university he had earned a medical degree. He became a U.S. citizen too and continued his efforts to fuse American civilian science with the U.S. army by contributing to the War Department's 1859 *Reports of Explorations and Surveys to Ascertain the Most Practical and*

[37] Minières, *La question américaine*, 39, 36. See ibid., 44.

Economical Route for a Railroad from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean.[38] After Girard received the Institut de France's Couvier Prize in 1861, he was commissioned by the C.S. government to acquire French war *matériel*. He partnered with the New Orleans French immigrant physician and inventor Dr. Jean Alexandre François LeMat to that end, manufacturing over ten thousand innovative LeMat pistols in Paris for the Confederacy at the Girard-LeMat factory during the war. Girard worked as a Confederate *propagandeur* from 1861 onward as well, writing dozens of pro-C.S. articles in the pro-Bonaparte Paris *Pays*, which had a daily circulation of more than 100,000 copies. He also published an 1864 account of his 1863 trip to the Confederacy titled *Les États Confédéres D'Amérique Visités en 1863: Memoire Adressé á S. M. Napoléon III*. Recounting that his old friend President Davis had given him a "frank and cordial welcome" at the C.S. capital, he claimed that "I often revisited the President during my stay in Richmond, and I have the most vivid memory of each of our conversations."[39] He thus assured his readers that Davis had guaranteed that French intervention would see "France... gain special commercial advantages, which would be awarded her by the Confederate States for a more or less extended period of time and to the exclusion of all the other nations of Europe."[40]

C.S. cotton reached France *via* French blockade runners in the Gulf of Mexico, where France's naval and shipping activity was concentrated after Napoleon III's Zouaves invaded Mexico in 1861. The French blockade runners delivered arms and helped alleviate the Confederacy's severe salt shortage. As Davis noted in 1862 with regard to a French blockade

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[38] For Girard's biographical details, see W. Stanley Hoole, "Introduction," in Girard, *A Visit to the Confederate States of America in 1863*, 9-36. Girard sent zoological specimens to the Smithsonian until his death in 1895.

[39] Girard, *op. cit.*, 48, 49. "Thanks to the kindness of President Jefferson Davis," Girard also noted, "I was permitted to inspect the Army of Northern Virginia," as well as several vital Confederate factories and military installations. Ibid., 76.

[40] Ibid., 93. Girard's friend Dr. Cornelius Boyle, moreover, was son to the Chief Clerk of the Navy Department and a descendant of exiled Irish Catholics who had fought in 1798 against Britain. He was a Maryland physician and local Democratic politician in Washington, D.C. who campaigned for Breckinridge in 1860 and became the Provost Marshal of the Army of Northern Virginia. See ibid., 79; and Watson Boyle, "John Boyle, United Irishman, and his American Descendants," *The Journal of the American Irish Historical Society*, vol. 18 (1919), 226-27.

runner, "cotton might be exchanged with the Frenchman for salt, the cotton to be sent to Mobile or kept within our limits," expounding that such trade "would not violate Confederate laws, as the port proposed is not in possession of the enemy, nor the voyage to France by way of any port held by the enemy."[41] The French blockade runners, moreover, rarely insisted upon payment in specie even though the C.S.A. was hardly in a position to drive a hard bargain. Instead, they actually assuaged the Confederacy's specie deficiency by paying for C.S. cotton with not just salt but also gold "Napoleons," which coins were made legal tender by the Confederate Congress.[42]

The Mexican port of Matamoros, however, became a far more important *entrepôt* for French-Confederate trade than any port within the Confederacy. Indeed, the French geologist M. J. Raymond Thomassy hoped to bring skilled French salt workers into the C.S.A. not by running the U.S. blockade along the C.S. Gulf coast but rather *via* Matamoros, which was just across the Rio Grande's mouth from the Texas town of Brownsville. He had been conducting a scientific survey of the Mississippi Delta on the eve of the war, and he was roving across the Confederacy teaching state government officials methods by which to extract salt from seawater on behalf of the Confederate War Department when his untimely death in 1863 ruined his Matamoros plans.[43]

Matamoros would never have become a crucial link between France and the Confederacy if the French had not invaded Mexico, for the new president of Mexico Benito Juárez was an anti-clerical mestizo who opposed both slavery and white supremacy. France had displaced Britain as Mexico's primary creditor during the 1850s, and Juárez refused to pay the old Mexican government's debts upon coming to power. In response, the French emperor convinced

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[41] "Jefferson Davis to Govr. J. J. Pettus, Jackson, Miss.," "Telegram," Richmond, probable date October 17, 1862, *JDC*, 5:354; and "Jefferson Davis to Govr. J. J. Pettus, Jackson, Miss.," "Telegram," Richmond, November 6, 1862, *JDC*, 5:365.
[42] See Beringer and Hattaway, *Jefferson Davis, Confederate President*, 86.
[43] See R. Thomassy, *Géologie pratique de la Louisiane* (New Orleans: Chez l'auteur, 1860; and Paris: Chez Lacroix et Baudry, Librairie scientifique, industrielle et agricole, 1860); and Lonn, *Foreigners in the Confederacy*, 90-91.

Britain and Spain to join a punitive French expedition to punish Juárez by taking over Mexican custom houses in October 1861. About 7,500 French troops and 700 British soldiers soon landed in Vera Cruz, where they were joined by 6,000 Spaniards. Napoleon III promised Britain that the expedition would only extract debt payments, not conquer territory or overthrow the Mexican government. An indignant British government therefore withdrew its troops when it became clear that France's true goal was to conquer Mexico, for which purpose the French invasion force was augmented to 40,000 troops. Under the command of the Battle of Solferino hero Élie Frédéric Forey, the French took Mexico City in June 1863. Juárez retreated to northern Mexico, where his forces began to wage guerilla warfare against the French and their Mexican allies.[44]

France imposed an "effective" blockade on the Mexican coast so that weapons from the U.S. or Britain would not reach pro-Juárez forces, but the French navy still allowed merchant vessels to enter Matamoros. One Confederate general was hence pleased to confirm in June 1863 that the "French blockading fleet will not interfere with any goods or contraband of war intended for our Government," and the C.S. president himself observed in December that, thanks to the French invasion of Mexico, the Confederacy could "confidently expect… a large development of the commerce already existing to the mutual advantage of the two countries."[45] Blockading U.S. warships off Brownsville could only watch in helpless frustration as private vessels owned by Europeans or northern Democrats delivered Confederate-bound war *matériel* at Matamoros in exchange for Texas cotton which was delivered to Matamoros by means of the Egyptian camels that Secretary of War Davis had imported to fight Indians in the southwest. As the Brownsville *Flag* explained in September 1863, Napoleon III was "unwilling to do anything prejudicial to the Confederates," and so he "declines to close the port of Matamoros so long as

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[44] See Jones, *Blue and Gray Diplomacy*, 285-320.

[45] "John Bankhead Magruder to Brigadier-General [William R.] Boggs," Houston, June 23, 1863, *OR*, series I, 26/2:91; and "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, December 7, 1863, *JDC*, 6:107.

we may have use for it."[46] Davis's camels hauled such war supplies as medicine, ammunition, salt, and tens of thousands of rifles back to Brownsville. Indeed, the French-Confederate trade at Matamoros became so extensive and profitable that the combined populations of Matamoros and its close neighbor Bagdad would increase by more than twenty thousand inhabitants by 1865.[47]

Matamoros, in fact, was so vital to the C.S.A. that Brownsville was the site of the Confederacy's last stand. Southwestern non-white Hispanics of Indian descent were almost always hostile to the C.S.A. as Juárez sympathizers, but Texas's white Catholic Hispanic "Tejanos" formed a state militia company known as the Jeff Davis Home Guards and an entire regiment led by Colonel Santos Benavides.[48] The C.S. Tejano soldiers usually served near the Mexican border to counter raids launched from Mexico by pro-Juárez forces, whom they had already fought during the late 1850s in the so-called Cortina wars, which were had little to do with the institution of slavery but were very much about white supremacy and equality among whites. Juan Nepomuceno Cortina had been a wealthy Tejano rancher whose family owned extensive lands on both sides of the Rio Grande near Brownsville and Matamoros. He fought against the Union during the Mexican War, but he made his peace with the U.S. thanks to the equality-among-whites rhetoric espoused by the Democracy, of which he became an ardent supporter. Yet when the Texan Davis Democrats failed to help him during his many nasty property disputes with land-hungry Radical planters, who often insulted him and other Catholic

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[46] Brownsville *Flag*, September 18, 1863.

[47] See James W. Daddysman, *The Matamoros Trade: Confederate Commerce, Diplomacy, and Intrigue* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1984), 97; and Richard Zelade, *Lone Star Travel Guide to the Texas Hill Country*, 6th ed. (Lanham, MD: Taylor Trade Publishing, 2011), 289. Also see Kathryn Abbey Hanna, "The Roles of the South in the French Intervention in Mexico," *Journal of Southern History*, vol. 20, no. 1 (February 1954), 3–21; Robert W. Delaney, "Matamoros, Port for Texas during the Civil War," *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, vol. 58, no. 4 (April 1955), 473-87; James Irby, *Backdoor at Bagdad: The Civil War on the Rio Grande* (El Paso: Texas Western Press, 1977); and Judith F. Gentry, "Confederates and Cotton in East Texas," *East Texas Historical Journal*, vol. 48, no. 1 (Winter 2010), 20-39.

[48] See "A. Buchel to Maj. Samuel Boyer Davis," Fort Brown, December, 18, 1861, *OR*, series II, 2:1408; and Lonn, *Foreigners in the Confederacy*, 127.

Tejanos by treating them like non-white Hispanic Mexicans, Cortina quietly aligned himself with Juárez and took over Brownsville in September 1859 with a company-sized force of mestizo ranch hands to exact vengeance. He was driven out of the town, however, by the U.S. army, Captain John S. Ford's Texas Rangers, Benavides's "Brownsville Tigers" militia company, and the Indianola Volunteers of Augustus Carl Buchel, a German Catholic immigrant of French ancestry who had been educated at the Paris École Militaire of Paris, served alongside Davis as a staff officer for Zachary Taylor during the Mexican War, and fought as a volunteer French army captain during the Crimean War. As the 1st C.S. Texas Cavalry's colonel, moreover, Buchel would have to constantly assure his fellow Confederates that he was no German '48er but rather a naturally pro-C.S. French Bonapartist even though he had dropped an umlaut from his surname upon moving to Texas, where he became, thanks to President Pierce, the port collector at Port Lavaca. And to the chagrin of congressional Radicals, he would be elevated to brigadier general by Davis in 1864, although he would perish in April at the Battle of Pleasant Hill in Louisiana.[49]

Having fled to Mexico in early 1860 after losing dozens of soldiers in battle, Cortina pledged to support Juárez and proved his worth as a guerilla leader fighting the forces of Napoleon III.[50] Yet when he invaded Texas's Zapata County in May 1861, he was once again repulsed by Benavides and Ford, the latter of whom was a doctor, lawyer, politician, editor of the Austin *Texas Democrat*, Mexican War veteran, famed Indian fighter, and Texas militia officer. An ardent pro-Davis Confederate, Ford impressed cotton from wealthy Radical planters, conscripting their sons under martial law too. He also proved to be an effective C.S. field commander. The Confederates left Brownsville exposed by abandoning Fort Brown in

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[49] See *Eulogy Delivered by Lieut. Gov. F. S. Stockdale at the Capitol, in Austin, on the 10th May, 1865, at the Obsequies of the Late Col. August Buchel* (Austin, TX: Brown and Foster, 1865).

[50] See J. Fred Rippy, "Border Troubles Along the Rio Grande, 1848-1860," *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, vol. 23, no. 2 (October 1919), 91-111; and Jerry D. Thompson, *Cortina: Defending the Mexican Name in Texas* (2008; reprint, College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 2013).

November 1863 when a large U.S. amphibious invasion force approached. Union cavalry raids were soon dispatched from occupied Brownsville against re-routed C.S. camel caravans coming up from Matamoros, but they were thwarted by Colonels Benavides and Ford. Among the U.S. raiders, incidentally, were the German '48ers of the 1st (U.S.) Texas Cavalry, which Benavides defeated at the March 1864 Battle of Laredo. With its raids having been rendered both costly and ineffective, the Union opted to withdraw from Fort Brown, which was re-taken in July 1864 by Ford, who promptly returned what remained of a brick stockpile owned by Brownsville's Immaculate Conception Catholic Church. (U.S. soldiers had confiscated the bricks to re-build Fort Brown, which the evacuating Confederates had previously damaged alongside Brownsville itself by igniting all of the cotton bales and munitions they could not carry). And Colonel Ford would go on to fight the very last battle of the Civil War on May 13, 1865, when he and Benavides routed three U.S. regiments approaching Fort Brown at the Battle of Palmito Ranch.[51]

In addition to direct French investment in the C.S.A. and burgeoning French-Confederate trade, France had a vested interest in Confederate success thanks to the so-called Erlanger Loan. Fréderic Emile d'Erlanger was a Jewish convert to Catholicism who ran one of Europe's foremost banks. He was also a friend of Baron Salomon de Rothschild, who was son to the president of the Paris branch of the Rothschild banking house. Rothschild was touring the South in 1861 and made his pro-C.S. sympathies clear from New Orleans, fueling false but widely-believed rumors that he had extended a $5 million loan to the Confederacy on generous terms.[52] Deriding the Republicans as abolitionist fanatics dedicated to racial equality and Anglo-Protestant domination, he asserted that "New Orleans is a very French city.... In all my travels

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[51] See John Salmon Ford, *RIP Ford's Texas: Personal Narratives of the West*, ed. Stephen B. Oates (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1987); Stephen B. Oates, "John S. 'Rip' Ford: Prudent Cavalryman, C.S.A.," *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, vol. 64, no. 3 (January 1961), 289-314; and Phillip Thomas Tucker, *The Final Fury: Palmito Ranch, the Last Battle of the Civil War* (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 2001).
[52] See Montgomery *Daily Post*, May 2, 1861.

thus far I have found nothing that is so much like Paris...."[53] Yet it was Erlanger who came through in the end with money for the C.S. cause. A friend and creditor of Napoleon III, he was also a Confederate sympathizer who, with the emperor's tacit approval, lent the C.S.A. $15 million in October 1862 on very generous terms. The Confederates netted $8.5 million because they could pay the loan entirely in cotton and defer delivery until the U.S. blockade had been lifted.[54] Erlanger and France by extension lost a great deal of money when the C.S.A. fell, but he did not hold a grudge against his father-in-law the former C.S. ambassador to France John Slidell, for he had married one of "[t]hose sweet little Slidell girls…. [T]hey all speak French."[55]

Slidell, for his part, was born into a New York City mercantile family but moved to New Orleans. Marrying into a prominent French Catholic Creole family, Slidell mastered the *Code Napoléon* as a lawyer and quickly ascended the Louisiana Democracy's ranks. He was elected to Congress in 1843, and President Polk sent him to Mexico in 1845 as a minister plenipotentiary to threaten war unless the Mexicans recognized the border of Texas as extending to the Rio Grande and sold California to the Union. Rebuffed, Slidell advised Polk to instigate a war and was subsequently sent to the U.S. Senate in 1853. A strong supporter of the Pierce administration whose sister Jane married Commodore Matthew C. Perry and named a son John Slidell Perry, Slidell befriended Secretary of War Davis through his political lieutenant Emile La Sére, who fled from the San Domingue slave revolt as a child and went on to serve Louisiana as a three-term Democratic congressman, in which capacity he roomed with his friend Senator Davis in

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[53] Quoted in Mahin, *The Blessed Place of Freedom*, 97. See *A Casual View of America: The Home Letters of Salomon de Rothschild, 1859-1861*, ed. Sigmund Diamond (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1961).

[54] See Judith Fenner Gentry, "A Confederate Success in Europe: The Erlanger Loan," *The Journal of Southern History*, vol. 36, no. 2 (May 1970), 157-88.

[55] Entry for August 29, 1861, in *Mary Chesnut's Civil War*, 173. Erlanger, moreover, was unconvinced by the "unfounded" efforts of Robert J. Walker to convince Europeans as a Lincoln administration agent that Davis had endorsed Mississippi debt repudiation in the 1840s. Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 1:186.

1848.[56] After helping Davis remove Douglas from the Committee on Territories chairmanship in 1859, Slidell strove to bring about Pierce's nomination at the 1860 Democratic convention as well.[57] Arriving at Paris in February 1862, he was happy to inform Davis that Napoleon III had told him that his "sympathies had always been with the South," and that the emperor "considered the reestablishment of the Union impossible and final separation a mere question of time."[58]

Davis Administration Appeals to France along Emotive and Ideological Lines

Napoleon III granted several unofficial audiences to Slidell in which the C.S. ambassador pointed "out the advantages which would result to France of a cordial and close alliance between the countries." But Slidell also stressed that a French-Confederate alliance would be predicated not so much upon "mere paper bonds" or "mutual interests" as upon "common sympathies."[59] It was not difficult for the Davis administration to make the French emperor aware of, in the words of Patrick J. Kelly, "the white South's widespread admiration for France's Second Empire," for pro-French feelings were rife throughout the Confederacy.[60] Indeed, the "Dixie" nickname for

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[56] See "To John Slidell," "(Copy)," Washington, D.C., April 10, 1853, *PJD*, 5:7; Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 1:52; A. L. Diket, "Slidell's Right Hand: Emile La Sere," *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association*, vol. 4, no. 3 (Summer 1963), 177-205; *PJD*, 1:53; *PJD*, 2:637; and *PJD*, 3:392. Davis and Slidell cooperated in 1854 to secure a terminus for the Mexican Gulf Railroad at Proctor's Landing, Louisiana. See *PJD*, 5:322. At Davis's behest, moreover, Slidell led an unsuccessful 1854 congressional campaign to repeal or at least suspend the U.S. neutrality laws hampering Democratic filibusters. See Robert E. May, *Manifest Destiny's Underworld: Filibustering in Antebellum America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), 166. They also partnered to secure funding for War Department surveys of the Mississippi Delta, as well as for better navigation infrastructure and coastal fortifications in Louisiana. See *PJD*, 6:422-23, 458. Slidell, too, presented a letter from Davis on the eve of the 1860 Charleston convention announcing that the Mississippian would not run for president and that the delegates should nominate Pierce instead. See *PJD*, 6:277. Also see Louis Martin Sears, "A Confederate Diplomat at the Court of Napoleon III," *The American Historical Review*, vol. 26, no. 2 (January 1921), 255-81; Joseph G. Tregle, Jr., "The Political Apprenticeship of John Slidell," *The Journal of Southern History*, vol. 26, no. 1 (February 1960), 57-70; and A. L. Diket, *Senator John Slidell and the Community he Represented in Washington, 1853-1861* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1982).

[57] See "Address to the National Democracy," May [7], 1860, *PJD*, 6:294. Also see *PJD* 6:277, 341.

[58] "Enclosure Memorandum," Paris, 25 July, 1862, in *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion*, 30 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1894-1922), series II, 3:482 (hereinafter cited as *ORN*).

[59] "Memorandum of an Interview of Mr. Slidell with the Emperor at St. Cloud on Tuesday, October 28, 1862," *ORN*, series II, 3:577.

[60] Patrick J. Kelly, "The North American Crisis of the 1860s," *Journal of the Civil War Era*, vol. 2, no. 2 (September 2012), 348.

the South was derived from ten-dollar notes issued by antebellum New Orleans banks.[61] The Marseillaise, moreover, rivalled the new song "Dixie" as an unofficial Confederate anthem, for most Confederates did not know that Napoleon III had actually replaced that song as the French national anthem with a hymn glorifying the crusades called "Partant pour la Syrie." The C.S. soldier Randolph H. McKim hence recalled that he and his fellow students at Thomas Jefferson's University of Virginia would follow "D'Alphonse, the stalwart professor of gymnastics, leading his numerous pupils in singing the 'Marseillaise,' or 'Les Girondins,'" on the eve of the war, bellowing "Par la voix du cannon d'alarme, / La France appelle ses enfants, / Allons, dit le soldat, aux armes, / C'est ma mère, je la defends / Mourir pour la patrie, / Mourir pour la patrie, / C'est le sort le plus beau / Le plus digne d'envie!"[62] Confederates sang the Marseillaise in the original French or with C.S. lyrical variations to associate the French Revolution with both the American Revolution and Confederate cause as conjoint struggles for *liberté*, *égalité*, and *fraternité* among whites.[63] A French steamboat calliope player with a "huge moustache" *à la* Napoleon III thus played both "Dixie" ("*Dixie! Aire nationale! pas bonne chose!*") and the Marseillaise ("*Voila le Marseillaise!* Zat make hymn national for you!") whenever he was asked to play the C.S. national anthem.[64] When Flora Adams Darling left Mobile to return to her New Hampshire family after her C.S. officer husband Edwin I. Darling died in 1863, moreover, her friends bade her farewell at Mobile's Battle House hotel by singing the Marseillaise: "there, in

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[61] See Jack Weatherford, *The History of Money* (New York: Three Rivers Press, 1997), 172; and Coleman Hutchison, *Apples and Ashes: Literature, Nationalism, and the Confederate States of America* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2012), 147.

[62] Randolph H. McKim, *A Soldier's Recollections: Leaves from the Diary of a Young Confederate* (New York: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1910), 7.

[63] Confederates also wore blue or red secession cockades to that effect. As one reporter expounded, "[n]ot content with wearing the blue cockade themselves, the people put them up on wagons, carriages, riding horses, etc. At one place where I stopped, all the negroes had them on. You may safely put Mississippi down as dead out for secession." Memphis *Daily Appeal*, December 9, 1860. On November 15, 1860, moreover, the Baton Rouge *Daily Advocate* noticed the "blue cockades worn on the shoulders of nearly all the ladies who appeared in public."

[64] See De Leon, *Four Years in Rebel Capitals*, 44.

Italian, French, and English, the battle-cry was taken up, with an ardor that must have reached Heaven, for it came from the hearts of men and women who knew the import of the soul-stirring words that have led so many on to 'victory or death.'"[65] And when a Confederate company of French Creoles from Mobile in the "Napoleon detachment" of Stuart's Horse Artillery fought a crucial delaying action against a massive Union bombardment and charge with their Napoleon guns at the Battle of Fredericksburg, they famously did so while belting out the Marseillaise.[66]

French immigrants in the Confederate army often "fought with verve, with dash, and could rise to heights of exalted patriotism."[67] They frequently ended up as beloved talismans for C.S. regiments. M. Chillon, for instance, was an aging French veteran living in California. He was so determined to fight for the Confederacy on behalf of Louisiana's French Creoles that he traveled across the southwestern deserts in 1861 with only his pack mule Jason. He and Jason became favorites of the 3rd Louisiana Infantry.[68] Nashville's William Aimison, moreover, was a French immigrant whose father fought for Napoleon I. Enlisting as a private in the 44th Tennessee Infantry, he rose to the rank of lieutenant and famously survived the Union's massive subterranean mine at the Battle of the Crater even though he was buried alive, and he kept fighting for the C.S.A. until Appomattox.[69] The French immigrant Sergeant Britsche also won the hearts of the 26th Louisiana Infantry when his colonel conferred the regimental colors upon him, for the new color-bearer swore with tears streaming to carry the flag through thick and thin:

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[65] Flora Adams Darling, *Mrs. Darlings' Letters: or, Memories of the Civil War* (New York: John W. Lovell Co., 1884), 151. Darling was arrested upon arriving in the North as a traitor and suspected spy. She sued the U.S. government after the war, seeking restitution for false imprisonment and property confiscation in a decades-long case. She also helped found the Daughters of the American Revolution and the United States Daughters of 1812.
[66] See John Esten Cooke, *Wearing of the Gray: Being Personal Portraits, Scenes and Adventures of the War* (1867; reprint, Bedford, MA: Applewood Books, 2008), 138. Also see Lonn, *Foreigners in the Confederacy*, 98, 457.
[67] Lonn, *op. cit.*, 453.
[68] See ibid., 196.
[69] Aimison went on to become the International Typographical Union's president. He was also active in C.S. veterans' circles. See *The Inland and American Printer and Lithographer*, Vol. 23, No. 1 (April 1899), 612.

"Je le jure, Colonel."[70] Carlos Maximilian Cassini, too, was a French immigrant who had once served on the USS *Constitution*. A tailor and musician in Bainbridge, Georgia, he formed a regimental band for a C.S. regiment. In 1862, however, the elderly Cassini collapsed from exhaustion on a march and was discharged, dashing his hopes to kill "at least one Yankee."[71]

French immigrants became talismans for whole C.S. field armies as well. Bartholomew Fohrer was a favorite of General Pemberton's and a French veteran who earned the Army of Tennessee's affection due to his amusing attempts to curse in broken English, as well as for famously exulting "by Jesus, how you like it?" when his company in the 41st Tennessee Infantry advanced amid a tremendous roar of musketry at the 1864 Battle of Jonesboro.[72] Just like the hulking "big grenadier" had been a mascot for Napoleon I's *grande armée*, a Frenchman named Dominick in the "Napoleon detachment" of Stuart's Horse Artillery delighted the entire Army of Northern Virginia by holding artillery loading and firing competitions with a skilled boy-soldier called "Dr. Evans" to entertain his fellow soldiers.[73] Paul A. Fusz of St. Louis, moreover, was a French immigrant who became a Confederate hero. Running away from home at the age of seventeen to join the Confederates after an invading C.S. army failed to take St. Louis in 1864, he and his friend J. M. Utz were captured by U.S. soldiers in possession of intelligence papers, which they quickly ate. Utz was hanged and Fusz imprisoned. The fate of the latter became a *cause célèbre* among Confederates and northern Democrats alike as an instance of ostensible Republican tyranny, and Lincoln pardoned the young French Confederate in 1865. Fusz went on to become an errand boy in the St. Louis firm of Chouteau, Harrison and Valle, rising to become

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[70] Quoted in Lonn, *Foreigners in the Confederacy*, 255. The 26th Louisiana Infantry was also fond Theodore C. Minvielle, a French band leader who taught C.S. soldiers to play instruments. See ibid., 256-57.
[71] See "Carlos Maximilian Cassini, Our Old Bandmaster," in *Under the Southern Cross: Soldier Life with Gordon Bradwell and the Army of Northern Virginia*, ed. Pharris Deloach Johnson (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1999), 47-48.
[72] See "Bartholomew Fohrer – Gallant Frenchman," *Confederate Veteran*, vol. 18, No. 2 (February, 1910), 78. Ironically, Fohrer actually entered the Confederate army as a substitute. See ibid., 78.
[73] See Lonn, *op. cit.*, 240.

manager of the firm's Laclede Rolling Mills, a Democratic board member of the Mullanphy Emigrant Aid Fund, and an honorary major general in the United Confederate Veterans.[74]

Yet while pro-French sentiment came naturally to many Democrats *cum* Confederates, Davis sought to stimulate even more pro-French sentiment in the Confederacy to guarantee French sympathy for the C.S. cause. He thus encouraged Confederate use of the Marseillaise by sending a C.S. general off from Montgomery to the strains of the French anthem in 1861.[75] He also likened the Confederate cause to the American and French revolutions by declaring in his 1862 inaugural address that "[t]he recollections of this great contest, with all its common traditions of glory, of sacrifice and blood, will be the bond of harmony and enduring affection amongst the people, producing unity in policy, fraternity in sentiment, and just effort in war."[76] And Davis endorsed Nicola Marschall's "Stars and Bars" design as the C.S. national flag not just to claim the American Revolution for the Confederacy, but also to indicate Confederate affinity for what he took to be an emerging Bonapartist alliance of French-led white Catholic nations.

Marschall was born to a wealthy Prussian family of tobacco and wine importers. But he disliked Protestant northern Europe, preferring the Catholic lands of Austria, southern Germany, and "Latin" Europe instead. He evaded Prussian military service by studying art and music in Bavaria, and then by emigrating to the U.S. in 1849. Disembarking at New Orleans, he taught music, German, and French at Alabama's Marion Female Seminary. Marschall entered C.S. service in 1861 as a private in the 2nd Alabama Infantry, but his friend and patron the influential Marion Democratic attorney Napoleon Lockett secured him a position as an engineer under

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[74] See *The Book of St. Louisans: A Biographical Dictionary of Leading Living Men of the City of St. Louis and Vicinity*, ed. Albert Nelson Marquis, 2nd ed., (Chicago: A. N. Marquis & Company, 1912), 216.
[75] See Beringer and Hattaway, *Jefferson Davis, Confederate President*, 24, 63.
[76] "Inaugural Address as Elected President," Richmond, Virginia, February 22, 1862, in *Jefferson Davis: The Essential Writings*, 227. See "Speech of President Davis in Charleston," from the Charleston *Daily Courier*, November 3, 1863, *JDC*, 6:78.

Lockett's West Point-trained son Samuel, whose sister Susan married General Braxton Bragg's staunchly Democratic relative Captain Walter L. Bragg in 1864.[77] Lockett's wife Mary also convinced Marschall to submit a national flag design to the C.S. Congress, which had solicited ideas from the citizenry in 1861. Davis, however, wanted the C.S.A. to fly the Union's flag.[78] The Confederacy, after all, was, in his view, re-fighting the American Revolution, and he truly loved the U.S. flag's "honored stripes and brilliant constellation."[79] A Republican-dominated U.S. espousing British abolitionism, moreover, had, he declared in January 1861, no right to fly "the flag of the Union," which he had "followed under tropical suns, and over northern snows" as a U.S. officer, and which ought to be "folded up and laid away like a vesture no longer used" and "kept as a sacred momento of the past...."[80] Marschall's flag pleased Davis because it resembled the U.S. flag, for it featured a blue canton with a circle of white stars even as it replaced the old thirteen stripes with Austria's three red-white-red horizontal bars. Austria did in fact send a token force to help the French conquer Mexico after Forey took Mexico City and assembled a convention of Juárez's enemies to invite Napoleon III's friend the Austrian archduke Maximilian to Mexico, where he would become emperor after being confirmed in a

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[77] See *Representative Men of the South* (Philadelphia: Chas: Robson & Co., 1880), 304, 315; and Lonn, *Foreigners in the Confederacy*, 328.
[78] See Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 2:36.
[79] "Speech of Jefferson Davis before the Mississippi Legislature. November 16, 1858," *JDC*, 3:358. For Davis's antebellum panegyrics upon the U.S. flag, see "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the resolution of thanks to Gen. Taylor. May 28, 1846," *JDC*, 1:49; "W. P. Rogers to Jefferson Davis," Camp near Saltillo, Mexico, March 6, 1847, *JDC*, 1:175; "Speech of Jefferson Davis in Senate Feb. 13 and 14, 1850 on Slavery in the Territories," *JDC*, 1:303; "Speech of Jefferson Davis, August 5, 1850, in defense of Gen. Taylor, on the resolution of Mr. Cass in relation to the exercise of civil power by the military officers of the United States," *JDC*, 1:472; "Speech of Jefferson Davis at Wilmington, Del.," from the Washington *Union*, July 15, 1853, *JDC*, 2:238; "From John E. Kendall," Chicago, October 1, 1856, *PJD*, 6:505; "Speech of Jefferson Davis at Belfast Encampment," late August 1858, *JDC*, 3:289; "Speech of Jefferson Davis before the Mississippi Legislature. November 16, 1858," *JDC*, 3:358. Davis even presented the first U.S. flag to be raised over the Mexican capitol to the Senate on June 2, 1848. See *PJD*, 3:44.
[80] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the special message on affairs in South Carolina. Jan. 10, 1861," *JDC*, 5:25, 12.

national plebiscite. Davis personally reviewed Marschall's design and recommended it to the C.S. Congress, which officially adopted it as the Confederate national flag on March 4, 1861.[81]

Marschall also designed the C.S. army's uniform at Davis's behest. He combined the grey fabric of Austria's elite sharpshooter regiments with French martial trim. Confederate officer uniforms thus featured French kepis, which Secretary of War Davis had already mandated for all U.S. officers in the 1850s, as well as the golden sleeve braids worn by Napoleon III's Zouave officers to indicate rank.[82] All C.S. officers resembled French Zoauve commanders, but the troops of some Confederate regiments also dressed in imitation of the Zouaves, a "class of soldiers" that was, as the Alexandria *Constitutional* observed in April 1861, "becoming quite popular of late, especially in New Orleans…."[83] The C.S. Zouaves were often famously brave regiments that were favored by Davis, who lauded them with an eye toward winning French favor as the embodiment of equality among whites due to their many non-Anglo and Catholic soldiers and *vivandières*.[84] Indeed, when a C.S. general ordered the Creole officers of the 13th Louisiana Infantry to issue commands in English rather than French for the sake of command uniformity, an Irish Zouave exclaimed, "I don't know what oi'll do. You want us to drill in English, and the divil a word I know but French."[85] The New Orleans Catholic Creole Zouave officer Charles D. Dreux, moreover, was the first C.S. officer to be killed in battle. Captain Dreux "serenade[d]" Varina Davis "at the head of his battalion" when she stopped at New

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[81] See Davis, *Jefferson Davis*: *The Man and His Hour*, 308; and Beringer and Hattaway, *Jefferson Davis, Confederate President*, 42.

[82] See Edgar Erskine Hume, "The German Artist Who Designed the Confederate Flag and Uniform," *The American-German Review*, vol. 6, no. 6 (August 1940), 6-39. Also see Lonn, *Foreigners in the Confederacy*, 328. C.S. Zouaves jokingly referred to the golden French sleeve braids of their officers as "chicken guts." See ibid., 104.

[83] Alexandria, Louisiana *Constitutional*, April 13, 1861.

[84] The 12th Alabama Infantry's Gardes Lafayette, moreover, was a company largely composed of Mobile Creoles that boasted two official vivandières in Mary Anne Perkins and Madame Boivert even though it did not wear a Zouave uniform. Its French commander Captain Jules l'Etondal was famous for his girth, coolness under fire, and penchant for carrying an umbrella into combat. See "Sketch of the Twelfth Alabama Infantry," in *Southern Historical Society Papers*, ed. R. A. Brock, vol. 33 (Richmond: Southern Historical Society, 1905), 229-30.

[85] Quoted in Lonn, *op. cit.*, 104.

Orleans *en route* to her husband's Montgomery inauguration. Charmed by "his cheery words and the enthusiasm of his men," she recalled that he was typical "of the French type of soldier, not quite of the average size, with flashing eyes, and an exceedingly pleasant address." He was soon raised to lieutenant colonel but fell mortally wounded in a Virginia skirmish on July 4, 1861, for "[i]n the ardor of his attack he exposed himself too soon and fell mortally wounded."[86] A funeral mass and procession in New Orleans attended by five thousand C.S. mourners ensued.

The C.S. Zouave regiments came to be known as Louisiana Tigers or "Jeff. Davis's Pet Wolves."[87] One such regiment was Georges Auguste Gaaston de Coppens's 1st Louisiana Infantry. De Coppens was born in French Martinique and graduated from an elite French military academy.[88] A famed swordsman and duelist, he raised a Zouave battalion in New Orleans at Davis's request and personally presented it to the C.S. president at Montgomery.[89] Several of his officers and soldiers such as Fulgence de Bordenave and Waldemar Hylsted were veterans of Napoleon III's campaigns, but the majority were Irish Catholic immigrants and exonerated convicts from New Orleans.[90] Inspired by the recent visit to New Orleans by a group of traveling French performers known as the Inkerman Zouaves, who had enthralled audiences with Zouave bayonet drills and war songs, de Coppens's battalion sported Zouave uniforms, featured armed and uniformed *vivandières*, drilled in French, and sang the "Zou-Zou" war song in battle.[91] No wonder, then, that U.S. soldiers occasionally thought that they were actual French

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[86] Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 2:34, 35.
[87] See Hudson Strode, *Jefferson Davis*, 3 vols. (New York: Harcourt, 1959), 2:82-84; and Alison Moore, *Louisiana Tigers: Or, The Two Louisiana Brigades of the Army of Northern Virginia, 1861-1865* (Baton Rouge: Ortlich Press, 1961), 28. Also see Terry L. Jones, *Lee's Tigers: The Louisiana Infantry in the Army of Northern Virginia* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1987).
[88] See Connie Moretti, "Foreign-Born Confederates," *UDC Magazine*, vol. 70 (February, 2007), 17.
[89] See Lonn, *Foreigners in the Confederacy*, 102, 148, 163.
[90] See ibid., 102; and Terry L. Jones, "Wharf-Rats, Cutthroats and Thieves: The Louisiana Tigers, 1861-1862," *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association*, vol. 27, no. 2 (Spring 1986), 147-65.
[91] See William Howard Russell, *The Civil War in America* (Boston: Gardner A. Fuller, 1861), 83, 109; and Lonn, *op. cit.*, 102-03.

soldiers.[92] Belting out the Marseillaise upon departing from New Orleans to a cheering crowd's delight, de Coppens's Zouaves were proudly reviewed by Davis at Richmond in the summer of 1861.[93] Their French-born chaplain, moreover, was Spring Hill's Father Darius Hubert, who dressed like a French Zouave officer with "his hair elegant, his beard splendid; gold-braid festooned upon his blue kepi and embroidered upon the sleeves of his high-collared frock coat...."[94] He accompanied them to Virginia but took a leave of absence in 1862 due to failing health. Returning to the field periodically as a chaplain, he rose to fame serving in Richmond's hospitals. Beloved by the many wounded Confederate soldiers whom he tended, Father Hubert went on to become chaplain of the Benevolent Association of the Army of Northern Virginia.[95]

Davis hoped to win French sympathy by favoring the 1st Louisiana Infantry. Georges de Coppens, after all, was a French citizen, as was his younger brother and junior battalion officer Lieutenant Colonel Marie Alfred. Their father Baron August de Coppens, moreover, was the battalion quartermaster and a French citizen as well. Georges de Coppens was wounded at the 1862 Battle of Seven Pines, in which half of his six hundred charging Zouaves were either killed or wounded. He recovered only to be slain in the Battle of Antietam. His younger brother took over the battalion, which was permanently incorporated into the Confederate regular army as the C.S. Zouave Battalion in November 1862. Although it continued to exist on paper until the Confederacy's demise, the depleted battalion was effectively destroyed by the U.S. by late 1864. Baron de Coppens was captured and expelled to France, where he promoted the C.S. cause.

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[92] See Lonn, *Foreigners in the Confederacy*, 102-03. Charles Girard, moreover, declared that "[i]n battle, the enthusiasm of the Confederate soldiers recalls in several respects that of the French. They march off to death as if they were going to some gala event, singing war songs, tossing off witticisms, seeing in front of them nothing but victory. Let a murderous artillery battery impede them, and they hurl themselves upon it, brandishing bayonets, without firing a shot." Girard, *A Visit to the Confederate States of America in 1863*, 82.
[93] See Lonn, *op. cit.*, 39, 102.
[94] "Louis-Hippolyte Gache to Father D. Yenni, S.J.," Camp Lee's Mill, November 22, 1861, in *A Frenchman, A Chaplain, A Rebel*, 60.
[95] See ibid., 230; and Lonn, *op. cit.*, 263-64.

Marie Alfred de Coppens, for his part, was wounded in 1864, but he recuperated sufficiently to return to France after the war and fight for Napoleon III's cause in the Franco-Prussian War.[96]

Jesuits had offered their services as chaplains to the Zouaves of both the French Empire and Papal States, and Spring Hill's Father Louis-Hippolyte Gache was likewise enthused by, as one Confederate newspaper put it in April 1861, the "Zouaves from New Orleans, with females habited *A la Fille du regiment* at their head."[97] Accompanying one such regiment to the C.S. siege of Fort Pickens at Pensacola with the approval of the French-born New Orleans archbishop Jean-Marie Odin, Gache was excited to hear that Davis himself was coming to review the troops at Pensacola's Warrington Naval Yard.[98] When the C.S. president arrived, the "happy-go-lucky and carefree" Zouaves "made the camp echo with their continuous singing and laughing," and Davis would personally assign the chaplaincy of the 10th Louisiana Infantry to Father Gache.[99]

Led by the devoutly Catholic colonel Eugene Waggaman, the 10th Louisiana Infantry was one of the most famous C.S. Zouave regiments.[100] It was nearly three-quarters Catholic and led by such French-American officers as Lieutenant Colonel Jules C. Denis, Major Felix Dumonteil, and Captain Francis Melayé of Martinique.[101] It also came to be known as the Army of Northern Virginia's "Foreign Legion" because its soldiers hailed from seventeen countries, although most of them were Irish Catholics from New Orleans, including a *vivandière* who was married to a

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[96] See Strode, *Jefferson Davis*, 2:82-84.
[97] Quoted in John E. Jones, *Florida During the Civil War* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1963), 47.
[98] See "Louis-Hippolyte Gache to Philip de Carrière," Pensacola, May 15, 1861, in *A Frenchman, A Chaplain, A Rebel*, 27.
[99] "Louis-Hippolyte Gache to Philip de Carrière," Camp Magruder near Williamsburg, September 11, 1861, in ibid., 47. See ibid., 30.
[100] The devoutly Catholic Waggaman was educated at Mount St. Mary's College in Emmitsburg, Maryland. He came back to New Orleans and enlisted as a private in the 10th after his plans to raise a company of C.S. cavalry in Maryland called the Jefferson Chasseurs fell through due to expenses. See "Louis-Hippolyte Gache to Philip de Carrière," Camp Magruder near Williamsburg, September 11, 1861, in ibid., 47.
[101] See Lonn, *Foreigners in the Confederacy*, 489. Also see Walter Brooks and Michael Dan Jones, *Lee's Foreign Legion: A History of the 10th Louisiana Infantry* (Gravenhurst, Ontario: Watts Printing, 1995).

soldier in the regiment.[102] The soldiers drilled in French according to the recently-published *Exercises et Manoeuvres de l'Infanterie*, and they revered Gache and the other French officers, for the French had, thanks to Napoleon III's feats, "the reputation of being veritable grandsons of Mars and Bellum."[103] "[Y]ou know," Gache remarked in an 1862 letter to a Spring Hill colleague, "that we French are reputed to have a great love of war. By the grace of God, I am as French as any man alive...."[104] He was charmed in turn by the Irish Catholic Zouaves, among whom he brought about a marked increase in Catholic religiosity.[105] Gache was both proud of and saddened by the fact that the Foreign Legion was one of the hardest-fighting C.S. regiments, for it won fame on the battlefield but suffered prodigious casualties.[106] It served in nearly every major battle fought by the Army of Northern Virginia from 1862 onward. A quarter of its men were killed or wounded during the 1862 Battle of Malvern Hill, in which it led a "quick concerted attack" alongside de Coppens' Zouaves against a strong U.S. defensive position.[107] It was also mauled in the 1863 Battle of Chancellorsville and suffered a 45% casualty rate charging

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[102] See "Louis-Hippolyte Gache to André Cornette, S.J.," Camp Lee's Mill, April 5 and 10, 1862, in *A Frenchman, A Chaplain, A Rebel*, 103; and ibid., 37, 54. There were also a significant number of French Creoles in the regiment, and Father Gache liked to poke fun at their provincial French accents in letters to his colleagues at Spring Hill. As he joked in one letter, "*Ah les têtes louisiannaises* – at times there is not much gray matter in them!" "Louis-Hippolyte Gache to Philip de Carrière," Lynchburg General Hospital, May 19, 1863, in ibid., 175.

[103] "Louis-Hippolyte Gache to Rev. Father André Cornette," [Pensacola], May 22, 1861, in ibid., 37. See L. Marchand, *Exercises et Manoeuvres de l'Infanterie: Ecole du Soldat, Ecole du Peloton, Ecole des Guides, Service des Places, Service en Campagne* (Nouvelle-Orléans: L. Marchand, Imprimateur, 1861). Non-Zouave C.S. regiments, however, also drilled in French, for "[i]n the camp and on the field, it might be accurately stated, there were two official languages in the southern army – English and French." Lonn, *Foreigners in the Confederacy*, 213.

[104] "Louis-Hippolyte Gache to André Cornette," Richmond, July 8, 1862, in *A Frenchman, A Chaplain, A Rebel*, 117. "Speaking of soldiers," Gache noted, "'we Frenchmen' have talked the subject over among ourselves in an off-handed manner, and I want you to know that we form a far more formidable and fierce army than I would have believed." "Louis-Hippolyte Gache to Rev. Father André Cornette," [Pensacola], May 22, 1861, in ibid., 36.

[105] See "Louis-Hippolyte Gache to Philip de Carrière," Camp Magruder, near Williamsburg, September 11, 1861, in ibid., 47-48; "Louis-Hippolyte Gache to Philip de Carrière," Camp Lee's Mill, near Yorktown, January 17, 1862, in ibid., 94; and "Louis-Hippolyte Gache to André Cornette, S.J.," Camp Lee's Mill, April 5 and 10, 1862, in ibid., 105. Father Gache was also pleased to teach C.S. soldiers to pray "the Hail Mary," as well as to give "a young French soldier" serving "in a Zouave battalion" "his First Communion." "Louis-Hippolyte Gache to Philip de Carrière," Lynchburg, March 8, 1863, in ibid., 162-63.

[106] See, for instance, "Louis-Hippolyte Gache to André Cornette," Richmond, July 8, 1862, in ibid., 117; and "Louis-Hippolyte Gache to Philip de Carrière," Lynchburg General Hospital, May 19, 1863, in ibid., 173, 175.

[107] "Louis-Hippolyte Gache to André Cornette," Richmond, July 8, 1862, in ibid., 122.

Culp's Hill at Gettysburg.[108] After serving a stint in the C.S. field army which threatened Washington, D.C. in 1864, the Foreign Legion returned to the Army of Northern Virginia, and when it surrendered at Appomattox, only four officers and thirteen soldiers remained. Radical C.S. ex-Whigs, however, frequently disliked the Louisiana Zouaves despite their battlefield laurels, denouncing them for thievery and drunkenness. Father Gache admitted that the Zouave "reputation for pilfering and general loutishness" was not wholly undeserved, but he still believed that they were being singled out for criticism by well-to-do Anglo-Protestant ex-Whig Confederates, who would "bolt the doors and windows" whenever C.S. Zouaves drew near.[109]

Davis also sought to implement equality among whites and appeal to Napoleon III's France by raising French-American Catholic Confederates to high command, the most important of whom was Pierre Gustave Toutant Beauregard. Born to a Louisiana Creole family, Beauregard was a Catholic, though not particularly devout.[110] He learned to speak English only upon being sent to New York City for schooling.[111] Continuing his education at West Point, he excelled in engineering, studied Napoleon I's career assiduously, and cultivated the "Napoleonic flair and zest" for which he was famous.[112] He graduated in 1838 and won fame in the Mexican War for devising the plan which led to the fall of Mexico City's formidable Chapultepec fortress. Beset by nagging health problems caused by wounds he suffered during the battle for Chapultepec, Beauregard built or improved fortresses and shipping channels throughout the Gulf

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[108] See *A Frenchman, A Chaplain, A Rebel*, 186.

[109] "Louis-Hippolyte Gache to Philip de Carrière," Camp Magruder near Williamsburg, September 11, 1861, in ibid., 43. The C.S. War Department, however, paid for the damages caused by Davis's "pet wolves," picking up their bar tabs as well. See Lonn, *Foreigners in the Confederacy*, 103.

[110] For Beauregard's biographical details, see T. Harry Williams, *P. G. T. Beauregard: Napoleon in Gray* (1955; reprint, Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1981).

[111] The Princeton-educated Charleston Democratic postmaster Alfred Huger, moreover, observed with regret in 1865 how fundamentally the North had changed, for northerners had once welcomed him and even "a french boy from Louisiana, named 'Toutant' father of Beauregard...." "I always thought, & always spoke," he added, "as an American, of the North with pride & exultation!" Quoted in O'Brien, *Conjectures of Order*, 28.

[112] Beringer and Hattaway, *Jefferson Davis, Confederate President*, 326. See Bruce S. Hass, "Beauregard and the Image of Napoleon," *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association*, vol. 5, no. 2 (Spring 1964), 179-86.

South for the next decade as a military engineer under the tutelage of Connecticut's Joseph G. Totten, who was a War of 1812 veteran, Smithsonian regent, Chief Engineer of the U.S. army, and French-fluent fortifications expert whom Simon Bernard trained.[113] Continually advocating "the increase of the defences of the sea-coast, by heavy guns and the use of large-grain powder," Secretary of War Davis liked both Totten and Beauregard, the latter of whom befriended General Pierce during the Mexican War and campaigned for him in 1852.[114] Indeed, Beauregard's second wife Caroline Deslonde was the sister of John Slidell's own French Creole Catholic wife Mathilde, whom Varina Davis first met in Washington, D.C. during the Mexican War and recalled as follows: "Her features were regular, her figure noble, and she looked so dignified and was so fair and courteous with her French *empressement* of manner that the impression she made on me then was never effaced, and years after ripened into a sincere friendship that was never interrupted."[115] Davis rewarded Beauregard for his loyalty to the Pierce Democrats with such prestigious assignments as the renovation of the New Orleans customs house, endorsing his near-successful bid to defeat the Know-Nothings for the New Orleans mayoralty in 1858 as well.[116]

Yet Davis had higher stations in mind than mayor of New Orleans for Beauregard, whom he called "an active officer of military habits and tastes and of high professional attainments" in a letter to Secretary of War John B. Floyd.[117] Beauregard became the West Point superintendent in 1860, but he resigned when Louisiana seceded. Davis enjoyed bandying about such French military terms as *tête-de-pont*, *en eschelon*, *éclat*, "corps d-armee," and "coup-de-main" with

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[113] See *Connecticut Biographical Dictionary*, ed. Caryn Hannan, *et al.* (Hartford, CT: State History Publications, 2008), 517-19. See Joseph G. Totten, *Essays on Hydraulic and Common Mortars and on Lime-Burning* (1838; reprint, New York: Wiley & Putnam, 1842), which was based upon his translation of an 1838 French work. Also see "To Joseph G. Totten," January 30, 1857, *PJD*, 6:534.
[114] "Extract: Jefferson Davis, Ex-President of the Confederate States of America: A Memoir," [Beauvoir, Mississippi, November, 1889,] *PJD*, 1:lxi. For Davis's respect for Beauregard as an engineer, see "To Samuel Cartwright," Brierfield, April 25, 1859, *PJD*, 6:249.
[115] Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 1:222.
[116] See "To James Guthrie," April 29, 1856, *PJD*, 6:465.
[117] "To John B. Floyd," January 19, 1858, *PJD*, 6:558.

him.[118] And he gladly granted Beauregard's request to be given the fledgling Confederacy's foremost military position as the commander of the Fort Sumter siege. Praising Beauregard as an officer "full of talent and of much military experience" to Governor Pickens, Davis made him the first C.S. brigadier general in hopes of stoking French sympathy.[119] Beauregard, after all, was an advocate of the LeMat pistol as an in-law relation of Dr. LeMat, and he acquired the nickname "Little Napoleon" by copying the French emperor's facial hair and sartorial styles.[120]

The C.S. forces besieging Fort Sumter, in fact, were a veritable homage to the French army, although the effect was somewhat marred when the Anglophile Radical secessionist Edmund Ruffin was given the honor of firing the first shot as an honorary South Carolinian. When Beauregard fired upon the fort, Davis hence penned a few lines associating the Little Napoleon with French Paixhans guns: "With mortar, Paixhan and petard, we tender old Abe our Beauregard."[121] The most famous C.S. forces at the siege, moreover, were the Charleston Citadel military cadets. They sported Zouave uniforms, regaled onlookers with "the music of the 'Marsellaise,'" and fired the first shots of the Civil War when they warded off the U.S. supply ship *Star of the West*.[122] The prestigious Charleston Light Dragoons also wore a uniform that was a close copy of the French Imperial Guard's and fired many "a *feu-de-joie* from their revolvers" at the siege.[123] Joseph Charles Paul "Plon-Plon" Bonaparte also beheld Confederate-

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[118] "Jefferson Davis to Genl. Beauregard, Manassas, Va.," Richmond, October 20, 1861, *JDC*, 5:146; and "Jefferson Davis to General G. T. Beauregard, Kingston, N.C.," "Telegram," Richmond, May 4, 1864, *JDC*, 6:246-47. See "To John A. Quitman," Monterey, Mexico, September 26, 1846, *PJD*, 3:27, 35; and "Jefferson Davis to General G. T. Beauregard, Greensboro, N.C.," "Telegram (in cipher)," Danville, Virginia, April 4, 1865, *JDC*, 6:529.
[119] "Jefferson Davis to F. W. Pickens," Montgomery, March 1, 1861, *JDC*, 5:58.
[120] See Hoole, "Introduction," in Girard, *A Visit to the Confederate States of America in 1863*, 35; and David Detzer, *Allegiance: Fort Sumter, Charleston, and the Beginning of the Civil War* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2001), 207.
[121] Quoted in Davis, *A Government of Our Own*, 318.
[122] Charleston *Mercury*, April 1, 1861.
[123] Ibid. The Charleston Light Dragoons also served as an honor guard for Davis in an 1863 Charleston parade. See "Speech of President Davis in Charleston," from the Charleston *Daily Courier*, November 3, 1863, *JDC*, 6:74. Also see W. Eric Emerson, *Sons of Privilege: The Charleston Light Dragoons in the Civil War* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2005).

controlled Fort Sumter as Beauregard's guest of honor on August 16, 1861. Plon-Plon was just ahead of his Baltimorean half-brother Jerome-Napoleon Bonaparte, Jr. in line to the French throne. He had served as a general in both the Crimea and Italy for his cousin Napoleon III, who dispatched him to the Union in 1861 to offset the Prince of Wales's famous 1860 U.S. tour.[124]

Fort Sumter itself evoked hallowed memories connecting southern Democrats to French Bonapartists. The fort was named after the American Revolution general Thomas "Gamecock" Sumter, whose son Thomas Sumter, Jr. was appointed secretary for the U.S. minister to France by President Jefferson. On the way there, Sumter courted Natalie de Lage de Volude, a godchild of Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette who had fled the Jacobins, found refuge in the home of U.S. vice president Aaron Burr, befriended Jerome Bonaparte, and was returning to France to accept Napoleon's offer of amnesty.[125] Sumter married her in 1802 and, declining Jefferson's offer to become the first U.S. governor of Louisiana, came back to South Carolina in 1804. A South Carolina lieutenant governor and state militia colonel, he also became the first U.S. minister to Brazil in 1808. Returning home in 1819, he settled down as a planter while his wife patronized South Carolina's Catholic churches.[126] Their son Thomas de Lage Sumter, moreover, graduated from West Point in 1835 and became a U.S. army colonel. A Democratic congressman for South Carolina from 1839-43, he was sent by the Pierce administration to Napoleon III's France as an informal agent to cultivate French goodwill. His grandmother on his mother's side, after all, had sought to reach the U.S. after Napoleon I's downfall. Arrested on the way by a British warship

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[124] See entry for August 8, 1861, in *Mary Chesnut's Civil War*, 136-37. Also see Lonn, *Foreigners in the Confederacy*, 355.

[125] See David O. Stewart, *American Emperor: Aaron Burr's Challenge to Jefferson's America* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2011), 343; and Thomas Tisdale, *A Lady of the High Hills: Natalie Delage Sumter* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2001), 24, 37.

[126] See Charleston *Courier*, June 19, 1840; and John Phillip Szadlowski, *The Diplomatic Career of Thomas Sumter, Jr.: 1809-1819* (Allegany, NY: St. Bonaventure University Press, 1961).

which subsequently foundered, she washed ashore in Spain and was taken in by the grandmother of Eugénie Maria de Montijo de Guzmán, who in 1853 became Empress Eugénie of France.[127]

Davis was disappointed when Beauregard failed to maneuver the U.S. forces defending Fort Sumter into firing the first shot, but he was pleased that the Little Napoleon took the fort without damaging it significantly, for "[t]o have Fort Sumter uninjured is important to us...."[128] Hailing Beauregard's "brilliant" performance, he pointed to "the skill and success which were naturally to be expected from the well-known character of the gallant officer...."[129] Davis kept the Little Napoleon front-and-center by placing him in charge of an army near the U.S. capital, at which the Union was assembling its own field army. When Beauregard routed that force at the Battle of Bull Run, Davis hurried to the battlefield and personally promoted him to the rank of full general.[130] The C.S. Congress also voted Beauregard its official thanks, and many a Confederate began to regard Beauregard as Davis's likely presidential successor.[131] Indeed, the Paris lithographing firm Goupil circulated prints in both the Confederacy and Union portraying Davis in military uniform standing proudly upon the tented field with Beauregard by his side.[132]

The C.S. president soon concluded that the adulation had gone to Beauregard's head. Although his own commanding officers in the U.S. army had once viewed "the conduct of Lieut.

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[127] See entry for July 19, 1861, in *The Private Mary Chesnut: The Unpublished Civil War Diaries*, ed. C. Vann Woodward and Elisabeth Muhlenfield (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984), 103; Tisdale, *A Lady of the High Hills*, 12; and Richard F. Selcer, *Civil War America, 1850 to 1875*, ed. Richard Balkin (New York: Facts on File, 2006), 463.

[128] "Jefferson Davis to F. W. Pickens," Montgomery, March 18, 1861, *JDC*, 5:61. See "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Montgomery, April 29, 1861, *JDC*, 5:77.

[129] "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," *op. cit.*, 5:76.

[130] See Parrish, "Jeff Davis Rules," in *Jefferson Davis's Generals*, 50; and Beringer and Hattaway, *Jefferson Davis, Confederate President*, 94-95.

[131] See Parrish, *op. cit.*, 75. Confederates also fashioned pipes or whiskey jugs bearing Beauregard's – and hence of Napoleon III's – visage, thrilled to such new tunes as "Beauregard's Manssasas Quickstep" or "Gen'l Beauregard's Grande Polka Militaire," and even started cussing like the Little Napoleon, whose personal "sacredamn" curse word would become all-too-common in the Confederacy. See Lonn, *Foreigners in the Confederacy*, 214; E. Merton Coulter, *The Confederate States of America, 1861-1865* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1950), 484; Davis, *Rebels and Yankees*, 53; and Beringer and Hattaway, *op. cit.*, 68.

[132] See "Jefferson Davis and His Generals" (Paris: Goupil, 1861).

Jef. Davis... as insubordinate and highly disrestpectful [*sic*]," he always insisted that officers and soldiers under his command be "willing to execute my orders."[133] The first hint of insubordination on Beauregard's part came when he called for his command area to be enlarged from Charleston to the entire Carolina coast during the Fort Sumter siege. Davis granted the request but dispatched an aide to make sure that Beauregard carried out orders as instructed.[134] The Little Napoleon also thought he had been snubbed when, as reported by the Richmond *Dispatch*, he arrived in Richmond and was greeted by "[h]undreds of citizens and soldiers" who "cheered, shook him by the hand, and seemed satisfied to touch even the 'hem of his garment.'" But when he "stopped at the Spotswood, to pay his compliments to the President," Davis was "absent."[135] Relations between the two deteriorated in the months after the "glory" of Bull Run as Davis sent private missives to Beauregard faulting him for causing morale to decline in his army, overriding his organizational decisions, and chiding him for failing "to pursue the enemy to Washington" after the victory at Bull Run.[136] He did seek to assuage Beauregard's wounded feelings on October 25, 1861 by praising "your genius and gallantry in the further maintenance

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[133] "Joshua B. Brant to Thomas S. Jesup," October 13, 1830, *PJD*, 1:156; "Jefferson Davis to John A. Quitman," Monterey, September 26, 1846, *JDC*, 1:105. One of Davis's commanders also declared that "[t]he conduct of Lieu't. Davis is so repugnant to every sound principle of service, that I hope it will not be allowed to pass without the animadversion it deserves." "Thomas S. Jesup to Alexander Macomb," October 29, 1830, *PJD*, 1:164. Also see "Henry Dodge to George W. Jones," April 18, 1834, *PJD*, 1:317; and "Proceedings of a General Court Martial – First Day: Trial of Jefferson Davis," February 12, 1835, *PJD*, 1:358.

[134] See "F. W. Pickens to Jefferson Davis," March 17, 1861, *JDC*, 5:60; and "Jefferson Davis to F. W. Pickens," Montgomery, March 18, 1861, *JDC*, 5:61.

[135] Richmond *Dispatch*, June 1, 1861.

[136] "Jefferson Davis to Genl. Beauregard, Manassas, Va.," Richmond, August 4, 1861, *JDC*, 5:121. See "Jefferson Davis to Genl. Beauregard, Manassas, Va.," Richmond, October 16, 1861, *JDC*, 5:141-43. Beauregard committed an "error" by ignoring a C.S. law allowing volunteer regiments to elect their own officers, prompting Davis to rebuke him for presuming "that your army and yourself are outside the limits of the law." "Jefferson Davis to G. T. Beauregard," Richmond, November 10, 1861, *JDC*, 5:164. Davis also overruled Beauregard's directive to create a special "rocket battery." See "Jefferson Davis to General Beauregard," Richmond, October 25, 1861, and "Jefferson Davis to General Beauregard," Richmond, November 10, 1861, both in Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 2:172-177. "[M]y best hope has been, and is," Davis informed the Little Napoleon, "that my co-laborers, purified and elevated by the sanctity of the cause they defend, would forget themselves in their zeal for the public welfare." "Jefferson Davis to Genl. Beauregard, Manassas, Va.," Richmond, October 20, 1861, *JDC*, 5:148.

of the cause, which amid the smoke and blaze of battle, you have three times illustrated."[137] Yet when Davis saw press reports a few days later asserting that Beauregard had blamed the escape of the retreating U.S. army on countermanding orders from the C.S. president, an angry Davis denied "that you had been over ruled by me in your plan for a battle with the enemy south of the Potomac, for the capture of Baltimore and Washington, and the liberation of Maryland," reproaching the Little Napoleon as well for "attempt[ing] to exalt yourself at my expense...."[138]

Davis's "good opinion" of Beauregard, however, declined primarily because the Little Napoleon did not in fact seem adept at fighting Napoleonic battles of annihilation.[139] Davis and Beauregard both subscribed to Baron Jomini's theory of Napoleonic warfare as taught by West Point.[140] They believed that a general should, whether campaigning on the strategic offensive or defensive, battle an opposing field army so aggressively and skillfully on favorable terrain that the enemy force would have to surrender because it would not only be driven from the field but also denied an avenue of retreat.[141] Having annihilated the enemy field army, one could then

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[137] "Jefferson Davis to Genl. Beauregard, Manassas, Va.," Richmond, October 25, 1861, *JDC*, 5:151.

[138] "Jefferson Davis to Genl. Beauregard, Manassas, Va.," Richmond, October 30, 1861, *JDC*, 5:157. Beauregard, Davis claimed, was inadvertently helping the Radicals by spreading rumors that "served to create distrust, to excite disappointment, and must embarrass the Administration in its further efforts to… provide for the public defense." "Jefferson Davis to Genl. J. E. Johnston, Comdg. Dept. of the Potomac," Richmond, November 3, 1861, *JDC*, 5:158. See "Jefferson Davis to James Chesnut," Richmond, November 11, 1861, *JDC*, 5:165. According to Varina Davis, her husband possessed a "supersensitive temperament" that was "abnormally sensitive to disapprobation: even a child's disapproval discomposed him." Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 2:163. Davis did always react with aggressive hostility to even indirect attempts to detract from his military reputation. See "Jefferson Davis to John Jenkins," Brierfield, Mississippi, November 16, 1846, from the Vicksburg *Sentinel*, November 24, 1846, *JDC*, 1:63; and "Jefferson Davis to W. H. Bissell," Washington, D.C., February 22, 1850, from the Natchez *Courier*, March 15, 1850, *JDC*, 1:308.

[139] "Jefferson Davis to James Chesnut," Richmond, November 11, 1861, *JDC*, 5:165. Mary Chesnut, for her part, jested half-seriously that Mathilde Slidell would probably make "a better general, I fancy," than her disappointing brother-in-law. Entry for August 29, 1861, in *Mary Chesnut's Civil War*, 85, 173.

[140] See Antoine-Henri Jomini, *A Hand-Book for the Practice of War, for the Use of Military Men of All Ages and Countries*, trans. M. F. Pardigon (Richmond: West & Johnston, 1863); and *Napoleon's Maxims of War* (Richmond: West & Johnston, 1863).

[141] Davis held that if Scott had not denuded Taylor's army, "results more decisive" could have been obtained by the U.S. counteroffensive at Buena Vista, namely, the capture of Santa Anna's whole army, which ideally would have had to "lay down their arms, and beg for water...." "Jefferson Davis to W. W. S. Bliss," Saltillo, Mexico March 2, 1847, *JDC*, 1:153; and "Speech of Jefferson Davis, August 5, 1850, in defense of Gen. Taylor, on the resolution of

march one's army across enemy territory at will until the foe capitulated; just like Napoleon I swept across Prussia after destroying the principal Prussian field at Jena in 1806.[142] Davis knew that France would be impressed by a power that was a proficient at Napoleonic warfare.[143] Napoleon III, after all, deemed his uncle the "greatest genius of modern times" for having been the first general to win battles of annihilation by design rather than luck.[144] If the Confederacy was to become a near-equal ally of France against the Anglo-Protestant powers, Davis would have to show that "our friends abroad" could "depend upon our strength at home," for the French would, he thought, rather intervene on behalf a strong and capable ally than fight the U.S. for the sake of a weak client incapable of naught but guerilla warfare.[145] Davis hence boasted in 1861

Mr. Cass in relation to the exercise of civil power by the military officers of the United States," *JDC*, 1:468. See "Speech of Jefferson Davis before the Mississippi Legislature. November 16, 1858," *JDC*, 3:342.

[142] See "Jefferson Davis to Genl. J. E. Johnston, Manassas, Va.," Richmond, September 25, 1861, *JDC*, 5:136; "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, February 25, 1862, *JDC*, 5:203; "Jefferson Davis to Mrs. Davis," Richmond, May 28, 1862, *JDC*, 5:252; "Jefferson Davis to Mrs. Davis," Richmond, June 2, 1862, *JDC*, 5:264-65; "Jefferson Davis to Mrs. Davis," Executive Department, Richmond, June 11, 1862, *JDC*, 5:272; "To Varina Davis," Richmond, June 21, 1862, in Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 2:313; "Jefferson Davis to Genl. T. H. Holmes, Comdg. Trans-Missi. Dept. (By Genl. J. C. Tappan)," Richmond, January 28, 1863, *JDC*, 5:426; Mobile *Register*, October 25 and 27, 1863; "Jefferson Davis to Lt. General Holmes, Comdg., &c.," Richmond, November 19, 1863, *JDC*, 6:85; "Jefferson Davis to General E. K. Smith, Comdg., &c.," Richmond, November 19, 1863, *JDC*, 6:86-87; "Jefferson Davis to Lt. Genl. James Longstreet, Greenville, E. Tenn.," Richmond, March 25, 1864, *JDC*, 6:229; "Jefferson Davis to H. R. Davis, Woodville, Missi. via Summit," "Telegram," Richmond, September 17, 1864, *JDC*, 6:335; "Jefferson Davis to General G. T. Beauregard, Augusta, Ga.," "Telegram (in cipher)," Richmond, February 4, 1865, *JDC*, 6:464; "Jefferson Davis to General R. E. Lee, Petersburg, Va.," "Telegram," Richmond, February 21, 1865, *JDC*, 6:482; "Jefferson Davis to General R. E. Lee, Petersburg, Va.," "Telegram," Richmond, February 24, 1865, *JDC*, 6:484; and "Jefferson Davis to Col. James Phelan, Meridian, Missi.," Richmond, March 1, 1865, *JDC*, 6:499.

[143] See "Jefferson Davis to Rev. A. D. McCoy, Livingston, Sumpter Co., Alabama," Richmond, September 26, 1863, *JDC*, 6:50.

[144] Napoleon III, *Napoleonic Ideas*, 12. See ibid., 116.

[145] "Speech of Jefferson Davis at Augusta," from the Richmond *Dispatch*, October 10, 1864, *JDC*, 6:358. See "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, January 12, 1863, *JDC*, 5:407; and "Speech of Jefferson Davis in Columbia," from the Charleston *Daily Courier*, October 6, 1864, *JDC*, 6:351. Charles Girard hence observed that,"[i]n order to furnish the Army and the Navy with bread of the highest quality at moderate prices, the Confederate Government has established at Richmond a bakery where daily three hundred barrels of biscuits are made. Everything, except the kneading, is done by steam power." He also reported that in Richmond "I was overcome with amazement in the presence of so much machinery, in so few months and under such difficult circumstances," claiming as well that thanks to three massive government-owned factory complexes, gunpowder was no longer "in extremely short supply in the Confederacy." Charles Girard, *A Visit to the Confederate States of America in 1863*, 5'8, 61-62.

that "a war is to be inaugurated the like of which men have not seen," and that the C.S.A. would win Napoleonic battles on a scale even "such as the recent campaign in Italy did not offer."[146]

Winning Napoleonic battles was so important to Davis that the reluctance of his friend the Virginian C.S. general Joseph E. Johnston to risk losing such battles led to a permanent rupture between the two. Johnston became a West Point cadet thanks to Secretary of War Calhoun, and his nephew John W. Johnston converted to Catholicism upon marrying the daughter of Calhoun's ally John Floyd in 1841. Nicketti Buchanan Floyd was the sister of Secretary of War John Buchanan Floyd, who made Johnston a brigadier general and the U.S. army's Quartermaster General in 1860 with Davis's approval."[147] Johnston appealed to Floyd's predecessor because he had been wounded storming Mexico City's Chapultepec leading a predominantly southern and Democratic U.S. regiment of "Voltigeurs" emulating Napoleon I's famous originals. Secretary of War Davis made him the lieutenant colonel of the new 1st U.S. Cavalry, in which capacity Johnston fought Indians, suppressed abolitionists in Kansas, and mentored George B. McClellan. Johnston, in fact, was one of the few friends to whom Davis fully divulged his health problems.[148] The C.S. president thus observed in 1865 that "[o]ur relations under the former government were of a friendly nature; and so continued in the new sphere of duty opened to both by the change in the political condition of the country."[149] Johnston's wife Lydia McLane, moreover, was a daughter of the Baltimore Federalist, National

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[146] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the special message on affairs in South Carolina. Jan. 10, 1861," *JDC*, 5:32. See "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, August 18, 1862, *JDC*, 5:321; "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, December 7, 1863, *JDC*, 6:104, 116; and "Speech of Jefferson Davis at Augusta," from the Richmond *Dispatch*, October 10, 1864, *JDC*, 6:357.

[147] See Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 2:150, 158; and "To James Lyons," August 30, 1878, in ibid., 2:158.

[148] As the C.S. president informed Johnston in September 1861, "I am still weak, and seldom attempt to write even to you." "Jefferson Davis to Genl. J. E. Johnston, Manassas, Va.," Richmond, September 25, 1861, *JDC*, 5:135.

[149] "Jefferson Davis to Col. James Phelan, Meridian, Missi.," Richmond, March 1, 1865, *JDC*, 6:492. "At the commencement of the present war," Davis added, "there were few persons in the Confederacy who entertained a more favorable opinion of General Johnston as a soldier than I did. I *knew* him to be brave, and well-informed in his profession. I *believed* that he possessed high capacity for becoming a successful commander in the field." Ibid., 6:492. See "To Joseph E. Johnston," February 25, 1857, *PJD*, 6:491.

Republican Delaware congressman, B & O Railroad president, and convert Democrat Louis McLane, who was Jackson's Secretary of the Treasury and then Secretary of State as well as Polk's minister to Britain.[150] Lydia Johnston was "very intimate friends" with Varina Davis and dined "with great pleasure" at the Davis D.C. residence alongside her husband.[151] Father Gache would hence notice in 1863 that Varina Davis was "somewhat like Mrs. Johnston," who was such a Catholic-friendly Episcopalian that she "never meets a priest or a nun without begging them to pray that she and the general will be converted. 'We're Catholics already in our hearts,' she confesses." "General Johnston," he added, "makes no bones about his belief that Catholic prayers are the only ones he has any confidence in. Of all of the generals I have ever seen, other than, of course, General Beauregard, General Johnston is the one most like a French general."[152]

Johnston was the highest-ranking U.S. army officer to resign and enter C.S. service.[153] He agreed with Davis as to the amassing of large field armies to win Napoleonic battles, and he took "the liberty, more than once, to suggest to you to assume the military functions of the Presidency, and to command on this northern [Virginia] frontier... such a course on your part would prevent any political agitation in the country."[154] Johnston, however, also insisted that

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[150] See John A. Munroe, *Louis McLane: Federalist and Jacksonian* (New Brunswisk, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1973).

[151] Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 2:412; and *PJD*, 5:432. See *PJD*, 6:372; and Varina Davis, *op. cit.*, 2:150.

[152] "Louis-Hippolyte Gache to Philip de Carrière," Lynchburg General Hospital, May 19, 1863, in *A Frenchman, A Chaplain, and A Rebel*, 179-180. See Craig L. Symonds, *Joseph E. Johnston: A Civil War Biography* (1992; reprint, New York: W. W. Norton, 1994), 62-63, 65, 67, 69. 70, 230; Craig L. Symonds, "A Fatal Relationship: Davis and Johnston at War," in *Jefferson Davis's Generals*, 8, 12; and Gordon, "'To Comfort, To Counsel, To Cure'; Davis, Wives, and Generals," in ibid., 113.

[153] Johnston, however, harbored a grudge against Davis for determining that his Mexican War rank of lieutenant colonel was a temporary commission rather than a permanent promotion as the Secretary of War. See *PJD*, 6:402.

[154] "From General Joseph E. Johnston to His Excellency, the President," Manassas, September 10, 1861, in Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 2:142. See Symonds, "A Fatal Relationship: Davis and Johnston at War," *op. cit.*, 11-13. Davis, in turn, told Johnston with false modesty that "I will visit the army… as soon as other engagements permit, although I can not realize your complimentary assurance that great good to the Army will result from it...." "Jefferson Davis to Genl. J. E. Johnston Comdg. Dept. of Northn. Va., Centerville, Va.," Richmond, February 14, 1862, *JDC*, 5:192. He did, however, tour defenses with Johnston at Fredericksburg, where, as one resident recalled, "many citizens called to pay their respects to the President." "J. T. Dowell to Judge William S. Barton," Fredericksburg, Virginia, August 10, 1885, in Varina Davis, *op. cit.*, 2:197.

losing a Napoleonic battle would be an irretrievable calamity, inducing Davis to agree that "ruin would befall us" in such an event even though he yearned for "a successful advance across the Potomac."[155] The C.S. president became increasingly frustrated by Johnston's caution even though "it has been promised that your force should be raised to more than one hundred thousand effective troops," particularly when he "commenced a hasty retreat" from Centreville "without giving notice of an intention to do so" and destroyed a large C.S. supply cache in the process.[156] When Johnston faced his old pupil McClellan during the 1862 Peninsula Campaign, he also lost "machinery which could not be replaced in the Confederacy" when he fell back from Norfolk.[157] As Davis informed him in March, "I have had many and alarming reports of great destruction of ammunition, camp equipage and provisions, indicating precipitate retreat; but having heard of no cause for such a sudden movement, I was at a loss to believe it."[158] He informed him that "I hope to see you soon at your Hd. Qrs...," and he was so perturbed by his reluctance to battle McClellan's Army of the Potomac as it neared Richmond itself that he personally issued a direct order for him to attack in mid-April.[159] Yet when Johnston finally did so at the Battle of Seven

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[155] "Jefferson Davis to Genl. J. E. Johnston, Manassas, Va," Richmond, September 8, 1861, *JDC*, 5:129. See "Jefferson Davis to Genl. J. E. Johnston, Manassas, Va.," Richmond, August 1, 1861, *JDC*, 5:119-20; "Jefferson Davis to Genl. J. E. Johnston, Manassas, Va.," Richmond, November 10, 1861, *JDC*, 5:163; and "Jefferson Davis to Genl. J. E. Johnston, Comdg. Dept. &c. Centerville, Va.," Richmond, February 28, 1862, *JDC*, 5:209.

[156] "Jefferson Davis to Genl. J. E. Johnston, Comdg. Dept. &c. Centerville, Va.," Richmond, February 28, 1862, *JDC*, 5:208; and "Jefferson Davis to Col. James Phelan, Meridian, Missi.," Richmond, March 1, 1865, *JDC*, 6:494. See ibid., 6:496; "Jefferson Davis to Genl. J. E. Johnston, Manassas, Va.," Richmond, November 10, 1861, *JDC*, 5:162-63; "Jefferson Davis to Genl. Jos. E. Johnston, Comdg. Dept of North'n Va.," Fredericksburg, March 22, 1862, *JDC*, 5:224; "To General J. E. Johnston," Richmond, March 6, 1862, in Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 2:190; and "Jefferson Davis to Col. James Phelan, Meridian, Missi.," *op. cit.*, 6:498.

[157] "Jefferson Davis to Col. James Phelan, Meridian, Missi.," *op. cit.*, 6:495. See ibid., 6:496; "Jefferson Davis to Genl. J. E. Johnston, Culpepper, C. H., Va.," Richmond, March 15, 1862, *JDC*, 5:223; "Jefferson Davis to Genl. Jos. E. Johnston, Comdg. Dept of North'n Va.," Fredericksburg, March 22, 1862, *JDC*, 5:243; and "To Varina Davis," Richmond, May 13, 1862, in Varina Davis, *op. cit.*, 2:270-71. Even Father Gache would declare in frustration that "I don't think very highly of these 'masterful retreats' of General Johnston...." "Louis-Hippolyte Gache to Philip de Carrière," Richmond, June 11, 1862, in *A Frenchman, A Chaplain, and A Rebel*, 110.

[158] "Jefferson Davis to Genl. J. E. Johnston, Hd. qrs. Army of the Potomac," Richmond, March 15, 1862, *JDC*, 5:222.

[159] "Jefferson Davis to Genl. Jos. E. Johnston, Comdg. Dept of North'n Va.," Fredericksburg, March 22, 1862, *JDC*, 5:243. See "Jefferson Davis to Genl. J. E. Johnston, Cmdg. Army &c. near Tunstall's Station, New Kent Co., Va.," Richmond, May 10, 1862, *JDC*, 5:243.

Pines, "[u]naccountable delays in bringing some of our troops into action prevented us from gaining a decisive victory…. The opportunity being lost, we must try to find another."[160]

Davis nevertheless visited Johnston after the Virginian was wounded during the battle, noting that "[t]he poor fellow bore his suffering most heroically. When he was about to be put into the ambulance to be removed from the field, I dismounted to speak to him; he opened his eyes, smiled, and gave me his hand...."[161] While Johnston was recuperating, Davis affirmed that "I wish he were able to take the field…. [H]e is a good soldier… and could at this time, render most valuable service."[162] Davis tasked him with coordinating armies in the western theatre, trusting him to, in the words of Richard Beringer and Herman Hattaway, "operate in Napoleon's manner… by concentrating forces within his huge department."[163] In Davis's view, however, Johnston wasted a perfect chance to trap and destroy Grant's army between his own army and John C. Pemberton's Vicksburg garrison: "My purpose [was] an attack on Grant when in the interior by the combined forces of Johnston and Pemberton, thus alone was a complete victory expected."[164] Davis had told him that "it were better to fail nobly daring, than, through prudence

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[160] "To Varina Davis," Richmond, June 2, 1862, in Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 2:292. See "Jefferson Davis to Genl. J. E. Johnston, Comdg. Army of N. Va.," Richmond, May 17, 1862, *JDC*, 5:247-48; "To Varina Davis," Richmond, May 19, 1862, in Varina Davis, *op. cit.*, 2:273; "Jefferson Davis to Mrs. Davis," Richmond, May 28, 1862, *JDC*, 5:254; and "Jefferson Davis to Col. James Phelan, Meridian, Missi.," Richmond, March 1, 1865, *JDC*, 6:6:495.

[161] "To Varina Davis," Richmond, June 2, 1862, in Varina Davis, *op. cit.*, 2:292. Davis would later declare that Johnston had been "conspicuous for personal daring" and "gallantry" at Seven Pines, although "the battle was, as I have said, a failure." "Jefferson Davis to Col. James Phelan, Meridian, Missi.," *op. cit.*, 6:495. Johnston could indeed cut an inspiring figure waving about his father's War of Independence sword. The C.S. veteran Sam Watkins thus recalled that at the 1864 Battle of Resaca "old Joe [was] pointing... with his sword. (He looked like the pictures you see hung upon the walls)." Watkins, "*Company Aytch*," 132. See Davis, *Rebels and Yankees*, 73.

[162] "Jefferson Davis to Mrs. Davis," Richmond, June 23, 1862, *JDC*, 5:284.

[163] Beringer and Hattaway, *Jefferson Davis, Confederate President*, 217. As Davis informed Johnston in 1863, "I had felt the importance of keeping you free to pass from Army to Army in your Dept. so as to be present wherever most needed, and to command in person wherever present." "Jefferson Davis to Genl. J. E. Johnston, Tullahoma, Tenn.," Richmond, February 19, 1863, *JDC*, 5:434. See "Jefferson Davis to Genl. J. E. Johnston, Chattanooga, Tenn.," "Telegram," Richmond, March 16, 1863, *JDC*, 5:448; "Jefferson Davis to Genl. J. E. Johnston, Chattanooga, Tenn.," Richmond, March 20, 1863, *JDC*, 5:452; and "Jefferson Davis to Col. James Phelan, Meridian, Missi.," Richmond, March 1, 1865, *JDC*, 6:496.

[164] "To Joseph E. Davis," Richmond, May 31, 1863, *PJD*, 9:200. See "Jefferson Davis to General J. E. Johnston, Hd. Qtrs. via Jackson, Missi.," "Telegram (in cypher)," Richmond, May 18, 1863, *JDC*, 5:489; "Jefferson Davis to

even, to be inactive," but he fell back upon learning that Grant was "employing a large force of negroes in constructing every variety of defence."[165] Because "[t]he vital issue of holding the Missi. at Vicksburg is dependent on the success of Genl. Johnston in an attack on the investing force," Davis absolved Pemberton for the "the disastrous termination of the siege of Vicksburg," asserting a few days before the Pennsylvanian C.S. general surrendered that "[a]ll the accounts we have of Pemberton's conduct fully sustain the good opinion heretofore entertained of him…."[166] As he informed James K. Polk's old friend the Democratic lawyer and University of Mississippi founder James H. Howry, "[t]he disasters in Mississippi were both great and unexpected to me." "I had thought that the troops sent to the State," he explained, "made a force large enough to accomplish the destruction of Grant's army," and he held that an investigation would reveal that Johnston's personal "mismanagement" and "bad leadership" were to blame.[167]

One of Johnston's staff officers, in contrast, faulted Pemberton for "disobedience of orders" and Davis for sending insufficient reinforcements in a public letter which contrasted the

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Governor J. J. Pettus, Jackson, Miss.," "Telegram," Richmond, May 18, 1863, *JDC*, 5:490; "Jefferson Davis to Genl. J. E. Johnston, via. Canton, Missi.," "Telegram," Richmond, May 23, 1863, *JDC*, 5:494; "Jefferson Davis to Genl. J. C. Pemberton, via Canton, Miss.," "Telegram," Richmond, May 23, 1863, *JDC*, 5:494; "Jefferson Davis to Genl. J. E. Johnston, Canton, Missi.," "Telegram," Richmond, May 24, 1863, *JDC*, 5:496; "Jefferson Davis to Genl. R. E. Lee, Comdg. &c. near Fredericksburg, Va.," Richmond, May 31, 1863, *JDC*, 5:502; "Jefferson Davis to Lt. Genl. E. K. Smith, Care of Genl. J. E. Johnston, Jackson, Miss.," "Telegram (in cipher)," Richmond, July 2, 1863, *JDC*, 5:534; "Jefferson Davis to General R. E. Lee, Comdg. Army N. Va.," Richmond, July 28, 1863, *JDC*, 5:579; "To James M. Howry," August 27, 1863, *PJD*, 9:357-58; and "Jefferson Davis to Col. James Phelan, Meridian, Missi.," Richmond, March 1, 1865, *JDC*, 6:497.

[165] "Telegraph to General Joseph E. Johnston," Richmond, June 16, 1863, in Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 2:423; and "Dr. D. W. Yandell to Dr. John M. Johnson," Jackson, Mississippi, June 17, 1863, *JDC*, 6:12.

[166] "Jefferson Davis to General Bragg, Tullahoma, Tenn.," "Telegram," Richmond, May 22, 1863, *JDC*, 5:492; "Jefferson Davis to Genl. J. E. Johnston, Jackson, Missi.," "Telegram," Richmond, July 8, 1863, *JDC*, 5:540; and "Jefferson Davis to Genl. R. E. Lee, Comdg. &c. near Fredericksburg, Va.," Richmond, May 31, 1863, *JDC* 5:503. See "Jefferson Davis to General R. E. Lee, Comdg. Army of No. Va. near Fredericksburg, Va.," Richmond, May 26, 1863, *JDC*, 5:497; "Jefferson Davis to Govr. J. J. Pettus, Jackson, Missi.," "Telegram," Richmond, July 11, 1863, *JDC*, 5:542; "Jefferson Davis to General E. K. Smith," Richmond, July 14, 1863, *JDC*, 5:554; "Jefferson Davis to General J. E. Johnston, Commanding &c.," Richmond, July 15, 1863, *JDC*, 5:563; "Jefferson Davis to Lt. Genl. T. H. Holmes," Richmond, July 15, 1863, *JDC*, 5:555; and "Jefferson Davis to Lt. General J. C. Pemberton," Richmond, March 11, 1864, *JDC*, 6:203.

[167] "Jefferson Davis to J. M. Howry," Richmond, August 27, 1863, *JDC*, 6:17.

C.S. president unfavorably with the "genuine hero" Johnston.[168] Davis had already sharply reminded Johnston that he was "your superior officer," and he chastised him as follows: "It is needless to say that you are not considered capable of giving countenance to such efforts at laudation of yourself and detraction of others…."[169] Johnston, however, failed to punish the offending staff officer as Davis expected, and he continued to aggravate him by neglecting to keep him informed as to his intentions and movements, ignoring his suggestions, dilatorily obeying his direct orders, claiming that he could not decipher his telegrams, and insisting that he should have received seniority among all C.S. generals.[170] Johnston, moreover, disliked the "submarine and sub terra" mines developed by the inventive C.S. brigadier general Gabriel J. Rains, whose improved mechanism for changing the elevation of artillery pieces was sent to the Chief of Ordinance for further consideration by Secretary of War Davis in 1854.[171] Worst of all,

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[168] "Dr. D. W. Yandell to Dr. John M. Johnson," Jackson, Mississippi, June 17, 1863, *JDC*, 6:9, 4. See ibid., 5:4-6, 9-12.

[169] "Jefferson Davis to General J. E. Johnston, Commanding &c.," Richmond, July 15, 1863, *JDC*, 5:560; and "Jefferson Davis to Genl. J. E. Johnston, Comdg. &c.," Richmond, August 1, 1863, *JDC*, 5:582-83.

[170] See "Jefferson Davis to Gen. J. E. Johnston, Manassas, Va.," Richmond, August 13, 1861, *JDC*, 5:123; "Jefferson Davis to Genl. J. E. Johnston, Comdg. & c.," Richmond, August 24, 1863, *JDC*, 6:1; "Joseph E. Johnston to Jefferson Davis," Headquarters, Manassas, September 12, 1861, in Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 2:145; "Jefferson Davis to Maj. Genl. G. W. Smith, Army of the Potomac," Richmond, October 10, 1861, *JDC*, 5:139; "Jefferson Davis to Genl. J. E. Johnston, Chattanooga, Tenn.," Richmond, March 20, 1863, *JDC*, 5:452; "Jefferson Davis to General J. E. Johnston, Commanding &c.," Richmond, July 15, 1863, *JDC*, 5:557, 561, 563; "Jefferson Davis to Genl. J. E. Johnston, near Morton, Missi.," "Telegram," Richmond, July 21, 1863, *JDC*, 5:572; "Jefferson Davis to General R. E. Lee," Richmond, July 21, 1863, *JDC*, 5:574; "Jefferson Davis to General J. E. Johnston," Richmond, September 7, 1863, *JDC*, 6:25; "Jefferson Davis to General J. E. Johnston, Comdg. &c., Dalton, Georgia," Richmond, December 23, 1863, *JDC*, 6:137; "Jefferson Davis to General J. E. Johnston, Dalton, Ga.," "Telegram," Richmond, February 15, *JDC*, 6:175; "Jefferson Davis to General J. E. Johnston, Dalton, Ga.," "Telegram (In cipher)," Richmond, February 23, 1864, *JDC*, 6:187; "Jefferson Davis to General J. E. Johnston, Atlanta, Ga.," "Telegram," Richmond, July 9, 1864, *JDC*, 6:286; "Jefferson Davis to Col. James Phelan, Meridian, Missi.," Richmond, March 1, 1865, *JDC*, 6:493, 495, 498-99; and entry for June 2, 1864, in *Mary Chesnut's Civil War*, 613. Davis would even occasionally scrawl "insubordinate" on missives from Johnston. See Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 2:139-40. Also see Cooper, Jr., *Jefferson Davis, American*, 473.

[171] "Jefferson Davis to Brig. Genl. G. J. Rains, Richmond, Va.," Richmond, June 3, 1863, *JDC*, 5:504. Davis ordered Johnston to employ the mines, assuaging Rains's "misgivings, growing out of the belief that Genl. Johnston would not favor the use of your inventions…." He so valued Rains's invention, in fact, that he would not allow him to publish a work upon the subject, for "no printed paper could be kept secret. Your invention would be deprived of a great part of its values if its peculiarities were known to the enemy." He did, however, allow him to circulate copies "for the information of commanding generals in the field, by making extracts of those portions which are applicable to operations against the enemy." Ibid., 5:504. See "Jefferson Davis to Genl. J. E. Johnston, Jackson, Miss.," "Telegram," Richmond, July 9, 1863, *JDC*, 5:541; "Jefferson Davis to General B. D. Fry, Augusta, Ga.,"

he was still losing vital war *matériel* by avoiding rather than fighting Napoleonic battles, as when he abandoned "a very large number of locomotives, said to be about ninety, and several hundred cars" in Mississippi soon after Vicksburg fell. "We have never," Davis averred in 1865, "recovered from the injury to the transportation service occasioned by this failure on his part."[172]

Johnston was also becoming increasingly frustrated by Davis's infringements upon his autonomy as a field commander, and he began to praise anti-Davis Radicals even though he had little in common with them simply to spite the C.S. president.[173] Davis nevertheless informed him in January 1864 that "I rely on your judgment and desire your advice" and allowed him to command of the Army of Tennessee as he fell back from eastern Tennessee into Georgia and then from "Dalton to Calhoun."[174] He hoped that Johnston would surprise the opposing U.S. field army as it advanced and win a Napoleonic battle that would enable "a successful advance through Tennessee into Kentucky," but Johnston retreated to Atlanta in July 1864 instead, at which point an exasperated Davis declared that "[t]here is not a better fighter in the army if he

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"Telegram," Richmond, November 22, 1864, *JDC*, 6:409-10; "Jefferson Davis to Col. Wm. M. Browne, A.D.C., &c., Augusta, Ga.," "Telegram (in cipher)," Richmond, November 22, 1864, *JDC*, 6:410; and *PJD*, 5:384-85.

[172] "Jefferson Davis to Col. James Phelan, Meridian, Missi.," *op. cit.*, 6:498. See "Jefferson Davis to General R. E. Lee, Comdg. Army N. Va.," Richmond, July 28, 1863, *JDC*, 5:579. Johnston, however, was quite popular with Army of Tennessee soldiers because he rarely lost battles and did not gamble with their lives. As a result, some of them came to refer to the C.S. president in derision as "one-eyed Jeff." See Watkins, "*Company Aytch*," 4.

[173] See "Jefferson Davis to Genl. J. E. Johnston, Manassas, Va.," Richmond, August 1, 1861, *JDC*, 5:119; "Jefferson Davis to Genl. J. E. Johnston, Manassas, Va.," Richmond, September 12, 1861, *JDC*, 5:130; "Jefferson Davis to Genl. J. E. Johnston, Manassas, Va.," Richmond, November 10, 1861, *JDC*, 5:162; "Jefferson Davis to Genl. J. E. Johnston Comdg. Dept. of Northn. Va., Centerville, Va.," Richmond, February 14, 1862, *JDC*, 5:192; "Jefferson Davis to Genl. J. E. Johnston, Comdg. Dept. &c. Centerville, Va.," Richmond, February 28, 1862, *JDC*, 5:209; "Jefferson Davis to Genl. J. E. Johnston, Centerville, Va.," Richmond, March 4, 1862, *JDC*, 5:210; "Jefferson Davis to Genl. J. E. Johnston, Centerville, Va.," Richmond, March 6, 1862, *JDC*, 5:212; "Jefferson Davis to Genl. J. E. Johnston, Comdg. etc.," Richmond, May 26, 1862, *JDC*, 5:251-52; "Jefferson Davis to Genl. J. E. Johnston, Jackson, Missi.," "Telegram (in cipher)," Richmond, June 25, 1863, *JDC*, 5:532; "Jefferson Davis to General J. E. Johnston, Commanding &c.," Richmond, July 15, 1863, *JDC*, 5:558, 563; and "Jefferson Davis to General J. E. Johnston, Brandon, Missi.," "Telegram," Richmond, December 19, 1863, *JDC*, 6:135. Also see "Dr. D. W. Yandell to Dr. John M. Johnson, Jackson, Mississippi, June 17, 1863, *JDC*, 6,12; "Jefferson Davis to Col. James Phelan, Meridian, Missi.," Richmond, March 1, 1865, *JDC*, 6:501; and Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 2:152. Rumors even began to swirl that Johnston was scheming to overthrow Davis with the Army of Tennessee and become an emergency military dictator. See entry for December 21, 1863, in *Mary Chesnut's Civil War*, 508.

[174] "Jefferson Davis to General J. E. Johnston, Comdg. Army of the West.," Richmond, January 14, 1864, *JDC*, 6:149; and "Jefferson Davis to General R. E. Lee, Comdg. &c.," Richmond, May 20, 1864, *JDC*, 6:258.

will only fight" and removed him from command, replacing him with a general who was eager to fight Napoleonic battles but lacked the skill to do so with success.[175] Vice President Stephens promptly organized a campaign to convince "officers of State Governments," "many members of Congress," and "other prominent citizens" to pressure Davis to reinstate Johnston. Davis, in turn, drafted a long message to the C.S. Congress in which he explained why "[m]y opinion of Gen. Johnston's unfitness for command has ripened slowly and against my inclination into a conviction so settled, that it would be impossible for me again to feel confidence in him as the commander of an army in the field," excoriating Johnston and the Radicals as well for conspiring to "destroy my power for usefulness by undermining the confidence of my fellow citizens."[176]

Davis's rapport with Beauregard would follow a similar course as his friendship with Johnston, but Charles Girard could plausibly predict in the summer of 1861 that Davis and the Little Napoleon would lead the C.S.A. to many a Napoleonic victory together. The Paris lithographing firm Goupil hence circulated a print depicting a uniformed Davis in with the Little Napoleon at his side flanked by other leading C.S. generals striking Napoleonic poses in France, the Confederacy, and the Union from 1861 onward. Girard, moreover, incorrectly asserted in the Paris *Pays* that Davis had "arrived by train from Richmond" during the Battle of Bull Run "and personally took over command of the entire army. He had under his orders, General Beauregard,

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[175] "Speech of Jefferson Davis at Montgomery," from the Charleston *Daily Courier*, October 3, 1864, *JDC*, 6:346; and quoted in Allen, *Jefferson Davis, Unconquerable Heart*, 390. See "Jefferson Davis to General J. E. Johnston, Comdg. &c., Dalton, Georgia," Richmond, December 23, 1863, *JDC*, 6:135-36; "Jefferson Davis to General J. E. Johnston, Dalton, Ga.," "Telegram (in cipher)," Richmond, January 13, 1864, *JDC*, 6:148; "Jefferson Davis to General J. E. Johnston, Comdg. Army of the West.," Richmond, January 14, 1864, *JDC*, 6:149; "Jefferson Davis to General R. E. Lee," Richmond, June 9, 1864, *JDC*, 6:270; "Jefferson Davis to Hon. Herschel V. Johnson, Sandy Grove, near Burton P.O., Georgia," Richmond July 22, 1864, *JDC*, 6:336-37; and "Jefferson Davis to Col. James Phelan, Meridian, Missi.," Richmond, March 1, 1865, *JDC*, 6:492, 500-01, 503.

[176] "Jefferson Davis to Col. James Phelan, Meridian, Missi.," *op. cit.*, 6:503, 492, 499. "[N]o man," Davis added, "can conduct public affairs with success in a Government like ours, unless upheld by the trust and willing aid of the people." Ibid., 6:492. See ibid., 6:491-92, 499. Johnston's wife, moreover, would claim after the war that her husband been "the victim of the President's persecution." Quoted in Gordon, "'To Comfort, To Counsel, To Cure,'" in *Jefferson Davis's Generals*, 115. See ibid., 116; and Davis, *An Honorable Defeat*, 134.

the finest soldier in America…."[177] It was in fact Johnston who had raced from the Shenandoah to Beauregard's rescue at Bull Run, where Davis lauded him for his "brilliant achievements."[178]

Expressing his Napoleonic view of warfare in his 1863 *Principles and Maxims of the Art of War*, Beauregard was even more willing than Davis to denude vast tracts of the Confederacy of C.S. forces in order to amass large field armies capable of winning Napoleonic battles against U.S. armies.[179] Yet Davis's faith in Beauregard's ability to win such battles was shattered by the Louisianan's Shiloh performance.[180] Punishing Beauregard for carping in the press by removing him from the eastern theatre, Davis made him second-in-command of the principal western C.S. field army. That army engaged Ulysses S. Grant near Shiloh, Tennessee on April 6, 1862, and it seemed to be on the verge of winning a Napoleonic battle of annihilation when its commander was slain. Beauregard took charge and prematurely telegraphed Davis that he had "gained a complete victory," for he failed to drive Grant into the Mississippi and retreated when U.S. reinforcements arrived.[181] Davis thought that Beauregard threw away a Napoleonic victory and concluded that he was unsuited to command in the field, concurring with his brother Joseph that "Beauregard may possess courage & as an Engineer skill but he wants character to command

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[177] "The Battle of Manassas," Washington, D.C., July 23, 1861, from the Paris *Pays*, August 10, 1861, in Girard, *A Visit to the Confederate States of America in 1863*, 116. "The Federals soon learned," Girard added, "from the rumbling of the cannon, the clanging of rifles and the shouts which attended his appearance, of the presence on the battlefield of the first President of the Confederate States of America, coming to take his place at the head of his army and to take part actively in the struggle, sharing the terrible dangers with them." Ibid., 116. See ibid., 118; and Girard, *op. cit.*, 52.

[178] "Jefferson Davis to Genl. J. E. Johnston, Manassas, Va.," Richmond, September 12, 1861, *JDC*, 5:130. See "Jefferson Davis to Genl. J. E. Johnston, Manassas, Va.," Richmond, September 8, 1861, *JDC*, 5:130; and "Jefferson Davis to Genl. J. E. Johnston, Manassas, Va.," Richmond, September 25, 1861," *JDC*, 5:135

[179] See P. G. T. Beauregard, *Principles and Maxims of the Art of War: Outpost Services, General Instructions for Battle, Reviews* (Charleston, SC: Evans & Cogswell, 1863); and "P. G. T. Beauregard, Memorandum," Hancock House, Virginia, May 18, 1864, in Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 2:520-21. Also see Williams, *P. G. T. Beauregard*, 93-94, 197-98.

[180] See Varina Davis, *op. cit.*, 2:113.

[181] Quoted in Beringer and Hattaway, *Jefferson Davis, Confederate President*, 149. See "Telegram to General A. S. Johnston," Richmond, April 5, 1862, in Varina Davis, *op. cit*,, 2:225.

respect."[182] When the Little Napoleon took an unauthorized medical leave and left his army at Corinth, Mississippi, Davis relieved him of command, prompting Beauregard to avow in private that he took "consolation" from the fact that if Davis "were to die to-day, the whole country would rejoice at it, whereas, if the same thing were to happen to me, they would regret it."[183]

The Louisianan was nonetheless placed in charge of Charleston's defense because he kept his harsh words for the C.S. president quiet, and because Davis still had faith in his engineering skills and ability to evoke French sympathy. He had, after all, greeted Charles Girard with "graciousness" at Charleston in 1863.[184] An anonymous British observer in Charleston, moreover, described Beauregard as "the exact type of a French engineer... jaunty in his gait, dashing in manner…."[185] Colonel Léon D. Frémaux of New Orleans, too, was a French citizen and 8th Louisiana Infantry captain who became a colonel and topographical engineer on the Little Napoleon's staff.[186] Beauregard's son René was also a member of New Orleans's famous Washington Artillery, which Zouave-style regiment featured uniformed vivandières and meals by Edouard, a French immigrant chef who was famous for his ability to make delicious dishes from scanty supplies and for his cherished pet fox.[187] The regiment also endeared itself to

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[182] "From Joseph Davis," Hurricane, Mississippi, April 20, 1862, *PJD*, 8:147-48. See "Jefferson Davis to Mrs. Davis," Richmond, June 3, 1862, *JDC*, 5:266; "Jefferson Davis to Mrs. Davis," Richmond, June 13, 1862, *JDC*, 5:277; and "Jefferson Davis to Mrs. Davis," Richmond, June 21, 1862, *JDC*, 5:284. Also see Parrish, "Jeff Davis Rules," in *Jefferson Davis's Generals*, 52; and Beringer and Hattaway, *Jefferson Davis, Confederate President*, 242. "There are those who can only walk along when it is near to the ground," Davis explained to his wife with reference to Beauregard, "and I fear he has been placed too high for his mental strength, as he does not exhibit the ability manifested on smaller fields." "Jefferson Davis to Mrs. Davis," Richmond, June 13, 1862, *JDC*, 5:277.

[183] Quoted in Parrish, *op., cit.*, 54. Beauregard thought that Davis had to be "either demented or a traitor to his trust" for removing him from command. Quoted in ibid., 54. Beauregard's frequent claims for medical expenses had annoyed Secretary of War Davis as well during the 1850s. See *PJD*, 5:385.

[184] Girard, *A Visit to the Confederate States of America in 1863*, 43.

[185] "Books on the American War," *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, December 1863, 766.

[186] Frémaux also founded and designed the city of Slidell, Louisiana after the war. See George G. Kundahl, *Confederate Engineer: Training and Campaigning with John Morris Wampler* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2000), 144-45.

[187] See "Augusta Jane Evans to P. G. T. Beauregard," Columbia, December 14, 1863, in *A Southern Woman of Letters: The Correspondence of Augusta Jane Evans Wilson*, ed. Rebecca Grant Sexton (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2002), 89; William M. Owen, *In Camp and Battle with the Washington Artillery* (Boston:

the C.S. president at Richmond in June 1861, for "the commissioned and non-commissioned staff of the Battalion of Washington Artillery… came from [Camp Beauregard] to this city, accompanied with their excellent Brass Band of 12 pieces, and serenaded President Davis at the Spotswood House." As a result, they were "invited to the reception-room of the President…. An hour was agreeably passed, both Mr. and Mrs. D. paying the Battalion high compliments."[188]

Beauregard successfully repelled the Union's "grand attack" on Charleston in the summer of 1863; having prevented the U.S. from "breaching Fort Sumter," he delighted Davis by devastating the famous black 54th Massachusetts Infantry when he "repulsed the assault of the enemy on Battery Wagner."[189] Yet the C.S. president still criticized Beauregard for failing to annihilate the attackers by means of "inner lines of circumvallation" and "concentrated fire."[190] When he visited Charleston to "confer with our Commanding General, and by personal observation acquire some of that knowledge which would enable him to understand more clearly the reports which would be submitted to him," he was pleasantly surprised to receive a "cordial greeting" from Beauregard.[191] The Louisianan promised to dutifully obey orders and Davis gave him a secondary field command in 1864, tasking him with the destruction a relatively small U.S.

Ticknor and Company, 1885), 21; Lonn, *Foreigners in the Confederacy*, 253-54; and Davis, *Rebels and Yankees*, 39.

[188] Richmond *Dispatch*, June 20, 1861. "This Battalion," the paper added, "is now being supplied with an additional battery by the Confederate Government, composed of six-pounders, twelve-pound howitzers and rifled cannon, and are now in a very superior state of artillery drill, ready for action." Varina Davis also recalled that the Washington Artillery's "jaunty" soldiers were always popular in Richmond because they "and other New Orleans companies... gave dinners, danced, and sung, and 'did the thing handsomely' wherever money was to be spent or amusement was to be found during their brief visits from the field...." Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 2:606.

[189] "Jefferson Davis to General G. T. Beauregard, Charleston, S.C.," "Telegram," Richmond, August 27, 1863, *JDC*, 6:17; "Jefferson Davis to General R. E. Lee," Richmond, July 21, 1863, *JDC*, 5:574. When Davis was informed of the 54th Massachusetts's fate, one Confederate clerk observed that "the President is quite amiable now. The newspaper editors can find easy access and he welcomes them with a smile." Quoted in Beringer and Hattaway, *Jefferson Davis, Confederate President*, 243-44.

[190] "Speech of President Davis in Charleston," from the Charleston *Daily Courier*, November 3, 1863, *JDC*, 6:77. See Varina Davis, *op. cit.*, 2:441.

[191] "Speech of President Davis in Charleston," *op. cit.*, 6:76, 74.

army menacing Richmond from the James Peninsula.[192] Beauregard stymied that army's advance in the Bermuda Hundred campaign, but he disappointed Davis once again by failing to destroy it in battle. He had, after all, complained that "[t]he President has ordered me to give… battle at once. It is against my judgment, and I have protested against it, but to no avail."[193]

The Little Napoleon redeemed himself when he saved Richmond in the June 1864 Second Battle of Petersburg, foiling a large Union surprise attack by pressing boys, old men, and convalescing C.S. soldiers into the ranks.[194] Still deeming Beauregard inept at fighting true Napoleonic battles, Davis sent him back to the western theatre, denying him direct command of a field army even as he ordered him to coordinate Confederate armies so as to destroy invading U.S. armies by "the rapid concentration of your forces...."[195] Beauregard viewed this assignment as yet another personal insult, but Davis was actually beginning to revise his opinion of the Little Napoleon upward, declaring in an October 1864 speech that "Beauregard – (cheers) goes to share the toils, the fortunes, the misfortunes, if it be so, of the army in Georgia. He goes with a single purpose to serve wherever I direct, asking no particular place, desiring no special command…. I trust he goes not to bleed but to conquer. (Great applause.)"[196] Indeed, Davis had even claimed a few weeks earlier that "if General Beauregard could meet me at Burkesville [in

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[192] See Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 2:516-17.
[193] Quoted in ibid., 2:511.
[194] See ibid., 2:492.
[195] "Jefferson Davis to General G. T. Beauregard, Augusta, Ga.," "Telegram (in cipher)," Richmond, February 4, 1865, *JDC*, 6:464. See "Jefferson Davis to General W. J. Hardee, Charleston, S.C.," "Telegram (in cipher)," Richmond, February 11, 1865, *JDC*, 6:479; and "Jefferson Davis to General W. J. Hardee, Charleston, S.C.," "Telegram (in cipher)," Richmond, February 14, 1865, *JDC*, 6:480.
[196] "Speech of Jefferson Davis at Augusta," from the Richmond *Dispatch*, October 10, 1864, *JDC*, 6:361. Beauregard gave a speech himself right after Davis as well. See ibid., 6:361. Also see "Jefferson Davis to General G. T. Beauregard, Columbia, S.C.," "Telegram (in cipher)," Richmond, February 6, 1865, *JDC*, 6:464. Beauregard was also offended by the fact that Davis sent aides and other officers to oversee him: "You will proceed with all dispatch to the Hd. Qrts. of General Beauregard with whom you will advise as to the movements of his forces, the roads most available to effect the earliest possible junction of his troops, which should be effected before a battle with the enemy is risked." "Jefferson Davis to Maj. Genl. J. F. Gilmer, Chief of Eng. Bureau," Richmond, February 20, 1865, *JDC*, 6:481. Davis added that "[y]ou will show this letter to Genl. Beauregard and convey to him the views this day expressed to you on the subject of the operations with which he is charged." Ibid., 6:481.

North Carolina] and go on with me, I would be glad to confer with him, and have his company."[197] And he informed the Little Napoleon that "[y]our personal presence is expected wherever in your judgment the interests of your command render it expedient; and wherever present with an army in the field you will exercise immediate command of the troops."[198]

Beauregard was not the only high-ranking French Catholic Confederate. Camille Armand Jules Marie, the Prince de Polignac, was a French officer medaled for valor in the Crimea. Arriving in Nicaragua in 1859 to study plants but really to facilitate Félix Belly's transoceanic canal project, Polignac sported, as Ella Lonn put it, "a Napoleonic beard" based upon Napoleon III's famous goatee, and he made his way to the C.S.A. in 1861 to offer his services.[199] Davis dined with him and assigned him to Beauregard's staff as a lieutenant colonel. Chief-of-staff Polignac further endeared himself to Davis by reorganizing and holding together Beauregard's demoralized army at Corinth when the Little Napoleon took his infamous medical leave-of-absence. Davis soon gave Polignac, whose relationship with a jealous Beauregard had soured, a field command of his own and promoted him to brigadier general in January of 1863.[200]

Brigadier General Polignac served under General Richard Taylor, who was Zachary Taylor's son and Davis's brother-in-law through Sarah Knox Taylor. A "high church" Episcopalian, Taylor married Louise Marie Myrthé Bringier, who was a member of a wealthy Louisiana Creole family, and he was fluent in French thanks to a year's worth of schooling in France during the early 1840s. He also admired the "axiom[s] of Napoleon" and paid careful

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[197] "Jefferson Davis to General R. E. Lee, Petersburg, Va.," "Telegram (in cipher)," Richmond, September 20, 1864, *JDC*, 6:340.

[198] "Jefferson Davis to General G. T. Beauregard, Augusta, Ga.," Augusta, Georgia, October 2, 1864, *JDC*, 6:349. See ibid., 6:348; and "Jefferson Davis to Genl. John B. Hood, Hdqtrs. Army of Tenn.," "(Private)," Opelika, Alabama, September 23, 1864, *JDC*, 6:435.

[199] Lonn, *Foreigners in the Confederacy*, 168. See Mahin, *The Blessed Place of Freedom*, 246.

[200] See Roy O. Hatton, "Camille De Polignac: A Prince among the Confederates," *The Register of the Kentucky Historical Society*, vol. 66, no. 1 (January 1968), 65-74; and Jeff Kinard, *Lafayette of the South: Prince Camille de Polignac and the American Civil War* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2001). Claude Pardigon was another French C.S. volunteer who ran the Union blockade to reach the Confederacy. See Lonn, *op. cit.*, 187.

attention to "[t]he Italian campaign of Louis Napoleon," striving as well to prevent the Democrats from splitting at the 1860 Charleston convention as an ex-Whig who joined the Davis Democrats in the 1850s.[201] Taylor befriended Davis during the Mexican War while serving as a secretary for his father, and he was one of President Davis's favorite generals and most trusted confidantes.[202] He fought with distinction as colonel of the 9th Louisiana Infantry in the Battle of Bull Run, and Davis elevated him to brigadier general even though other colonels had seniority. Taylor ably served in the Virginia theatre as a brigade commander in 1862, and Davis made him the youngest C.S. major general in July 1862, putting him in charge of the Louisiana theatre.[203]

Joining Taylor in Louisiana, Polignac received a hostile reception from Anglo-Protestant soldiers under his command who, as Taylor recalled, "swore that a Frenchman, whose very name they could not pronounce, should never command them, and mutiny was threatened."[204] Taylor quickly restored order, but those same soldiers came to revere Polignac, whom they had initially styled "Prince Polecat" in derision, for his skill and bravery.[205] Polignac played a vital role in the April 1864 Battle of Mansfield, in which Taylor nearly won a Napoleonic victory by routing though not annihilating Nathaniel Banks's invading Union army. Polignac, moreover, embodied and endorsed the Davis administration's equality among whites principle, for when a Richmond

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[201] Richard Taylor, *Destruction and Reconstruction: Personal Experiences of the Late War* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1883), 20, 32.

[202] See "Jefferson Davis to Genl. J. E. Johnston, Jackson, Miss.," "Telegram," Richmond, July 9, 1863, *JDC*, 5:540; "Jefferson Davis to Gov. Thos. O. Moore," Richmond, April 12, 1864, *JDC*, 6:224-25; "Jefferson Davis to General R. Taylor, Selma, Ala.," "Telegram," Richmond, November 9, 1864, *JDC*, 6:401; and "Jefferson Davis to General R. Taylor, Meridian, Miss.," "Telegram (in cipher)," Richmond, January 17, 1865, *JDC*, 6:451. Varina Davis also deemed Taylor "one of the most gallant and daring heroes" in the C.S. army. Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 1:94.

[203] For Taylor's biographical details, see Taylor, *op. cit.*; Arthur W. Bergeron, Jr., "General Richard Taylor as a Military Commander," *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association*, vol. 23, no. 1 (Winter 1982), 35-47; and T. Michael Parrish, *Richard Taylor, Soldier Prince of Dixie* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992).

[204] Taylor, *op. cit.*, 153.

[205] See Lonn, *Foreigners in the Confederacy*, 169, 170. Polignac spoke English fluently but with a heavy French accent. See ibid., 170.

socialite congratulated him for his promotion to brigadier general and obsequiously addressed him as "Count," he replied, "[n]o, Madame: God made me that; the other I made myself!"[206]

Davis promoted Taylor to lieutenant general after the Battle of Mansfield, elevating Polignac to major general as well. Taylor, however, had not one but two famous French generals under his command. The Catholic Creole C.S. brigadier general Jean Jacques Alfred Alexandre Mouton was descended from French Acadians whom the British had expelled from British North America during the 1755-64 *Grand Dérangement*. His father Alexandre was a Georgetown graduate, Democratic U.S. senator from 1837-42, Democratic governor of Louisiana from 1843-46, and delegate to the 1860 Charleston convention. Governor Mouton had some Radical state's rights proclivities, but he established the University of Louisiana (today's Tulane University) and an inchoate public school system. He also secured full democratic equality among Louisiana white men by eliminating all vestigial property qualifications for office-holding. A wealthy sugar planter who presided over the 1852 Southwestern Railroad Convention and the Louisiana secession convention, Mouton was an unwavering supporter of the Davis administration as well.

Mouton's son "Alfred" attended the Jesuit St. Charles College at Grand Coteau, and in 1846 he enrolled in West Point, where he became fluent in English. Resigning from the U.S. army shortly after graduating in 1850, Mouton was a Democrat-leaning civil engineer, railroad entrepreneur, state militia brigadier general, and sugar planter in Lafayette, Louisiana during the 1850s. Elected colonel of the 18th Louisiana Infantry in 1861, Mouton was wounded during the Battle of Shiloh, in which he fought with distinction. Promoted to brigadier general by Davis in April 1862, Mouton became a close friend of his commander Major General Taylor as they

[206] Quoted in Thomas Cooper De Leon, *Belles, Beaux, and Brains of the '60s* (1907; reprint, New York: G. W. Dillingham Company, 1909), 332.

bedeviled U.S. forces in Louisiana throughout 1863.[207] Mouton was closely associated with the famous Yellow Jackets Battalion, the commanding officer of which was another French-American favored by Davis named Valsin Antonie Fournet.[208] He died a famously brave death at the head of his charging brigade in the Battle of Mansfield, at which point Polignac assumed command of his grieving but enraged soldiers and took them to a near-Napoleonic victory.[209]

Paul Octave Hébert, moreover, was a Catholic Creole who graduated from West Point in 1840 and taught engineering there until 1845, when he resigned to become Louisiana's chief engineer at Governor Mouton's behest. He distinguished himself in the battle for Chapultepec as lieutenant colonel of the U.S. 14th Infantry. Having been narrowly defeated by the Whigs for a state senate seat, Hébert avenged himself by crushing the disintegrating Louisiana Whigs and became a Democratic governor of Louisiana in 1853.[210] Governor Hébert was a wealthy sugar planter through his marriage to Marie Coralie Wills Vaughn and a "Regular Democrat" ally of John Slidell who championed internal improvements, militia reforms, banking regulations, property taxes, urban sanitation, and whites-only public education. Indeed, he established the Louisiana Seminary of Learning, which would eventually become Louisiana State University.[211]

Entering the fray in 1861 as the 1st Louisiana Artillery's colonel, Hébert became, thanks to Davis, one of the original C.S. brigadier generals alongside Beauregard. The C.S. president tasked him with the defense of Texas, but he fell out of favor with Davis in 1862, when, in his

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[207] See Warner, *Generals in Gray*, 223.
[208] See "Jefferson Davis to Govr. Thomas O. Moore, Governor of La.," Richmond, March 20, 1863, *JDC*, 5:451. Also see Arthur W. Bergeron, Jr., *Guide to Louisiana Confederate Military Units, 1861-1865* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1989), 163-64.
[209] For Mouton's life, see William Arceneaux, *Acadian General: Alfred Mouton and the Civil War* (Lafayette: University of Southwestern Louisiana Press, 1981); and Judith F. Gentry, "Alexandre Mouton, 1843-1846," in *The Louisiana Governors: From Iberville to Edwards*, ed. Joseph G. Dawson III (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1990), 118-22.
[210] See John M. Sacher, "The Sudden Collapse of the Louisiana Whig Party," *The Journal of Southern History*, vol. 65, no. 2 (May 1999), 221-48.
[211] For Hébert's career, see Walter Greaves Cowan, "Paul Octave Hebert," in *Louisiana Governors*, 81-83.

zeal to punish Texas's anti-Confederate German population, he declared martial law without Davis's authorization and instigated the execution or lynching of forty pro-U.S. Texans in the Great Hanging at Gainesville. Davis removed Hébert from Texas and assigned him to help defend northern Louisiana, where he fought black U.S. troops in the 1863 Battle of Milliken's Bend. His cousin Louis, however, stayed in Davis's good graces. Graduating from West Point in 1845, Louis Hébert spent the next fifteen years working as Louisiana's chief engineer, planting sugar, and training militia. Entering the war as colonel of the 3rd Louisiana Infantry, he was captured at the Battle of Pea Ridge, exchanged, and promoted to brigadier general in May 1862. He was captured and paroled at Vicksburg a year later; ending up as the chief C.S. engineer in North Carolina, he commanded the artillery at Wilmington's imposing Fort Fisher.[212]

Charles Jacques Villeré was another well-known Catholic Creole. He was a descendant of Louisiana's second U.S. governor the Jeffersonian Democrat Jacques Philippe Villeré, and his sister Marie married Beauregard in 1841. He supported the Pierce and Buchanan administrations as a state legislator, presidential elector, congressional candidate, and planter whose sugar refineries occupied part of the Battle of New Orleans's site. Villeré served as a C.S. regimental colonel in 1861. He was elected to the Confederate Congress in 1862 and stayed there until the bitter end. He usually supported Davis administration policies even though he became hostile to the C.S. president on a personal level after Davis stripped Beauregard of command at Corinth.[213]

Davis also raised James De Berty Trudeau to prominence.[214] A physician, naturalist, and cannon enthusiast, Trudeau studied medicine in Paris and artillery in Switzerland. He married

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[212] See Warner, *Generals in Gray*, 130-31; and Carl A. Brasseaux, *Acadian to Cajun: Transformation of a People, 1803-1877* (Oxford: University of Mississippi Press, 1992), 97.
[213] See Charles Jacques Villeré, *Review of Certain Remarks Made by the President When Requested to Restore General Beauregard to the Command of Department No. 2* (Charleston: Evans & Cogswell, 1863); and Bruce R. Wells, *The Bermuda Hundred Campaign: The Creole and the Beast* (Charleston: The History Press, 2011), 15.
[214] See "Jefferson Davis to Governor Henry W. Allen. – of Louisiana," Richmond, November 3, 1864, *JDC*, 6:369.

into the family of the famous doctor François Eloi Berger of New York City, where he practiced medicine until he moved to New Orleans in the 1850s. His wife left him to wed a French officer during a visit to Paris, but his daughter stayed married to the son of the famous French chemist and balloon aeronaut Joseph Louis Gay-Lussac, who had taught at the *École polytechnique* as one of Napoleon I's favorites. Trudeau made up for his divorce by marrying into the Bringier family and thus become an in-law relation of Richard Taylor.[215] Commissioned by Louisiana as a militia brigadier general and artillery instructor in 1861, he designed fortifications in Kentucky and was, thanks to Beauregard, placed in charge of the artillery at Island No. 10, a crucial C.S. fortress on the Mississippi.[216] Fleeing the disastrous fall of Island No. 10 in April 1862, Trudeau was wounded at Shiloh and captured in 1863. Yet the C.S. president staunchly defended his reputation, and Trudeau reciprocated by breaking parole in 1864 to personally report for duty.[217]

Lewis Gustave DeRussy was yet another renowned C.S. Catholic Creole. His father Thomas DeRussy resigned from the French navy to serve under the famous U.S. captain John Paul Jones during the American Revolution. It was widely believed that Jones sent a U.S. warship to rescue DeRussy's St. Domingue family from black slave rebels in 1792. Lewis De Russy graduated from West Point in 1814, served in the War of 1812, and moved to Louisiana. A major general in the Louisiana militia, he was the oldest West Point graduate to serve the Confederacy, and he built Fort DeRussy to secure the lower Red River in late 1862.[218] Lawrence

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[215] See Edward Livingston Trudeau, M.D., *An Autobiography* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Doran & Company, 1934), 9.

[216] For the strategic value of Island No. 10, see "Jefferson Davis to Col. Wm. P. Johnston, A.D.C.," Richmond, June 14, 1862, *JDC*, 5:280.

[217] See "Jefferson Davis to Genl. L. Polk, Jackson, Tenn.," "Telegram," Richmond, March 24, 1862, *JDC*, 5:224. See Archibald Malloch, "James de Berty Trudeau: Artist, Soldier, Physician," *New York Academy of Medicine*, vol. 11, no. 12 (December 1935), 681-99.

[218] See Steven M. Mayeux, *Earthen Walls, Iron Men: Fort DeRussy, Louisiana, and the Defense of Red River* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2007), 269-303. Lewis De Russy died in 1864. His older brother René Edward De Russy graduated from West Point in 1812 and, under the supervision of Simon Bernard and Secretary of War Calhoun, built coastal fortifications in both New York and the Gulf Coast, using slave labor extensively in the

"Laurent" Rousseau of New Orleans, moreover, was the highest-ranking U.S. navy officer to join the C.S. navy.[219] He was a U.S. navy lieutenant during the War of 1812, and his brother Gustave was one of Davis's West Point classmates, a hero of the Mexican War, and a Louisiana militia brigadier general.[220] Having risen to the rank of commodore, Rousseau flouted the British blockade directed against the emancipatory but white supremacist Blancos during the Uruguayan Civil War by sending U.S. marines into Montevideo to protect U.S. citizens there from the ostensible threat posed to them by Garibaldi's racially-egalitarian Colorados. He then grudgingly helped the Royal Navy enforce the Webster-Ashburton treaty as the commander of the U.S. Brazil Squadron, in which one of his favorite officers was the French-speaking George M. Brooke, Jr., whom Rousseau had given a glowing recommendation to attend the U.S. Naval Academy in 1846.[221] The superannuated Rousseau organized coastal defenses and outfitted warships at New Orleans and Mobile, working in the C.S. Navy Department at Richmond as well. And it fell to him to surrender the last remnants of the Confederate navy in May 1865.[222]

Davis raised French Catholic Confederates to prominence in order to curry French favor and demonstrate the Confederacy's commitment to equality among whites through religious

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latter location. He was superintendent of West Point from 1833-38, and Secretary of War Davis transferred him to San Francisco to build fortifications there. René De Russy remained quiescent at that post until his death in November 1865. See Frederick W. Herman, "René Edward De Russy," *Professional Memoirs, Corps of Engineers, United States Army and Engineer Department at Large*, vol. 7, no. 36 (November-December 1915), 758-60; and Benjamin Franklin Gilbert, "San Francisco Harbor Defense during the Civil War," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, vol. 33, no. 3 (September 1954), 229-40.

[219] See Jefferson Davis, "To the President of the Congress of the Confederate States," March 16, 1861, *Journal of the Congress of the Confederate States of America*, 7 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1904-1905), 1:156.

[220] See William Edwards Clement, *Plantation Life on the Mississippi* (1952; reprint, Gretna, LA: Pelican Publishing Company, 2000), 158.

[221] See Brooke, Jr., *John M. Brooke*, 21-22.

[222] See J. Thomas Sharf, *History of the Confederate States Navy: From its Organization to the Surrender of its Last Vessel* (New York: Rogers & Sherwood, 1887), 89-90, 263, 596; Jack D. L. Holmes and Raymond J. Martinez, "The Naval Career of Lawrence Rousseau," *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association*, vol. 9, no. 4 (Autumn 1968), 341-54; and James Hamilton Tomb, *Engineer in Gray: Memoirs of Chief Engineer James H. Tomb, CSN*, ed. R. Thomas Campbell (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, 2005), 7. The French-speaking Brooke was also a favorite officer of Commodore Rousseau, who gave him a glowing recommendation to attend the new U.S. Naval Academy at Annapolis. See Brooke, Jr., *op. cit.*, 21.

toleration. But he favored C.S. Huguenots too. Napoleon III, after all, scrupulously upheld equal rights for French Protestants in Catholic France. Confederate Huguenots were often enthusiastic supporters of the Davis administration too. One C.S. officer, for instance, had a "splendid time" staying with a small group of French Protestant immigrants who had recently arrived in the Knoxville area, for while they spoke little English, they "were great 'Rebs,' so it seemed to be with pleasure that they did all they could to make us comfortable."[223] Virginia's William Latané, moreover, was a C.S. cavalry officer of French ancestry who was killed during the Seven Days Battles. His death was immortalized by the 1864 painting *The Burial of Latané*, which tens of thousands of Confederates saw when it was put on display in the C.S. Congress. It was painted by Virginia's William De Hertburn Washington, a distant relative of the first U.S. president and an amateur artist who worked in the U.S. Patent Office in the 1850s. Washington and his sketches impressed President Pierce, who encouraged him to pursue an artistic career.[224]

Lieutenant Colonel Arthur Middleton Manigault was present at the siege of Fort Sumter as one of Beauregard's aides. He was a Charleston businessman, Mexican War officer, rice planter, and descendant of one of South Carolina's most prestigious Huguenot families. Manigault served capably in the western theatre as the 10th South Carolina Infantry's colonel and rose to the rank of brigadier general in April 1863.[225] William F. De Saussure, moreover, frequently visited the C.S. troops besieging Fort Sumter. He had been a South Carolina

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[223] Richard Hancock, *Hancock's Diary: or a History of the Second Tennessee Confederate Cavalry* (Nashville: Brandon Printing Company, 1887), 39.

[224] See De Leon, *Four Years in Rebel Capitals*, 300; and Mark E. Neely, Jr., Harold Holzer, and Gabor S. Boritt, *The Confederate Image: Prints of the Lost Cause* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1987), ix-xiii.

[225] Manigault was put out of commission by a head wound received during the November 1864 Second Battle of Franklin. See Warner, *Generals in Gray*, 210-11. Also see *A Carolinian Goes to War: The Civil War Narrative of Arthur Middleton Manigault, Brigadier General, C.S.A.*, ed. R. Lockwood Tower (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1992).

Democratic U.S. senator from 1852-53.[226] His son Wilmot Gibbes de Saussure was a proud Huguenot, respected lawyer, Democratic politician, and artillery colonel in the South Carolina militia who helped take Fort Sumter and defend Charleston in 1863.[227] His son also took pride in the fact that his celebrated grandfather Henry W. de Saussure helped protect Charleston from British naval attacks during the American Revolution and later mentored the young Calhoun.[228]

The de Saussure family was close to Georgia's Joseph Le Conte, who was a Huguenot physician, geologist, and Harvard graduate who studied under Louis Agassiz in the late 1840s and early 1850s. He propounded Agassiz's racial theories as a professor of natural history at Georgia's Franklin College. Le Conte became a professor of chemistry and geology at Columbia's South Carolina College 1857. Teaching there during the war, he also supervised C.S. medicine and niter production in South Carolina and Georgia.[229] Le Conte was so disgusted by what he took to be black rule during postwar Reconstruction that he moved to California, where he took up a professorship at the new University of California, propounding theories of racial evolution and environmental conservation as the president of the American Association for the Advancement of Science and director of the Sierra Club.[230] His daughter Emma Florence Le

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[226] See *Lamb's Biographical Dictionary of the United States*, ed. John Howard Brown, vol. 2 (Boston: James H. Lamb Company, 1900), 435.

[227] See Abner Doubleday, *Reminiscences of Forts Sumter and Moultrie in 1860-'61* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1876), 181; and *PJD*, 10:582-83.

[228] See *In Memoriam. Wilmot Gibbes De Saussure, President. April 13, 1886* (Charleston: Huguenot Society of South Carolina, 1886). Colonel William Davie DeSaussure, moreover, was a Mexican War veteran, U.S. army captain from 1855-61, and a C.S. colonel whom Davis was eager to promote. He was killed at the Battle of Gettysburg. See "Jefferson Davis to General R. E. Lee, Petersburg, Va.," "Telegram," Richmond, August 2, 1864, *JDC*, 6:303. Also see "From Francis W. Pickens," June 3, 1862, *PJD*, 8:22; W. Chris Phelps, *Charlestonians in War: The Charleston Battalion* (Gretna, LA: Pelican Publishing Company, 2004), 36; and Allardice, *Confederate Colonels*, 127.

[229] James Chesnut, moreover, encouraged Joseph Le Conte to produce a saltpetre production manual, and his wife recorded that he was "awfully proud of LeConte's powder manufacturing here. Le Conte knows how to do it. J. C. provides him the means to carry out his plans." Entry for June 14, 1862, in *Mary Chesnut's Civil War*, 387. See Joseph Le Conte, *Instructions for the Manufacture of Saltpetre* (Columbia: Charles P. Pelham, State Printer, 1862).

[230] See Joseph Le Conte, *Evolution: Its Nature, Its Evidences, and Its Relation to Religious Thought*, 2nd ed. (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1905). For Le Conte's horror at the prospect of racial equality during Reconstruction in South Carolina, see Joseph Le Conte, *The Autobiography of Joseph Le Conte*, ed. William Dallam Armes, vol. 3 (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1903), 238.

Conte, moreover, was friendly to Catholics and partial to Napoleon III's France. An admirer of President Davis, she recorded the following in her diary on May 18, 1865: "We heard of the capture of President Davis! This is dreadful, not only because we love him, but because it gives the final blow to our cause."[231] She had also declared a few months earlier that "I would rather endure any poverty than live under Yankee rule. I would rather far have France or any other country for a mistress – anything but live as one nation with *Yankees* – that word in my mind is a synonym for *all* that is *mean* despicable and abhorrent."[232] And she would watch in revulsion and horror as the U.S. soldiery in Columbia "walk[ed] the streets with the negro girls calling them 'young ladies' – and why not? Doubtless they recognize in them not only their equals, but their superiors…. Dear me! How the sight of that blue uniform makes my blood boil!"[233]

Davis was also a friend of Mississippi's prestigious Huguenot Guion family. Isaac Guion of New York was a liaison and translator for George Washington and various French officers at Yorktown. He moved to Natchez after the Louisiana Purchase to take up an administrative post.[234] His youngest son Walter B. Guion was one of Davis's roommates at West Point and a staunch Mississippi Democrat, while John, another son, succeeded Quitman as governor of Mississippi in 1851.[235] Isaac Guion's son George, moreover, was Varina Davis's godfather.[236] His son Lewis was a sugar planter and Democratic law professor at the University of Louisiana. A lieutenant in the 1st Louisiana in 1861, he left that famous battalion in early 1862 to help raise

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[231] Entry for May 18, 1865, in *A Journal, Kept by Emma Florence Leconte, from Dec. 31, 1864 to Aug. 6, 1865, Written in her Seventeenth Year and Containing a Detailed Account of the Burning Of Columbia, by One who was an Eyewitness*, ed. Works Progress Administration (1938; reprint, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 73. For Le Conte's pro-Catholic sympathies, see entry for February 15, 1865, in ibid., 21.
[232] Entry for February 23, 1865, in ibid., 46.
[233] Entry for May 18, 1865, in ibid., 72.
[234] See *PJD*, 2:77.
[235] See "Proceedings of a Court of Inquiry – Eleventh Day Case of Seventy Cadets," West Point, January 19, 1827, *PJD*, 1:75; and "Notice of the Proceedings of the State Democratic Convention – Speech Recommending John C. Calhoun," Jackson, Mississippi, January 8, 1844, *PJD*, 2:68. Also see *PJD*, 2:77. Davis described Walter Guion in an 1875 letter to another member of the Guion family as "my chum at the Military Academy and to the time of his death near to me as a brother." Quoted in *PJD*, 2:77.
[236] See *PJD*, 2:77.

the 26th Louisiana Infantry, in which he rose to the rank of captain. He was active in organizations for Confederate veterans and worked to overthrow Reconstruction as a Knight of the White Camelia. Lewis Guion passed away in 1914, but he lived to see his younger brother and fellow Democratic lawyer Walter become President Woodrow Wilson's attorney general.[237]

When Davis visited Charleston in November 1863, the Huguenot major John T. Trezevant was "commanding the C. S. Arsenal… [and] arranged a pyramid of ten inch manufactured at the Arsenal," knowing full well that the display would prove "pleasing" to Davis.[238] He also told his workers to take "their hats off" and gave the C.S. president "Yankee trophies of all sizes," prompting Davis to declare that, "[w]ith their implements of industry in their stalwart arms, and the products of their labor lying by them, one could but feel that such men are all important in the prosecution of our efforts at independence."[239] Yet no Huguenot was more devoted to the Davis administration than North Carolina's James Johnston Pettigrew, who had not just ideological affinities for Napoleon III's France but was an outright Bonapartist.

A lawyer and "high church" Episcopalian, Pettigrew excelled at the University of North Carolina, and President Polk made him an assistant professor at Maury's Naval Observatory. A fluent speaker of French, Italian, and Spanish, Pettigrew toured southern Europe in the late 1850s and fought alongside Napoleon III's "brave French" as a volunteer for Piedmont-Sardinia.[240] His 1861 travel account was published in Charleston by the "Steam-power Presses of Evans & Cogswell," and it was meant to spread "Bonapartist ideas" in America. Pettigrew depicted

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[237] Walter Guion lived in Napoleonville and briefly served as a Democratic U.S. senator for Louisiana in 1918 after Senator Robert F. Broussard died. For the details of Lewis Guion's life, see *Louisiana: Comprising Sketches of Parishes, Towns, Events, Institutions, and Persons, Arranged in Cyclopedic Form*, ed. Alcée Fortier, vol. 3 (Century Historical Association, 1914), 756-58. Also see John M. Guion, IV, *Descendants of Louis Guion, Huguenot, of La Rochelle, France, and New Rochelle, West Chester County, Province of New York: A Guion Family Album, 1654 to 1976*, ed. Violet H. Guion (Olean, NY: n.p., *ca.* 1976), 139-40.
[238] "Speech of President Davis in Charleston," from the Charleston *Daily Courier*, November 3, 1863, *JDC*, 6:75.
[239] Ibid., 6:75.
[240] James Johnston Pettigrew, *Notes on Spain and the Spaniards, in the Summer of 1859, with a Glance at Sardinia* (1861; reprint, Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2010), 2.

Napoleon III as a forward-looking and democratically-elected leader whose "consummate skill as a ruler" had brought prosperity and "military glory" to France while "advancing humanity" as a whole through anti-slavery but white supremacist imperialism.[241] Napoleon III's "brilliant government" had, in its "glory and strength," suppressed "[e]very party to the treaty of Vienna" on the French Right even as it "crush[ed] the embryo Robespierres and Murats [*sic*] of the Revolution of 1848," replacing the "weak monarchy" of the post-1815 Right and the "distracted French Republic" of the Left with "a powerfully organized empire, with a chief capable of planning, and an army and navy capable of executing any enterprise, however gigantic."[242] By emulating his uncle's "brilliant career," then, Napoleon III had transcended both the Right and Left, finding a "middle ground between a savorless communism and the despotism of capital."[243]

The British, Pettigrew surmised, had suppressed equality among whites and dominated the stagnant "period of reaction which followed the downfall of Napoleon" by supporting such forces of the Right as the backward-looking Spaniards who had crippled Spain by rejecting the "Napoleonic policy," as well as such devotees of the Left as Garibaldi's "whole crew of assassins." Castigating the abolitionist descendants of New England Federalists who were paying "homage" to Britain, he accused them of promoting "Anglo Saxonism" in order to subvert the Union's "independent nationality," castigating them as well for opposing Democratic efforts to emulate Napoleon III's "great reforms." Insisting that the C.S. government was the true inheritor and guardian of American nationality, Pettigrew was sure that Bonapartist France

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[241] One of Pettigrew's correspondents thus derided slavery-in-the-abstract in an October 1858 letter, for "I have ever viewed the Slavery Question as mainly a question of *race*." Quoted in O'Brien, *Conjectures of Order*, 250.

[242] Pettigrew was probably referring to the Jacobin leader Jean-Paul Marat, who was famously assassinated by the anti-Jacobin Catholic hero Charlotte Corday, not to Napoleon's colorful cavalry general Joachim Murat.

[243] Pettigrew, *Notes on Spain and the Spaniards*, 7, 8, 16, 33, 18, 420, 9, 414, 418. See Fox-Genovese and Genovese, *The Mind of the Master Class*, 695. Pettigrew also believed that Paris had eclipsed London as Europe's most important and dynamic city. See O'Brien, *op. cit.*, 112. For Pettigrew's biographical details, see Clyde N. Wilson, *Carolina Cavalier: The Life and Mind of James Johnston Pettigrew* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1995). Pettigrew, however, was a French-American Bonapartist, not a Radical-type "Cavalier."

would come to the Confederacy's aid. Southern Democrats, after all, had much in common with the white Catholic nations of southern Europe, into which the French emperor was "inspiriting a new life." The Republicans, in contrast, "resemble[d] the English and North Germans more."[244]

"In truth," Pettigrew asserted, "opposition to the advancement of the United States, whether materially or intellectually," had been "the normal condition of England," and so there would naturally be "far greater sympathy between the French and us."[245] He also believed that an alliance between the Confederates and French "Napoleonists" directed against the "cheerless regions of the North" would, unlike that of 1812, prove victorious. The "invention of the Minié ball and the rifled cannon," after all, had turned "the French army" into "a magnificent engine," as had Napoleon III's system of "conscription," which "gives a much higher tone to the rank and file than the recruiting system...." He thus predicted that "the French tri-color will float over the Tower of London. Every impartial observer in Europe feels that such is the inevitable decree of fate. Its fulfilment may be deferred, but come it must and will." Davis concurred and facilitated the Confederate Huguenot's rise up through the ranks. Pettigrew was present at the siege of Fort Sumter as an aide to the governor of South Carolina, but he attained the rank of brigadier general in early 1862. He perished shortly after participating in Pickett's famed charge at Gettysburg, a fitting demise for a French-American Bonapartist enthralled by Zouave bayonet charges.[246]

The Davis administration favored French Confederates to signal the Confederacy's Catholic-friendly commitment to religious toleration and hence equality among whites to the French, and it propounded a similar message *vis-à-vis* France in its diplomacy and propaganda. Having been addressed by Pius IX as "His Excellency, Jefferson Davis, President of the

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[244] Quoted in Daniel Kilbride, "The United States South and the 1848 Revolutions," Society for Historians of the Early American Republic paper (Montreal: July 2006), 5.
[245] Pettigrew, *Notes on Spain and the Spaniards*, 7, 414, 16, 415-16, 6, 7, 420, 419.
[246] Ibid., 12, 414, 11, 12, 16, 12. See ibid., 9, 17.

Confederate States of America," Davis informed the pope in September 1863 that Confederates, unlike the Republicans, welcomed the Catholic immigrant and guaranteed him the "free exercise of his religion," adding that it was "my duty to express personally, and in the name of the Confederate States, our gratitude for such sentiments of Christian good feeling and love...." Pius IX therefore wrote to Davis as follows: "We... beseech the God of pity to shed abroad upon you the light of His grace, and attach you to us by a perfect friendship."[247] Davis's message, moreover, was reinforced by French Catholic priests within the Confederacy. Father Gache would not let Protestant ministers conduct funerals for Catholic C.S. soldiers, but he boasted that Confederates worked and fought together harmoniously "whether they be Catholic, Protestant, Jew, or Turk."[248] Father J. G. Belliel, moreover, was a former lieutenant of cavalry in the French army and a parish priest in Alexandria, Louisiana. Believing that approaching Protestant Republican Union soldiers would burn his church down, he famously confronted U.S. troops at the front entrance of his chapel and threatened to shoot them if they were to enter its confines.[249]

Ernest Bellot des Minières claimed as well that "[l]e Sud est notre ami naturel; le Nord notre ennemi, à cause de ses *affinitiés* pour l'Angleterre." Insisting that North's intolerant Anglo-Protestants had betrayed American nationality by embracing "[l]a politique de *Exeter-Hall*," he depicted the Confederacy as "[r]eligieux sans fanatisme, chrétien mains tolerant...." "C'est au Sud," after all, "qu'appartiennent Washington, Jefferson, Monroe, Madisson...," and which contained "[l]es Créoles." "Aussi le Sud aime-t-il la France," he added, for the French secured "l'indépendance de l'Amérique" and Napoleon "céda la Louisiane aux États-Unis."[250]

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[247] "To Pope Piux IX," Richmond, September 23, 1863, in Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 2:446-47. Quoted in ibid., 2:447-48.
[248] "Louis-Hippolyte Gache to Francis Gautrelet," Lynchburg, June 1, 1863, in *A Frenchman, A Chaplain, A Rebel*, 190.
[249] See Lonn, *Foreigners in the Confederacy*, 263, 321. Father Belliel went on to become a professor of French at Louisiana State Seminary but died in 1867. See ibid., 321.
[250] Ernest Bellot des Minières, *La question américaine*, 25-28, 34.

The French-American Jew Edwin De Leon, in fact, was the leading C.S. propagandist in France. A Democratic Charleston newspaper editor, De Leon ran a Washington, D.C. paper at Davis's behest to bolster Pierce's presidential campaign, for which service he was made the U.S. consul general at Alexandria.[251] Upon reaching France's new Egyptian client state in 1854, he set about acquiring camels for Dvais alongside his fellow American Jew Emanuel Weiss.[252] Davis blamed camel procurement and shipment delays not on De Leon but rather on the U.S. navy captain David Dixon Porter, who went on to become a close friend of Ulysses S. Grant as well as a successful Union admiral who liberated and befriended Davis's slaves at Brierfield.[253] Indeed, Davis came to trust De Leon to the point that he would not only seek his opinion about political developments, as when he wrote to him in July 1856 musing that "the storm is brewing" due to the growing electoral appeal of the Republicans, but even disclose his health problems.[254]

Fearing that the Buchanan administration might replace De Leon, Davis secured him an examination appointment for a Coast Survey position because he took "special interest in his success."[255] Secretary of State Cass, however, promised that De Leon "should not be disturbed," and De Leon thanked Davis by advancing his name for the 1860 presidency in the Democratic press.[256] Davis congratulated De Leon in turn for marrying the British subject Ellen Mary Nowlan.[257] De Leon disliked the pro-abolitionist Anglo-Protestant missionaries he encountered

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[251] See *PJD*, 6:27.
[252] See "To Edwin De Leon," War Department, Washington, D.C., June 18, 1856, *PJD*, 6:26-27; "Jefferson Davis to David D. Porter," War Department, Washington, D.C., June 26, 1856, *JDC*, 3:47; "To Edwin De Leon," April 9, 1857, *PJD*, 6:544; and *PJD*, 5:273.
[253] See "Jefferson Davis to David. D. Porter," War Department, Washington, D.C., May 16, 1855, *JDC*, 2:464-66; and *PJD*, 6:27-28.
[254] See "To Edwin De Leon," July 5, 1856, *PJD*, 6:387; and "To Edwin De Leon," April 9, 1857, *PJD*, 6:543. Davis, moreover, lamented in an 1860 letter to De Leon that "[w]e are not all powerful at the South, but are still in a minority at the North." "To Edwin De Leon," Washington, D.C., January 21, 1860, *PJD*, 6:271.
[255] "To Alexander D. Bache," May 7, 1856, *PJD*, 6:469.
[256] "To Edwin De Leon," April 9, 1857, *PJD*, 6:543.
[257] "At some future day," Davis wrote, "I hope to make the personal acquaintance of Mrs. De Leon and in the mean time offer to her the best wishes of her Husband's friend." "To Edwin De Leon," Washington, D.C., January 21, 1860, *PJD*, 6:271.

in Egypt and the Levant, but Nowlan was a Catholic who had come to Egypt from Ireland for the sake of her health, and she would eventually convince De Leon to become a Roman Catholic.[258]

Although De Leon desired a Confederate army commission, Davis retained him as the C.S. consul in Egypt. He nevertheless sent the C.S. president an expensive Arabian horse as a gift, which Davis viewed as a token of favor from Egypt and, by extension, Napoleon III. Davis usually selected his "Arabian of great value" for rides about Richmond and military reviews, in which latter capacity the Paris-trained French immigrant artist and Richmond resident Louis Mathieu Didier Guillaume depicted him with all the "exaggerated mannerisms of the French school."[259] Davis soon placed De Leon in charge of coordinating all C.S. propaganda in France. An elegant speaker of French, De Leon secured an audience with Napoleon III in 1862 and even managed to convince many Frenchmen that he was a distant relative of the famous canal builder Ferdinand de Lesseps and hence of Empress Eugénie. He also circulated propaganda pamphlets and hired Félix Aucaigne to place pro-C.S. articles in leading French newspapers like the *Patrie* and *Constitutionelle*. John Slidell, however, came to resent De Leon's autonomy and popularity. As a result, De Leon was de-commissioned in February 1864. He remained in France all the same to facilitate C.S. purchases of French war *matériel* until the Confederacy's final collapse.[260]

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[258] See *PJD*, 6:272; and O'Brien, *Conjectures of Order*, 166.

[259] "Jefferson Davis to Messrs. Fraser & Co., Charleston, S.C.," Richmond, July 22, 1862, *JDC*, 5:297. See entry for April 7, 1865, in *Mary Chesnut's Civil War*, 785; and O'Brien, *op. cit.*, 167.

[260] For De Leon's life and career, see Edwin De Leon and Ellie De Leon, *Thirty Years of My Life on Three Continents: With a Chapter on the Life of Women in the East, by Mrs. De Leon* (London: Ward and Downey, 1890); and Edwin De Leon, *Secret History of Confederate Diplomacy Abroad*, ed. William C. Davis (1867-68; reprint, Lawrence: Kansas University Press, 2005). Captain Isaac Hermann was another Jewish Confederate of French extraction. He immigrated to Georgia in 1859 and was adored by the 1st Georgia Infantry's Washington Rifles company, which was mostly composed of rural Anglo-Protestant poor whites. Several of them peered inside his tent the night of his arrival to gawk, for they had never before seen a Jew or Frenchman. He won their affection by giving an impromptu speech, declaring, "Gentlemen, it seems that I am eliciting a great deal of curiosity; now all of you will know me as Isaac Hermann, a native Frenchman, who came to assist you to fight the Yankees." Isaac Hermann, *Memoirs of a Confederate Veteran 1861-1865* (1911; reprint, Marietta, GA: Cherokee Publishing Company, 2005), 14-15. Hermann served as a spy and bugler for his regiment, the colonel of which claimed that he could "walk through Yankeedom" with more soldiers like him. Quoted in Lonn, *Foreigners in the Confederacy*, 141. On one occasion, moreover, Hermann visited Montgomery on fusrlough and was hosted by an English jeweler

Father Gache viewed the "Protestant Yankee" as the Confederacy's most virulent enemy, and he described the word "Yankee" as "the *mot fatal*!"[261] Charles Girard similarly informed the French public that the Catholic-friendly C.S.A. was protecting religious liberty from "Yankee" Protestants who were "of Anglo-Saxon origin" and "had their origin in the most intolerable sect that history has ever seen…."[262] "With noble instincts and liberal attitudes," Confederates were recapitulating the Revolution of 1776 to save the American nation from the "Anglo-Saxon element," a nation "whose looks, hope, and confidence have ever been turned in the direction of France...."[263] All true Americans, he insisted, were committed to advancing equality among whites, much like the French Bonapartists aspiring to "that social rebirth, which is the constant aim of the Napoleons…."[264] And the French-Confederate propagandist "look[ed] forward with fervor to the day when… the French people and those of the Confederate States of America will bask in a treaty of commerce and friendship that will draw even closer the bonds destined to unite in a single sheaf all the branches of the Latin race in the Old and New Worlds."[265]

Predicting that "the people of the Confederacy would find inspiration in modern France," Girard even boasted that the Davis administration had begun applying the principle of equality among whites to white women as well.[266] Commending Confederate women who were

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whose "wife was French." He accompanied her on the parlor piano while she sang the Marseillaise. Lonn, *Foreigners in the Confederacy*, 180-81.

[261] "Louis-Hippolyte Gache to Philip de Carrière," Richmond, August 20, 1862, in *A Frenchman, A Chaplain, A Rebel*, 131; "Louis-Hippolyte Gache to Philip de Carrière," Lynchburg, March 8, 1863, in ibid., 157. Anti-C.S. Protestants within the Confederacy and even pro-Confederate Protestants who opposed the Davis administration were hence "Yankees" to Gache, who applauded when the house of one such "Yankee" was "confiscated by the Confederate States" and "transformed into a hospital." "Louis-Hippolyte Gache to Philip de Carrière," Camp Lee's Mill, near Yorktown, January 17, 1862, in ibid., 93. Gache also savored the irony of administering the Sacraments in the "Yankee" Protestant's erstwhile home. See ibid., 93.

[262] Charles Frédéric Girard, "The American Conflict," Paris *Pays*, August 31, 1861, in Girard, *A Visit to the Confederate States of America in 1863*, 109.

[263] Girard, *op. cit*,, 93, 71, 101.

[264] Ibid., 93. Girard hence suggested that the C.S. president and French emperor were similar in that "poor families" were just as devoted to Davis as those "relatively well-off." Ibid., 90.

[265] Ibid., 101.

[266] Ibid., 93.

confronting invading U.S. soldiers "with calm and firmness, without fear and without alarm, just as the soldiers await him on the battlefield," he also hailed the C.S. ladies who were heeding Davis's calls to donate their wealth to the war effort and "visit the hospitals," ladies who were "even put[ting] on the uniforms of sisters of mercy, dressing wounds and braving the miasmas of tropical heat."[267] Yet he also made sure to extol the lower-class "[h]ouse wives" who were emulating the French vivandières in C.S. Zouave regiments or "len[ding] a hand" in government-owned textile factories even as he applauded the "ladies of Richmond" for raising a subscription to pay for the new C.S. ironclad warship *Fredericksburg*.[268] A well-known 1862 Confederate play called *The Confederate Vivandiere*, after all, had lavished praise upon C.S. vivandières.[269]

Mobile's Adelaide de Vendel Chaudron, moreover, was at the van of those C.S. women who were eagerly entering the public sphere to save the Confederacy and hence white supremacy from the "Black Republicans." She was one of the most widely-read writers in the C.S.A. and would eventually be buried in the Spring Hill Catholic cemetery alongside her father Emile De Vendel, who had been one of Napoleon I's officers. Five editions and over 40,000 copies of her C.S. spelling book were printed in Mobile by the Austrian immigrant publisher S. H. Goetzel, who, like Chaudron, wanted young Confederates to shun British spelling.[270] Like many other southern French-Americans, Chaudron referred to the American rather than English language. The famous Republican abolitionist, landscape architect, and critic of southern society Frederick

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[267] Girard, *A Visit to the Confederate States of America in 1863*, 91-92.

[268] Ibid., 76, 52. Not all C.S. vivandières, however, belonged to Zouave regiments. One such vivandière was Lucinda Horne of the 14th South Carolina Infantry's Company K, in which her husband and son were both soldiers. She accompanied them as an unofficial vivandière throughout the war and eventually became an honorary member of the regiment. See Lonn, *Foreigners in the Confederacy*, 380. Lucy Ann Cox, moreover, rose to fame as an unofficial vivandière for the 30th Virginia Infantry, surrendering with the remnants of Company A in 1865. She married James A. Cox of that company in 1862 and was buried with military honors by the Sons of Confederate Veterans in 1891. See Michelle A. Krowl, "Cox, Lucy Ann White," in *Dictionary of Virginia Biography*, ed. Sara B. Bearss, 3 vols. (Richmond: Library of Virginia, 2006), 3:512-13.

[269] See Joseph Hodgson, *The Confederate Vivandiere; or, The Battle of Leesburg, A Military Drama in Three Acts* (Montgomery: John M. Floyd, 1862).

[270] See Adelaide De Vendel Chaudron, *Chaudron's Spelling Book, Carefully Prepared for Family and School Use*, 5th ed. (Mobile: S. H. Goetzel, 1865). Also see Hutchison, *Apples and Ashes*, 67.

Law Olmsted hence recalled meeting a French-speaking Corsican immigrant near Opelousas, Louisiana, whose wife was proud of the fact that she was now learning to speak "American."[271]

Chaudron's French-American merchant husband Paul Chaudron, moreover, loved to discourse upon "his favorite theme – Napoleon…."[272] His son Louis edited the Mobile *Register* and several other Democratic newspapers after the war alongside Edwin de Leon's brother Thomas Cooper, who was named in honor of Thomas Cooper, a well-known *litterateur*, and a bureau of topographical engineers clerk. Louis de Vendel Chaudron also wrote an introduction for the 1892 edition of De Leon's celebrated memoir *Four Years in Rebel Capitals*, for De Leon had been a personal secretary for the C.S. president as well as the Chief Clerk in the Confederate Office of Pay. Moving to Baltimore after the war, he spent his twilight years translating French novels and penning such anti-Republican comedies as his 1889 *Creole and Puritan*, a heroine in the sequel to which "flaunts more ribbon… than the Old Guard ever got from Napoleon."[273]

Adelaide de Vendel Chaudron's translation of a Luise Mühlbach novel about the Austrian emperor Joseph II was popular in the C.S.A. as well.[274] Mühlbach wrote under the pen-name

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[271] Frederick Law Olmstead, *A Journey Through Texas: or, a Saddle-Trip on the Southwestern Frontier* (1857; reprint, New York: Mason Brothers, 1860), 395-96.
[272] Mobile *Register*, June 7, 1859.
[273] Thomas Cooper De Leon, *The Puritan's Daughter: Sequel to 'Creole and Puritan'* (Mobile: Setliff & Co, 1891), 83. See De Leon, *Four Years in Rebel Capitals*, 12; and Thomas J. Tobias, "De Leon," in *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, ed. Fred Skolnik, *et al.*, 2nd ed., 22 vols. (Farmington Hills, MI: Keter Publishing House, 2007), 5:538. David Camden De Leon, moreover, was the third De Leon brother. A doctor like his father Dr. Mordechai H. De Leon, he became an assistant surgeon in the U.S. army who served against the Seminoles after graduating from the University of Pennsylvania. He rose to fame as the "Fighting Doctor" of the Mexican War, during which he was wounded several times. Serving initially under General Taylor, De Leon was transferred to Winfield Scott's command and famously took charge of U.S. troops whose officers had all been killed or wounded during the battle for Chapultepec. He was promoted to full surgeon and the rank of major in 1856 thanks to Secretary of War Davis, who returned him to field service on the southwestern frontier. Joking in early 1860 that De Leon had become "somewhat the browner for his residence in New-Mexico," Davis made him the first C.S. army surgeon general in 1861 all the same. "To Edwin De Leon," Washington, D.C., January 21, 1860, *PJD*, 6:271. De Leon, however, yearned to work in the field once more and soon resigned. He served in various theatres until he became the Army of Northern Virginia's medical director, after which he fled to Mexico to help the French there. See *PJD*, 6:272-73; Seymour Brody, "Dr. David Camden De Leon: Hero of the War with Mexico," in Seymour Brody, *Jewish Heroes and Heroines of America* (Hollywood, FL: Lifetime Books, 1996), 43; and Tobias, "De Leon," *op. cit.*, 537.
[274] See Luise Mühlbach, *Joseph II and His Court. An Historical Novel, by L. Muhlbach*, trans. Adelaide De V. Chaudron, 4 vols. (Mobile: S. H. Goetzel, 1864).

Clara Mundt and was famous for her historical novels. She and her friend Ottilie D. Assing were ardent feminists and Protestant abolitionists in Hamburg who supported the 1848 revolutions and idealized inter-racial romance.[275] Assing moved to New York in 1852 and called for racial equality there. Having fallen in love with Frederick Douglass upon meeting him in 1856, she killed herself in 1884 after hearing that he had married a white abolitionist named Helen Pitts.[276] Mühlbach, in contrast, stayed in Germany and rejected racial equality in favor of Bonapartism, promoting white women's rights and religious toleration by urging German kings to emulate the Bonaparte emperors, whose forward-looking regimes were, she held, presaged by Joseph II.[277]

Mühlbach, however, did not endorse slavery *per se*, and C.S. government propagandists accordingly stressed that the Confederacy was not committed to slavery-in-the-abstract. Asserting that Davis was, like Napoleon III, building "a society where liberal and conservative ideas are harmonized in the prosperous way of progress," Girard hoped that his book would garner "the high appreciation of the statesmen of the French Government" by correcting misconceptions among the French as to the C.S. cause.[278] Those misconceptions had been caused in large part by the "opposing party" within the Confederacy that was "running down the acts of the administration" in the name of slavery-in-the-abstract "social theories."[279] Responding to Alexander Stephens's assertion that slavery was the Confederacy's "cornerstone," Girard insisted that "[t]he Confederate Government is not, as certain writers have tried to make

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[275] See Luise Mühlbach, *Aphra Behn*, 3 vols. (Berlin: Simion, 1849).
[276] See Maria Diedrich, *Love Across the Color Lines: Ottilie Assing and Frederick Douglass* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1999).
[277] See Luise Mühlbach, *Napoleon und der Wiener Congress*, 2 vols. (Berlin: Otto Janke, 1859); Luise Mühlbach, *Napoleon in Germany*, 3 vols., trans. F. Jordan (1861-63; reprint, New York: D. Appleton, 1897); Luise Mühlbach, *The Empress Josephine: An Historical Sketch of the Days of Napoleon*, trans. Rev. W. Binet (1867; reprint, New York: D. Appleton, 1897); and Luise Mühlbach, *Napoleon and the Queen of Prussia: An Historical Novel*, trans. F. Jordan (1867; reprint, New York: D. Appleton, 1908).
[278] Girard, "The American Conflict," Paris *Pays*, August 31, 1861, in Girard, *A Visit to the Confederate States of America in* 1863, 109; and Girard, *op. cit.*, 41.
[279] Girard, *op, cit.*, 65.

us believe, a constitution with slavery as its cornerstone," for the C.S. Constitution "provides for the admission into the new confederacy of those States that have already abolished the institution," and it "expressly declares that the slave *trade* is and remains forever abolished."[280]

Girard deemed slavery a positive good insofar as southerners had rendered the institution more humane and productive *vis-à-vis* the African original, but slavery and blacks themselves were both essentially atavistic in his view: "If we take a look at the history of the black race in the Confederate States, we shall see it arriving from Africa in a state of abjection uncommon amongst the most savage peoples. For the most part, the Negroes were prisoners of war who escaped death only at the price of their transportation."[281] The Confederacy, he thus insisted, was dedicated not so much to slavery *per se* as to white supremacy, and racial "inequality in the sight of nature and physical laws" was "the real point of view that one must adopt."[282] "When the ardent, theorizing generation of '89 proclaimed the doctrine of absolute liberty," after all, "it went past the lines laid down by God. It swerved. It made an error, the expiation of which resulted in the sad chain of events in Santo Domingo."[283] "[T]he South," Giard claimed, had always wished "to set about the emancipation of the Negroes as a gradual process, as was done in the North."[284] But "the Anglo-Americans" of the North had made that outcome impossible by championing British abolitionism, and now the "descendants of the Puritans" were seeking to impose abolitionism by force.[285] Insisting that "[w]e shall make no defense of slavery here," Girard insisted from 1861 onward that the Anglophile Republican abolitionists were not only seeking "to force the South immediately to release the slaves, without restitution to their

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[280] Girard, *A Visit to the Confederate States of America in 1863*, 97.
[281] Ibid,. 98.
[282] Ibid., 96.
[283] Ibid., 95.
[284] Girard, "The American Conflict," Paris *Pays*, August 31, 1861, in Girard, *op. cit.*, 111.
[285] Ibid., 111-12.

owners," but endeavoring to destroy white supremacy as well, for they were waging a "war of annihilation" against every single white southerner by "incit[ing] the Negroes to murder…."[286]

Girard thus held that anti-slavery white supremacists should side with pro-slavery white supremacists against any and all abolitionists, but it was his hope that a victorious C.S.A. would condone a "gradual emancipation brought on with the advances of the black race, time… and civilization itself."[287] Urging Napoleon III to encourage the C.S.A. to make "the desired progress toward emancipation" in exchange for a French military intervention that would eliminate the threat posed to the South by British abolitionism, he was confident that France would render "the temporary retention of slavery in the Confederate States" unnecessary so that black slaves could be gradually emancipated and perhaps removed entirely from the Confederacy, for he and Davis both held that "Negroes are already too abundant in the South."[288]

Slidell reported in February 1862 that the "Emperor [is] quite indifferent on the subject of slavery," but the C.S. president knew that it was a serious impediment to an alliance with France because the French disliked the institution of slavery even as they generally endorsed imperial white supremacy.[289] Calculating that Napoleon III would like boast to the world that France had set slavery on the path to extinction by guaranteeing white rule in the C.S.A. whereas decades of Anglo-Protestant abolitionist agitation had made emancipation in the South impossible, Davis sought to entice the French by offering future or even immediate steps toward a gradual C.S. emancipation, particularly when the Confederacy was under severe military duress. His first gradual emancipation offer to France hence came during the first four months of 1862, when

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[286] Girard, "The American Conflict," Paris *Pays*, August 31, 1861, in Girard, *A Visit to the Confederate States of America in 1863*, 111; and Girard, *op. cit.*, 86, 87. The Americans of the South had thus seceded not so much to save their slave property as to heed their "race preservation instinct." Girard, *op. cit.*, 99.
[287] Girard, *op. cit.*, 97. Girard was hence encouraged by the fact that "[t]he last official census shows that during the ten-year period from 1850 to 1860, twenty thousand slaves in the region [*i.e.* the South] were set free." Ibid., 99.
[288] Girard, "The American Conflict," *op. cit.*, 113.
[289] Quoted in Kelly, "The North American Crisis of the 1860s," *Journal of the Civil War Era*, 348.

"[e]vents have cast on our arms and our hopes the gloomiest shadows…."[290] As McClellan's army slowly approached the outskirts of Richmond, the French ambassador to the U.S. Count Henri Mercier visited the C.S. capital, buoying hopes upon being "put up at the Spotswood House, on Main street. This may emphatically be called a 'distinguished arrival.' We are not advised as to the purport of his visit here. It may be Tobacco or Recognition, or both."[291]

Mercier spent much of his time in the C.S. capital with Davis's friend and political ally James Lyons, a Richmond Democrat who arranged part of Lafayette's 1824 U.S. visit. Lyons also championed universal white male suffrage at the 1850 Virginia constitutional convention alongside John Y. Mason and strongly supported the Pierce administration. He was a trusted ally of Davis as a C.S. congressman who, in response to Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation, began urging the C.S.A. to offer manumission – though not citizenship – to slaves willing to fight the Union. Lyons, in fact, was such an extreme anti-abolitionist that even Davis opposed a Lyons bill which declared that "no officer of the Lincolnite Army or Navy ought to be captured alive, and if so captured, he ought to be immediately hung."[292] Lyons ultimately posted bond for Davis in 1867, offered his services as a defense lawyer to the former Confederate president, and sought to keep the anti-British traditions of the Democracy alive in the postwar era as a Virginia Democratic politician who was close to the North's Anglophobic Irish Catholic Democrats.[293]

Davis unsurprisingly selected Lyons to negotiate with Mercier, whom Lincoln had "interdicted from holding direct intercourse with President Davis or any of his Cabinet…."[294]

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[290] "Jefferson Davis to Genl. J. E. Johnston, Centerville, Va.," Richmond, February 19, 1862, *JDC*, 5:197. Confederates, Davis added, therefore had "to show redoubled energy and resolution." Ibid., 5:197.
[291] Richmond *Dispatch*, April 17, 1862.
[292] Quoted in Beringer and Hattaway, *Jefferson Davis, Confederate President*, 191.
[293] Lyons replaced John Tyler in the C.S. Congress after the latter passed away. See *Biographical Register of the Confederate Congress*, 155-56.
[294] "James Lyons to Colonel Allen B. Magruder, Baltimore," White Sulphur Springs, Greenbrier County, West Virginia, August 21, 1875, *Southern Historical Society Papers*, ed. Reverend J. William Jones, vol. 7 (Richmond: Southern Historical Society, 1879), 356.

Lyons would recollect in 1875 that in "a conversation I had at my house, Laburnum, near Richmond, with Count Mercier, the French Minister, in the month of May or early part of June, 1862," the French ambassador had mused that the Confederates should perhaps surrender to McClellan and his seemingly irresistible Army of the Potomac before the Emancipation Proclamation came into effect, for the Young Napoleon would surely offer lenient terms, re-unite the Democracy, and put the Union back on a proper course *vis-à-vis* Napoleonic France as a future Democratic president. "I told him, in reply," Lyons recalled, that the C.S.A. would "whip McClellan," insisting as well that "if the Emperor of the French would open the ports and keep them open," they would "march to New York and not ask the loan of a man or a dollar. With great animation he sprang to his feet and said in French: If such be the temper of your people, you are invincible." As a result, "[s]ome time afterward the French Consul, Monsieur Paul, drove up to my house one Sunday afternoon, and very soon entered into conversation about the acknowledgment of the Confederate Government by the Emperor of the French, and asked me if we could not pass some bill for the gradual abolition of slavery in fifty or sixty years." "Maybe it might do even if it was longer," Paul added, "and said that if that were done the Emperor would immediately acknowledge us, but that the French people would not be satisfied without such a provision for the abolition of slavery. They did not care how distant it was, so the fact was secured as the price of recognition, and the Emperor… be fully justified." [295]

Lyons "expressed my individual willingness to accede to those terms, and promised to see the President upon the subject next morning when I went into Congress, and if he agreed with me I would immediately introduce a bill for the purpose."[296] Unfortunately for Lyons and Davis, a Radical-inspired provision in the C.S. Constitution made it difficult for the Confederate

[295] "James Lyons to Colonel Allen B. Magruder, Baltimore," White Sulphur Springs, Greenbrier County, West Virginia, August 21, 1875, *Southern Historical Society Papers*, 356-59.
[296] Ibid., 359.

Congress to pass any emancipation law.[297] Lyons visited Davis the "next morning, at his own house, before Congress met… and told him what had passed between the French Consul and myself. His answer was, 'I should concur with you in accepting these terms but for the constitutional difficulty. You know that Congress has no jurisdiction over the subject of slavery.'"[298] Lyons believed "'that difficulty may be gotten over… without any violation of the constitution. Let the bill providing for the gradual abolition of slavery also provide that it shall not take effect until the States have, by acts of their respective Legislatures, duly passed, approved and ratified it….'" "'I will not be guilty of the presumption of offering such a bill upon my simple responsibility,'" he added, "'but if I may say that you concur with me I will introduce the bill to-morrow.'" Yet the urgency of the moment was already passing as the Army of Northern Virginia drove McClellan back, and so "Mr. Davis then said, 'Well, I must consult the Cabinet, and if they agree with you I will send for you.' And there the matter ended."[299]

The matter, however, did not end there. Davis could not guarantee Napoleon III that the Confederate states would all gradually emancipate their slaves in exchange for an alliance with France, but he could and did vow that he would do his utmost to convince the states. Thus, even as the Army of Northern Virginia seemed to be marching in triumph through Maryland in September 1862, Slidell sought to tempt Napoleon III with an exclusive treaty of free trade, 100,000 bales of free cotton, and assurances that Davis would do everything in his power to convince Confederate state legislatures to pass gradual emancipation laws if France recognized the C.S.A. and lifted the U.S. blockade.[300] Indeed, Lyons recalled that Davis had hoped that

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[297] According to Article I, Section 8 (4) of the Confederate Constitution, "[n]o bill of attainder, ex post facto law, or law denying or impairing the right of property in negro slaves shall be passed."
[298] "James Lyons to Colonel Allen B. Magruder, Baltimore," White Sulphur Springs, Greenbier County, West Virginia, August 21, 1875, *Southern Historical Society Papers*, 359.
[299] Ibid., 359.
[300] See Roland, *An American Iliad*, 162.

France would itself "deal with the States in the matter, so as to avoid all constitutional questions. I told him I had put that very question to the French Consul, and his answer was, 'France does not know the States, but she knows the Confederate Government and President Davis.'"[301]

Having "attentively considered" a correspondent's suggestion in March 1865 that the C.S. government entice France into an alliance by promising gradual emancipation, Davis lamented once again that "the Confederate Government can make no agreement nor arrangement with any Nation, which would interfere with State institutions, and if foreign Governments would consent to interpose in our behalf upon the conditions stated, it would be necessary to submit the terms to the different States of the Confederacy for their separate action."[302] But he endeavored to assure the French emperor as the C.S. cause waned in 1864 and '65 that public sentiment within the Confederate states was increasingly open to a white supremacist gradual emancipation that would secure an alliance with France. Slidell hence conveyed a January 1864 letter from the commander of the Trans-Mississippi Department to Napoleon III which claimed that "[i]t cannot be too strongly impressed upon the Emperor of the French" that "in the great slave districts of this department, nineteenth-twentieths of the planters would at this time willingly accept any system of gradual emancipation to insure our independence as a people."[303]

Davis also sent Slidell's ally the French-fluent C.S. congressman Duncan F. Kenner on a special mission in late 1864 to offer Napoleon III probable gradual emancipation laws in the C.S.A. alongside the usual economic inducements. An ardent Democrat, railroad pioneer, and sugar refining innovator who married the prominent Catholic Creole Anne Guillelmine Nanine Bringier, Kenner had helped secure the C.S. presidency for Davis, assuaging Radical qualms

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[301] "James Lyons to Colonel Allen B. Magruder, Baltimore," White Sulphur Springs, Greenbier County, West Virginia, August 21, 1875, *Southern Historical Society Papers*, 359.
[302] "Jefferson Davis to J. D. Shaw, Esq., Greenwood, Carroll Co., Miss.," Richmond, March 22, 1865, *JDC*, 6:519.
[303] "E. Kirby Smith to John Slidell," Headquarters Trans-Mississippi Department, January 9, 1865, *OR*, series I, 48/1:1319-20.

about the former Secretary of War's politics by stressing Davis's "civil and military knowledge and experience."[304] C.S. congressman Kenner, moreover, called for a direct national income tax in 1862, championing comprehensive tax legislation and drastic tax hikes in 1863 as well.[305]

Kenner had also been a delegate to the C.S. constitutional convention, at which he insisted alongside his fellow Louisiana delegate the Georgetown-educated Creole sugar planter, future Confederate congressman, and eventual White League member Alexandre Etienne DeClouet that the Confederacy model its constitution after the 1787 U.S. Constitution rather than the Articles of Confederation.[306] Yet Kenner, DeClouet, and the Alabama delegate Colin J. McRae, whom Davis sent to France in 1863 to "supervis[e] all matters in Europe connected with the application of the funds there to the necessities of the public service," introduced new articles in the C.S. Constitution based upon the 1851 French constitution as well.[307] Louis-Napoleon had long advocated Napoleon I's plan to enhance executive power and facilitate cooperation between the executive and legislative branches by allowing department heads to sit in the legislature, where they could speak on behalf of laws desired by the executive.[308] That idea was a feature of

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[304] Quoted in Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 2:45.

[305] See *Biographical Register of the Confederate Congress*, 144; and Craig A. Bauer, "The Last Effort: The Secret Mission of the Confederate Diplomat, Duncan F. Kenner," *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association*, vol. 22, no. 1 (Winter 1981), 67-95.

[306] DeClouet's father Colonel Joseph Alexandre DeClouet served under Jackson at the Battle of New Orleans. For DeClouet's life and career, see Yvonne Pavy Weiss, "Alexandre Etienne DeClouet" (MA thesis; Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 1937).

[307] "Jefferson Davis to C. J. McRae, Paris, France," Richmond, September 18, 1863, *JDC*, 6:43. Because Napoleon III claimed to be the savior and protector of the 1851 French constitution, Girard also asserted with reference to Davis that "[t]he confidence which he inspires in his people is without limit, regardless of one's social level.... They know he is capable of commanding and of governing and they would be willing to let him exercise his power even beyond the limits of the Constitution. However, there is no more strict observer of the Constitution than he." Girard, *A Visit to the Confederate States of America in 1863*, 48. See ibid., 63.

[308] See Napoleon III, *Napoleonic Ideas*, 95. Davis had insisted in May 1860 that the Congress was not authorized to issue an "order" to the Secretary of War and could merely "send a request to the President" for the Secretary of War to appear before them for questioning. "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Fort Snelling resolution of inquiry. May 23, 1860," *JDC*, 4:348.

both the French Empire and Confederate constitutions.[309] Napoleon III and Davis both wielded line-item vetoes too, a power which the C.S. president did not hesitate to exercise. Davis possessed that power, moreover, thanks in no small part to Thomas R. R. Cobb. Having been born into influential Georgia Democratic clan, Cobb insisted that slavery was a means to the end of white rule rather than an end in itself in his famous 1858 codification of U.S. common law, and he established the Lucy Cobb Institute for white women's education a year later. He also worked as a Confederate constitutional convention delegate to sway his Radical-minded older brother Howell Cobb, who was the convention's president and had been President Buchanan's Secretary of the Treasury, due to the fact that he had hailed the "sagacious wisdom" of Napoleon I's "master mind" in his *Inquiry into the Law of Negro Slavery*.[310] Colonel Cobb, to be sure, came to be disillusioned with Davis's leadership on a personal level, but he still supported the C.S. president in ideological terms until his death at the Battle of Fredericksburg in late 1862, for he informed his wife in a March 1862 letter that Davis "*would be deposed* if the Congress had any more confidence in Stephens than in him…."[311] Howell Cobb, for his part, rose to the rank of C.S. major general in 1863, but he staunchly opposed each and every Confederate proposal to manumit slaves along white supremacist lines, including Kenner's mission to Napoleon III.[312]

After Kenner failed, the Davis administration sent General Polignac at his own request back to France as an informal agent to assure Napoleon III of the likelihood of gradual emancipation in the Confederacy through the emperor's confidante the Duc de Morny, who was

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[309] According to Article I, Section 6 (1) of the C.S. Constitution, "Congress may, by law, grant to the principal officer in each of the Executive Departments a seat upon the floor of either House, with the privilege of discussing any measures appertaining to his department."

[310] Thomas Read Rootes Cobb, *An Inquiry into the Law of Negro Slavery in the United States of America* (1858; reprint, Bedford, MA: Applewood Books, 2009), cxvi.

[311] Quoted in Thomas, *The Confederate Nation*, 139.

[312] See Horace Montgomery, *Howell Cobb's Confederate Career* (Tuscaloosa, AL: Confederate Publishing Company, 1959); and William B. McCash, *Thomas R. R. Cobb (1823–1862): The Making of a Southern Nationalist* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 2004).

Polignac's friend and a Confederate sympathizer. An advocate of white supremacist gradual emancipation himself, Polignac recalled after the war that many of his fellow Confederates "knew too well that the institution of slavery proved the greatest bar to every hope of foreign assistance, and that the establishment of a new slaveholding community with the aid of a foreign power was an absolute impossibility."[313] He and his entourage were cheered by crowds at every stop along the way from Shreveport to Matamoros, but Polignac was devastated to learn that the Duc de Morny had died shortly before his arrival. One of his old friends on Napoleon III's staff was able to secure an interview with the emperor all the same, an interview in which the French Confederate general's assistant Colonel Ernest Miltenberger presented a sealed letter from the governor of Louisiana, Henry W. Allen, to Napoleon III. Miltenberger was *aide-de-camp* to Allen, who had been elected governor in 1864. The contents of his letter still remain a mystery, but it was widely believed at the time and for decades thereafter that Governor Allen had promised Napoleon III that the C.S.A. would not only strive to enact a gradual emancipation but also cede the entire state of Louisiana to France in exchange for French military intervention.[314]

Allen, for his part, had been a Whig who became a Know-Nothing, but he defected to the Democrats in 1856. Having been wounded at Shiloh as a C.S. colonel, he strove to build factories and hospitals in Louisiana as the state's governor, importing medicine and other supplies from the French in Mexico for the benefit of wounded C.S. veterans and poor white Louisianans. Davis respected Allen is his "official character" and even gave him "my personal regard," writing to him in April 1864 as follows: "I trust with entire confidence on your co-operation in all measures tending to the success of our cause, with the same zeal, energy, and

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[313] Quoted in Lonn, *Foreigners in the Confederacy*, 39.

[314] See Washington *Post*, March 16, 1901; Lonn, *Foreigners in the Confederacy*, 86-87; M. Adrien Dansette, "Napoléon III et le Duc De Morny," *Annuaire-Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de France* (1962-63), 31-41; and Mahin, *The Blessed Place of Freedom*, 211.

courage which have won from your fellow citizens the regard and esteem that have elevated you to the Executive Chair of Louisiana."[315] Governor Allen, moreover, urged Davis to permanently impress slaves as a military necessity and free them in exchange for faithful military service, asserting in the Richmond *Enquirer* that the "conscription of negroes should be accompanied with freedom and the privilege of remaining in the States." "[T]his is no part of abolitionism," he stressed, for the manumitted slave soldiers would never attain citizenship. Such a policy would, he hoped, "explode the false accusation that we are fighting for slavery, or a slave-holder's Confederacy," thus convincing Napoleon III that the Confederates might well prove willing to gradually emancipate all of their slaves for the sake of victory.[316] Allen, after all, sympathized with the Bonapartist position on slavery and white supremacy, for he believed that "Napoleon [III] is a great man" and moved to Mexico City in 1865 to edit a pro-Maximilian newspaper.[317] He had also endeavored to fight alongside the French in Italy for Piedmont-Sardinia in 1859. Arriving too late to join the fighting, he toured France and observed that "Napoleon [I] is now almost worshipped as a god; and if it were possible for him to rise from the dead and walk the streets of Paris, all France would go completely crazy with enthusiasm."[318]

French Confederates such as Charles Gayarré had also urged Davis to field manumitted slave soldiers so as to augment C.S. military strength and win French sympathy. Charles Girard even falsely reported in the Paris *Pays* that "a battalion of *black* volunteers" had fought for the Confederates at Bull Run, which victory the pro-C.S. reverend George D. Armstrong of Norfolk, where Louis-Napoleon had once been an honored guest, likened in a sermon to "the brilliant

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[315] "Jefferson Davis to Governor Henry W. Allen, – of Louisiana," Richmond, November 12, 1864, *JDC*, 6:402; and "Jefferson Davis to Governor Henry W. Allen, Governor of Louisiana," Richmond, April 9, 1864, *JDC*, 6:223.
[316] Richmond *Enquirer*, October 18, 1864.
[317] Allen, *The Travels of a Sugar Planter*, 62.
[318] Ibid., 68. See Alfred J. Hanna, "A Confederate Newspaper in Mexico," *The Journal of Southern History*, vol. 12, no. 1 (February 1946), 67-83; and Amos E. Simpson and Vincent Cassidy, "The Wartime Administration of Governor Henry W. Allen," *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association*, vol. 5, no. 3 (Summer 1964), 257-69.

campaigns of Napoleon III in Italy."[319] Pro-abolitionist Republicans, moreover, emphasized such French-oriented propaganda and policy proposals emanating from the C.S.A. when urging Lincoln to trump the Davis administration by offering not just freedom but also equal citizenship to blacks. An 1861 print circulating in the North called "Volunteering Down Dixie" hence suggested that a white supremacist Confederate emancipation might elicit support from enslaved blacks if the Union had nothing better to offer by depicting buffoonish black and white C.S. soldiers dressed like Napoleon III's Imperial Guard bullying reluctant conscripts.[320] Indeed, the elaborately-mustached mascot of one Louisiana Zouave regiment was an aging musician and veteran of Napoleon III's Algerian and Italian campaigns who was called "Turc" because he wore a Turco uniform and had been "bronzed to the richest mahogany color…."[321] Napoleon III actually was somewhat popular among the Turcos and other non-whites whom he had freed from slavery by means of white supremacist but emancipationist imperialism, for when he visited Algiers in May 1865, he was welcomed by freed black non-citizens.[322] And Confederates knew full well that an Arab-led Egyptian black regiment had been sent to Mexico alongside Belgian, Spanish, and Austrian soldiers at the behest of the French emperor, a regiment which horrified anti-administration C.S. Radicals but set an example for President Davis and his supporters.[323]

Davis informed Governor Smith of Virginia in late March 1865 that the C.S. officers who would command Confederate black soldiers had to be "willing and able to raise this character of

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[319] "The Battle of Manassas," Washington, July 23, 1861, from the Paris *Pays*, August 10, 1861, trans. Charles Frédéric Girard, in Girard, *A Visit to the Confederate States of America in 1863*, 117; and quoted in Fox-Genovese and Genovese, *The Mind of the Master Class*, 699.
[320] See "Volunteering Down Dixie" (Cincinnati: Ehrgott & Forbriger, 1861).
[321] De Leon, *Four Years in Rebel Capitals*, 72.
[322] See "Voyage de S. M. L'Empereur en Algerie," Paris *Le Monde Illustré* (May 1865), 340.
[323] See entry for February 20, 1863, in *The Diary of Edmund Ruffin*, 2:583. Also see Richard Hill and Peter Hogg, *A Black Corps d'Elite: An Egyptian Sudanese Conscript Battalion with the French Army in Mexico, 1863-1867, and its Survivors in Subsequent African History* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1995).

troops…."[324] And Lieutenant Virginius Bossieux was a perfect fit. His soldier father Jean had been wounded during Napoleon I's retreat from Russia and later immigrated to Richmond, where he opened a small dance academy. His brother Louis J. Bossieux (a petty merchant) and nephew Louis F. Bossieux (a clerk) witnessed John Brown's 1859 hanging at Charlestown as Virginia militiamen. Another brother, Cyrus (a teamster), escorted the remains of James Monroe from New York City to Richmond for re-burial as a member of the famous Richmond Grays militia regiment, rising from private to major in C.S. service as well. Cyrus's older brother Virginius was a guard commandant at Richmond's notorious Belle Isle prison, at which he singled out pro-abolitionist Republican prisoners for particularly cruel treatment. Boisseaux, however, loathed abolitionists not because he adored the institution of slavery but rather because he was a fervent white supremacist. He was therefore eager to save white rule by leading C.S. black slaves who had been promised freedom but not citizenship into battle as an officer in the first of the two black Confederate regiments, neither of which would ever boast a full complement of soldiers.[325]

Davis Administration Expectations of French Support on a Mutual Enemies

When Davis declared in early 1863 that the C.S.A. was seeking "admission into the family of nations," he had specifically in mind what appeared to be an emerging trans-Atlantic alliance of French-led white supremacist Catholic Bonapartist nations.[326] He thus pressured the Virginia state government to refrain from conscripting the Belgian and Italian consuls into the militia when McClellan neared Richmond in June 1862, doing so as a "courtesy for the Governments represented by these gentlemen."[327] Yet if France and the Confederacy seemed to

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[324] "Jefferson Davis to Governor William Smith, – of Virginia," Richmond, March 30, 1865, *JDC*, 6:523.
[325] See Lonnie R. Speer, *Portals to Hell: Military Prisons of the Civil War* (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 1997), 120; and Bruce Levine, *Confederate Emancipation: Southern Plans to Free and Arm Slaves during the Civil War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 126-27.
[326] "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, January 12, 1863, *JDC*, 5:403.
[327] Quoted in Lonn, *Foreigners in the Confederacy*, 416.

have common friends in addition to economic connections, emotional connections, and congruent ideologies, both powers also had common enemies to the Left and Right on each side of the Atlantic. The anti-Bonaparte French Left in both Europe and North America did in fact invariably detest the Confederacy. Quebec's Calixa Lavallée, for instance, was an anti-clerical abolitionist who immigrated to Rhode Island. Eagerly enlisting in the 4th Rhode Island Infantry, he rose to the rank of lieutenant. Lavallée detested the pro-Confederate sympathies of his staunchly Catholic native province, which Davis hoped would help the C.S.A. break Anglo-Protestant abolitionist power throughout North America thanks to the efforts of his *de facto* consul in Montreal George N. Sanders, a Kentucky Douglas Democrat who became a leader of New York City's Young America movement; was made the U.S. consul in London by Polk but recalled upon enraging the British government by consorting with Irish rebels; and predicted in 1864 that the C.S.A. would soon receive overt "material aid" from Napoleon III through Maximilian's Mexico.[328] A talented musician, Lavallée went on to compose the music for "O Canada," which eventually became the Canadian national anthem, but he looked forward to an abolitionist U.S. punishing Quebec in the future.[329] New Orleans's Louis Moreau Gottschalk was also a talented musician. A French-educated composer who once performed for the famous Polish pianist Frédéric Chopin in Paris, Gottschalk was son to a French Catholic refugee from St. Domingue and an Englishman of German-Jewish extraction. He returned home in 1853 and

[328] Quoted in Yonathan Eyal, "A Romantic Realist: George Nicholas Sanders and the Dilemmas of Southern International Engagement," *The Journal of Southern History*, vol. 78, no. 1 (February 2012), 124. Sanders had actually been critical of Napoleon III for turning the French republic into an empire, but Davis made him tow the C.S. government's pro-Bonaparte line. See ibid., 107-30.

[329] See Eugène Lapierre, *Calixa Lavallée, musicien national du Canada* (1936; reprint, Montreal: Fides, 1966); and Preston Jones, "Civil War, Culture War: French Quebec and the American War Between the States," *Catholic Historical Review*, vol. 87, no. 1 (January 2001), 55-70.

toured all over the Union, but he strongly opposed the C.S.A. as a devotee of the French Left who went so far as to justify the Haitian slave revolt from which his mother's family had fled.[330]

French Bonapartist newspapers, moreover, sympathized with the Confederates, unlike the Left-leaning Paris editors who loathed Napoleon III.[331] The anti-clerical *Journal des Débats*, for instance, declared in frustration "that French public opinion in general and Catholic opinion have always been favorable to the cause of the South and to the cause of slavery" even while conceding that Catholics were not "favorable to the institution of slavery itself" and that not even all Confederates were enamored of the "sinful" practice.[332] The "low church" French Anglican George Fisch, moreover, depicted the C.S.A. as a fanatically pro-slavery regime ruled by "terrorism" and the "sinister influence of the secret societies" to discredit Napoleon III's Confederate-friendly regime. He was, after all, a pastor in Paris's French Evangelical Church, the purpose of which was to induce French workers to reject Bonapartism, embrace British Protestantism, and oppose not just slavery but also white supremacy.[333] The Comte de Gasparin Agénor Étienne, too, was a well-known French Protestant abolitionist who re-located to Switzerland in self-imposed exile when Louis-Napoleon was elected president. He went on to write pro-Republican works during the Civil War and opened a friendly correspondence with President Lincoln, whom he urged to fight not just against slavery but also for racial equality.[334]

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[330] See O'Brien, *Conjectures of Order*, 114-15, 208. Also see John Hall Stewart, "Louis Gottschalk and Lafayette," *The Journal of Modern History*, vol. 42, no. 4 (December 1970), 637-48.
[331] See George McCoy Blackburn, *French Newspaper Opinion on the American Civil War* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1997), 15-16. Also see Lynn M. Case, *French Opinion on War and Diplomacy during the Second Empire* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1954).
[332] Quoted in McGreevy, *Catholicism and American Freedom*, 77. See Thomas A. Sancton, "The Myth of French Worker Support for the North in the American Civil War," *French Historical Studies*, vol. 11, no. 1 (Spring 1979), 58-80.
[333] See George Fisch, *Nine Months in the United States during the Crisis* (London: J. Nisbet and Co., 1863), 151-53; and *The Christian Observer: Conducted by Members of the Established Church, for the Year 1863* (London: Hatchard and Co., 1863), 379, 383-84.
[334] See Agénor de Gasparin, *Les Étas-unis en 1861: Un grand peuple qui se relève*, 2nd ed. (1861; Paris: Michel Lévy Frères, 1862).

Tellingly, the only French Confederates whom Davis did not favor were those few who disliked the French emperor. Xavier Blanchard Debray was a French-born, Spanish-speaking Democrat who lost a close race for mayor of San Antonio in 1859 despite strong support from white Hispanic Tejanos. Debray disliked Louis Philippe, but he resigned from the French diplomatic service for fear that the fledgling French republic would soon become a Bonapartist empire. Moving to Texas in 1852, Debray picked up where the Orleanist *Courrier français* of Paris left off in 1851, for his *El Bejareño* newspaper was one of the very few anti-Napoleon III southern Democratic papers.[335] A reputed graduate of the St. Cyr academy, he was elected colonel of the 26th Texas Cavalry in March 1862. His regiment, however, was relegated to garrison duty for most of the war. Debray proved to be an able officer when his regiment finally saw combat during the Battle of Mansfield, but Davis ignored all of the calls to promote him.[336]

The few French-Americans in the C.S.A. who were even more sympathetic to the French Left and hostile to Napoleon III than DeBray opposed the Confederacy altogether. The racially-egalitarian socialist Albert Brisbane was a French immigrant living in New York City who worked for the influential pro-abolitionist Republican editor Horace Greeley. Victor Prosper Considerant had been exiled from France for leading violent protests against President Louis-Napoleon after the fall of the Roman Republic, and Brisbane convinced him to found a French socialist commune in Texas named La Réunion. The commune collapsed due to constant harassment from neighbors and the city of Dallas, which annexed it in 1860. The remaining communards quietly undermined the C.S. war effort as they fanned out through Texas, for while they had found common ground with Calhoun against "the Bloatted Millioniars of the civillized

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[335] For the limited appeal of the *Courrier français* in the antebellum South, see O'Brien, *Conjectures of Order*, 479.
[336] Debray, though, ended up as a *de facto* brigadier general of cavalry anyway. See X. B. Debray, *A Sketch of the History of Debray's 26th Regiment of Texas Cavalry* (1884; reprint, Austin, TX: Eugene von Boeckmann, 1963); Lonn, *Foreigners in the Confederacy*, 136-37; and Mahin, *The Blessed Place of Freedom*, 245.

world" exploiting "the starving millions" in correspondence pertaining to the "Fourier social system," their respective positions *vis-à-vis* white supremacy were utterly inimical.[337] A pious Catholic Frenchman of Portuguese origin named Henri Castro, in contrast, established a Texan colony for pro-Bonaparte French Catholics with the blessing of the Texas state government and Catholic Church in 1845. Castroville had over eight hundred mostly French Catholic residents by 1858, and they strongly supported both the Democratic Party and the Davis administration.[338]

Davis marginalized the Confederacy's small number of anti-Bonaparte adherents of the French Right as well. Antonie-Jacques-Philippe de Marigny de Mandeville, for instance, was a prominent Catholic Creole and former French cavalry officer whose father-in-law had been the first U.S. governor of Louisiana William C. C. Claiborne. De Mandeville, however, received his education alongside his friend the future king of France Louis Philippe at France's St. Cyr military academy in the 1830s, and his father Bernard de Marigny had once hosted and tutored a visiting Louis Philippe in New Orleans. Napoleon III, of course, detested Louis Philippe on personal and ideological levels, and so Davis was horrified to see the 10th Louisiana Infantry initially select de Mandeville as its colonel. The C.S. president held the regiment out of combat and ordered it to build fortifications in eastern Virginia until de Mandeville resigned.[339] When the bitter Orleanist did so in the summer of 1862, the 10th Louisiana was promptly sent into the

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[337] "From J. B. W.," New York [City,] Oct. 1, [18]43, *PJCC*, 17:484. See Charles Fourier, *The Social Destiny of Man: or, Theory of the Four Movements*, trans. Henry Clapp, Jr., ed. Albert Brisbane (New York: Robert M. Dewitt and Calvin Blanchard, 1857); Arthur Eugene Bestor, Jr., "Albert Brisbane – Propagandist for Socialism in the 1840's," *New York History*, vol. 28, no. 2 (April 1947), 128-58; Howard C. Payne and Henry Grosshans, "The Exiled Revolutionaries and the French Political Police in the 1850's," *The American Historical Review*, vol. 68, no. 4 (July 1963), 954-73; Rondel V. Davidson, "Victor Considerant and the Failure of La Réunion," *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, vol. 76, no. 3 (January 1973), 277-96; and Jonathan Beecher, *Victor Considerant and the Rise and Fall of French Romantic Socialism* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2001).

[338] See Lonn, *Foreigners in the Confederacy*, 14. Also see Richard Cleary, "Texas Gothic, French Accent: The Architecture of the Roman Catholic Church in Antebellum Texas," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, vol. 66, no. 1 (March 2007), 60-83.

[339] See "Louis-Hippolyte Gache to Philip de Carrière," Camp Magruder near Williamsburg, September 11, 1861, in *A Frenchman, A Chaplain, A Rebel*, 47.

thick of the fighting during the Seven Days battles under Colonel Waggaman. Davis, in contrast, dispatched de Mandeville "to collect and organize partisans" in remote Louisiana swamplands.[340]

A converse pattern prevailed within the Union, for while the anti-Bonaparte French of the Left and Right supported the Lincoln administration, the pro-Bonaparte French-American Democrats of the North did precious little to support the Republican-led U.S. war effort. Alfred Napoléon "Nattie" Alexander Duffié was a French immigrant who married into a wealthy New York family by falsely claiming noble birth and embellishing his feats as a soldier in Napoleon III's army, from which he had deserted in 1859. Entering the war as a captain in the 2nd New York Cavalry, he was arrested several times for insubordination. Thanks to the Republican governor of Rhode Island William Sprague IV, Duffié managed to become colonel of the 1st Rhode Island Cavalry, whose members initially evinced nativist hostility toward him. Despite a string of disastrous combat performances, he was promoted to brigadier general in June 1863, for he was one of the few French-Americans to become a pro-abolitionist Republican. Duffié helped General Hunter ravage the Shenandoah in 1864 but was captured later that year and paroled in early 1865. Even though he had not been exchanged, he was assigned to the Trans-Mississippi theatre, where he would have fought his former French army compatriots had France

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[340] "Jefferson Davis to Genl. Earl Van Dorn, Vicksburg, Miss.," "Telegram," Richmond, August 4, 1862, *JDC*, 5:310. See *A Frenchman, A Chaplain, A Rebel*, 53-54; and Mahin, *The Blessed Place of Freedom*, 246. Waggaman was actually a distant in-law relative of de Mandeville through his father George A. Waggaman, a Maryland Catholic who moved to Louisiana after serving under Jackson at the Battle of New Orleans. The elder Waggaman, however, followed his friend and relation John Tyler into the Whig Party. A U.S. senator for Louisiana from 1831-35, he was killed in a duel by his rival the Catholic Democrat, former New Orleans mayor, and defeated gubernatorial candidate of 1838 Denis Prieur, who ruined Tyler's plans to make Waggaman the U.S. minister to France as a result. The younger Waggaman was captured in 1862, exchanged in 1863, and distinguished himself at the head of an Army of Northern Virginia Louisiana brigade. See "Louis-Hippolyte Gache to André Cornette," Richmond, July 8, 1862, in *A Frenchman, A Chaplain, A Rebel*, 121. See ibid., 123; and New Orleans *Daily States*, April 25, 1897.

intervened. Notwithstanding the fact that the French government had issued a standing order for his arrest, Duffié was appointed the U.S. consul in Spain by President Ulysses Grant in 1869.[341]

The most famous Left-leaning French-American, however, was John C. Frémont. The illegitimate son of a French immigrant who had fought for the Royalists during the French Revolution, Frémont became a U.S. army topographical engineer even though he failed to graduate from Charleston College. He rose to fame as an explorer who played a key role in the conquest of California during the Mexican War, after which he made a fortune in the California gold rush. He was also a Democrat whose Democratic father-in-law was Missouri's long-serving U.S. senator Thomas H. Benton. President Polk commuted Frémont's sentence to a dishonorable discharge after a court martial convicted him of insubordination, and he became one of California's first two U.S. senators in 1850 as a Democratic champion of Manifest Destiny. Senator Benton, however, was insufficiently anti-abolitionist in Davis's view, for both Benton and Frémont backed Douglas within the northern Democracy.[342] Frémont was pleased all the same when he was invited to attend the wedding of Napoleon III and the new empress Eugénie in 1853, in which year he and his wife were touring France.[343] His relations with Davis Democrats became ever-more fraught as he continued to appease abolitionists by eliding the Fugitive Slave Law and calling for the restriction of slavery in U.S. territories. Such leaders of the new Republican Party as Nathaniel P. Banks thus hoped to upend the pro-Bonaparte Davis Democrats and win over Douglas Democrats by running Frémont for president. Frémont was

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[341] For Duffié's career, see Charles W. Turner, "General David Hunter's Sack of Lexington, Virginia, June 10-14, 1864: An Account by Rose Page Pendleton," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. 83, no. 2 (April 1975), 173-83; Mahin, *The Blessed Place of Freedom*, 228; and Eric J. Wittenberg, *The Battle of Brandy Station: North America's Largest Cavalry Battle* (Charleston: The History Press, 2010), 38-41.

[342] One of Davis's correspondents even put Benton in the same category as such southern ideological heirs of Henry Clay as "Cassius Clay, J. Minor Botts, Raynor & Co." "From 'Senex,'" Memphis, Tennessee, November 18, 1856, *PJD*, 6:61. Benton, in turn, bitterly denounced Secretary of War Davis and the Topographical Engineers when they rejected the 38th parallel route explored by Frémont for a potential transcontinental railroad. See *PJD*, 6:108-09.

[343] See Andrew F. Rolle, *John Charles Frémont: Character As Destiny* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991), 147.

enticed by the prospect, and he became increasingly friendly to abolitionists after his defeat in the acrimonious 1856 election and irrevocable exile from the Democratic Party as an arch-traitor.

While in France, Frémont had befriended the Comte de la Garde, an avid collector of "Bonaparte souvenirs" who died in 1861. Predicting a C.S. victory in the impending war, the comte advised Frémont to stay out of the conflict lest vindictive Confederates or northern Democrats assailed him, decreeing in his will, according to Frémont's wife Jessie Benton, "'that, should the unhappy conditions of the country and disorders arising from revolution make it impossible to trace the Frémont family within a year,' then my Album was to go to the Emperor (Napoleon III.), to whom he left all the rest of his Bonaparte collection."[344] Frémont, however, refused to heed his advice. Commissioned as a major general and placed in charge of the Department of the West in July 1861, he fueled fears as to the abolitionist nature of the Republicans by favoring such abolitionist-friendly generals as Nathaniel Lyon, as well as by issuing a proclamation which placed Missouri under martial law, decreed execution for all captured pro-Confederate partisans, and mandated uncompensated property confiscations (including of slaves) for civilians aiding guerillas. Having become a standard-bearer for the Republicans who deemed Lincoln insufficiently abolitionist, the U.S. president overrode Frémont and removed him from command in November 1861, ostensibly for corruption in supplies procurement. Lincoln shelved Frémont entirely for losing the Battle of Cross Keys during the 1862 Shenandoah campaign. Attempting to run for president as a much more pro-abolitionist Republican alternative to Lincoln in 1864, Frémont agreed to drop his candidacy only when Lincoln agreed to distance himself from several leading conservative Republicans.[345]

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[344] A priceless 1804 portrait of Napoleon I was part of that collection. See John Charles Frémont, *Memoirs of My Life*, ed. Jessie Benton Frémont, vol. 1 (Chicago and New York: Belford, Clarke & Company, 1887), xviii.

[345] See Catherine Coffin Phillips, *Jessie Benton Frémont: A Woman Who Made History* (1935; reprint, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995); T. Harry Williams, "Frémont and the Politicians," *The Journal of the*

The French Right sustained the institution of slavery in the French West Indies until it was overthrown in 1848, but its adherents were ambivalent about white supremacy and scorned Bonapartist ideals of religious toleration and equality among whites. They accordingly opposed the C.S.A. and supported the Republicans. Théophile D'Oremieulx, for instance, was an assistant professor of French at the U.S. Military Academy whom Secretary of War Davis allowed to remain at West Point instead of serving a customary stint in the field when he was promoted to captain in 1855. His relatives in France, however, had been Royalist supporters of Charles X, and he backed Winfield Scott against Davis during their rancorous power struggle within the army. Davis retaliated by pressuring him to resign, and D'Oremieulx became a pro-Republican professor at Columbia University in 1856.[346] Philippe Régis Denis de Keredern de Trobriand, moreover, immigrated to New York City in the early 1840s and rose to prominence within French-American circles. Trobriand, however, did not share the Bonapartist beliefs of his father, who had fought for Napoleon I, identifying instead with Louis Philippe and the Whig elites of the northeast. Joseph Bonaparte's *Courrier des Étas-unis* had been purchased by a Louis Philippe supporter in 1836, and Trobriand made it even more hostile to Bonapartism as its editor during the 1850s. Colonel Trobriand, moreover, commanded the 55th New York Infantry, which wore Zouave uniforms, contained a number of French immigrants, and saw little in the way of combat before it was subsumed by the 38th New York Infantry in late 1862. Trobriand became a *de facto* brigade commander and fought with valor at Gettysburg. He was formally promoted to brigadier general in April 1864, thereby attaining the highest rank of any French-

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American Military History Foundation, vol. 2, no. 4 (Winter 1938), 178-91; Jörg Nagler, *Frémont contra Lincoln: Die deutsch-amerikanish Opposition in der Repblikanischen Partei während des amerikanisches Bürgerkriges* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1984); and Tom Chaffin, *Pathfinder: John Charles Frémont and the Course of American Empire* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2014).

[346] See *PJD*, 5:443-44; and Charles DeKay, "Captain Théophile D'Oremieulx," *The Association of Graduates of the United States Military Academy*, no. 3 (1903), 42-46.

speaker to serve in the U.S. army during the war – one which was considerably below those held by Beauregard or Polignac. Trobriand fell out with the pro-abolitionist Republicans after the war as well, for he endeavored to promote racial equality by encouraging Louisiana's black and white upper classes to unite against the lower classes of both races as a Reconstruction officer.[347]

The most prestigious members of the French Right, in fact, endorsed the U.S. cause. William Watts Hart Davis was a pro-Buchanan Pennsylvania politician who endorsed Douglas in the 1860 election but still became notorious for his harsh treatment of blacks in Union-occupied areas of the Confederacy. He received a visit as the colonel of the 104th Pennsylvania Infantry in 1862 from "the Duke de Chartres, the Bourbon heir to the throne of France."[348] Napoleon III, moreover, had stripped Louis Philippe's descendants of their inherited property. Among those descendants were the deposed king's grandsons the Duc de Chartres and the Comte de Paris, both of whom served on General McClellan's staff during the 1862 Peninsula Campaign. They were accompanied by their uncle the Prince de Joinville, whose son entered the U.S. Naval Academy in October 1861.[349] And the implied U.S. threat to the French emperor was spelled out by the anti-Bonaparte London *Punch*, which depicted an angry Lincoln-like figure representing

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[347] See Régis de Trobriand, *Quatre ans de campagnes a l'armée du Potomac*, 2 vols. (Paris: Librairie Internationale, 1868); Marie Caroline Post, *The Life and Memoirs of Comte Régis de Trobriand* (New York: E. P. Dutton & Company, 1910); and *Our Noble Blood: The Civil War Letters of General Régis de Trobriand*, ed. William B. Styple, trans. Nathalie Chartrain (Kearny, NJ: Belle Grove Publishing Company, 1997).

[348] W. W. H. Davis, *History of the 104th Pennsylvania Regiment, from August 22, 1861, to September 30, 1864* (Philadelphia: Jas. B. Rogers, 1866), 45.

[349] The Young Napoleon justified having the anti-Bonaparte Orléans aristocrats on his staff because Joinville was something of a *de facto* Bonapartist himself. The prince had appealed to Democrats in the 1840s as a modernizing French admiral and the most anti-British of Louis Philippe's sons. He also escorted the remains of Napoleon I back to France in 1840 and was preparing a presidential run in 1852 when his plans were ruined by Louis-Napoleon. See "An American," "France – Its King, Court, and Government," *The United States Magazine and Democratic Review*, vol. 7, nos. 28-29 (April-May 1840), 425; Le Prince de Joinville, *Guerre d'Amérique: campagne de Potomac, Mars-Juillet 1862*, 2nd ed. (1862; reprint, Paris: Michel Lévy Frères, 1872); François-Ferdinand-Philippe-Louis-Marie d'Orléans, *Memoirs (*Vieux Souvenirs*) of the Prince de Joinville*, trans. Lady Mary Loyd (New York and London: Macmillan and Co., 1895); and C. I. Hamilton, "The Diplomatic and Naval Effects of the Prince de Joinville's Note sur l'etat des forces navales de la France of 1844," *The Historical Journal*, vol. 32, no. 3 (September 1989), 675-87.

the Union who threatens to overthrow a *blasé* Louis-Napoleon and replace him with the Comte de Paris after finishing off the emperor's Confederate allies in a June 1862 political cartoon.[350]

The Republican press, for its part, frequently portrayed Davis as a Bonaparte-style military dictator dressed in Napoleonic martial garb, doing the same as well for McClellan, albeit to a lesser extent.[351] In 1861, for instance, the well-known cartoonist, German immigrant, and fervent Republican abolitionist Thomas Nast depicted a ghoulish Davis in military uniform drenching North America in much the same way as he would portray Napoleon III *vis-à-vis* Europe during the Franco-Prussian War.[352] An April 1863 *Harper's Weekly* cartoon, moreover, showed Davis wearing a Napoleon-style bicorne as he mulls over Beauregard's objections to expending any more of the blockaded Confederacy's meagre ordnance supplies.[353] And the Army of Northern Virginia's final annihilation at the Battle of Five Forks in April 1865 soon came to be known in the North among Republicans as the "Waterloo of the Confederacy."[354]

Pro-Bonaparte French-American Democrats in the North were also very much mistrusted by such pro-Republican newspapers as the New York *Times*, which in early 1864 published a translation of an intercepted letter purporting to be a secret communication from a French citizen who had served in the C.S. army and was now in Richmond hosting a personal emissary of Napoleon III named Martigny to arrange a French-Confederate-alliance with Davis, and the

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[350] See John Tenniel, "Jonathan's Programme, or a Bit of Brag," London *Punch*, June 21, 1862.
[351] See, for instance, *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, July 19, 1862. Also see Holzer, "The Image of Jefferson Davis as Commander in Chief," in *Jefferson Davis's Generals*, 136.
[352] See Thomas Nast, "Jeff Davis Reaping the Harvest," *Harper's Weekly*, October 26, 1861. Nast also warned in his "Compromise with the South" that a Democratic victory in the 1864 election would inevitably see Davis defeat the lesser American Napoleon, drawing a martial-looking C.S. president lording himself over dead U.S. soldiers and suffering blacks as Republican homes burn to the ground. See Thomas Nast, "Compromise with the South," *Harper's Weekly*, September 3, 1864.
[353] See "The Last Shot," *Harper's Weekly*, April 4, 1863. Also see "Jeff Davis Snuffing out the Light," *Harper's Weekly*, May 25, 1861.
[354] See Robert E. Alexander, *Five Forks: Waterloo of the Confederacy* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2003). Also see Varon, *Southern Lady, Yankee Spy*, 190.

Richmond *Examiner* promptly re-published the *Times* letter to raise Confederate hopes.[355] French immigrants, after all, were over-represented in C.S. ranks, but the North's one hundred thousand or so French immigrants were drastically under-represented in the U.S. army.[356] Most of them had supported the Pierce and Buchanan administrations in the 1850s, and they were hardly eager to fight against such pro-Davis Confederates as the famous cavalry raider, spy, and saboteur Captain Thomas H. Hines of La Grange, Kentucky. Having been captured in 1863, Hines passed many an hour in confinement studying French, but he spent even more time digging a secret escape tunnel. He left a taunting note in French upon escaping ("*La patience est amere, mais son fruit est doux*"), married his sweetheart Nancy Sproule at St. Mary's Catholic Church in Covington, Kentucky, and attempted to foment rebellion among northern Democrats with Davis's express approval, as when he sought to free C.S. prisoners at Camp Douglas near Chicago on the eve of the 1864 Democratic convention to instigate an anti-Republican revolt.[357]

French-American Democrats in U.S. service were often regarded with suspicion by Congressional Republicans as result. Admiral Samuel Francis Du Pont, for instance, was descended from Pierre Samuel du Pont de Nemours. An influential pro-free trade economist, French government official, and publisher of Huguenot ancestry, Pierre Samuel du Pont de Nemours helped negotiate the 1783 Treaty of Paris securing U.S. independence. He also supported the initial phase of the French Revolution but was horrified by Jacobin extremism and narrowly avoided the guillotine in 1794. Immigrating to the U.S. in 1799, he befriended Thomas Jefferson and became a Democrat: "heureusement la nation américaine est très bonne… et elle a

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[355] See Richmond *Examiner*, February 3, 1864. Also see New York *Times*, January 24, 1864.
[356] See Lonn, *Foreigners in the Confederacy*, 53; and Mahin, *The Blessed Place of Freedom*, 39.
[357] Nancy Sproule, moreover, had avoided the wrath of Kentucky Unionists by accepting sanctuary in a Kentucky convent. See Davis, *Rebels and Yankees*, 206. Also see Thomas H. Hines, *Tales of War Times: Being the Adventures of Thomas Hinds During the American Civil War* (Watertown, NY: Herald, 1904).

en vous un excellent Chef….”[358] Upon returning to France during Napoleon I’s reign as an informal U.S. diplomatic agent, moreover, he urged Jefferson to pursue an even more anti-British foreign policy (“[v]otre courage contre l’Angleterre vous honore”), as well as to patronize his Delaware gunpowder mill, which was managed by his son Éleuthère Irénée du Pont: “Vous m’avez promis votre appui et votre Protection pour ma belle Manufacture de *Gun-Powder*.”[359]

Samuel F. Du Pont was a nephew of Éleuthère Irénée du Pont. Commissioned a U.S. navy midshipman in 1815 by President Madison with Jefferson’s support, he rose steadily through the ranks, devastated Mexico’s Pacific shipping in the Mexican War, and witnessed the Zouaves in action during the second Opium War as the captain of a U.S. warship stationed off China. He also amicably co-operated with President Pierce’s Secretary of War as the general superintendent of the 1853 Exhibition of the Industry of All Nations in New York City, for he shared Davis’s French neo-classical aesthetic tastes as well as a desire to improve the U.S. navy.[360] Davis, in turn, promised to do his best to secure a West Point cadetship for one of Du Pont’s nephews in 1855, expressing “high consideration and kind feelings for yourself personally.”[361] E. I. du Pont de Nemours, however, did not hesitate to supply a considerable portion of Lincoln administration’s gunpowder during the Civil War even though the company had flourished in large part because Napoleon I let French money and machinery flow to the firm

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[358] “From Pierre Samuel Du Pont de Nemours,” Paris 10 Fructidor 13 (28 aoust 1805), Thomas Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.

[359] “From Pierre Samuel Du Pont de Nemours,” Paris 6 May 1807, Thomas Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress; and “From Pierre Samuel Du Pont de Nemours,” Paris 12 Messidor 12 1er. Juillet 1804, Thomas Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress. See Raymond F. Betts, “Du Pont de Nemours in Napoleonic France, 1802-1815,” *French Historical Studies*, vol. 5, no. 2 (Autumn 1967), 188-203.

[360] See Jean Woollens Fernald, “A Matter of Taste and Elegance: Admiral Samuel Francis Du Pont and the Decorative Arts,” *Winterthur Portfolio*, vol. 21, no. 2/3 (Summer-Autumn 1986), 103-32; and Kevin J. Weddle, “‘The Magic Touch of Reform’: Samuel Francis Du Pont and the Efficiency Board of 1855,” *The Journal of Military History*, vol. 68, no. 2 (April 2004), 471-504.

[361] “To Samuel F. Du Pont,” April 10, 1855, *PJD*, 5:424.

in 1801.[362] An aging Samuel F. Du Pont also opted to fight the C.S.A rather than retire or resign. He helped secure Maryland for the Union in 1861 and strengthened the U.S. blockade of the C.S.A. by capturing Port Royal off South Carolina. Having been promoted to rear admiral in 1862, he sent nine ironclads to attack Fort Sumter in April 1863, but Beauregard thwarted his bid to take Charleston. And because congressional Republicans together with Secretary of the Navy Gideon Welles accused him of incompetence verging upon treason, a mortified Du Pont tendered his resignation in July 1863 pending a congressional investigation into his alleged treachery.[363]

Pro-Davis Confederates, moreover, adulated the Louisiana Tigers, but the Republicans liked to liken their baggy trousers to petticoats, as when the Zouaves of Aristides Gerard's 13th Louisiana Infantry were mocked by Union soldiers as "Loosyane wimmen soldiers."[364] And Republicans could be nearly as hostile to U.S. Zouave regiments, in which Irish-American Democrats were usually prevalent. One such New York regiment was commanded by the former French army captain Lieutenant Colonel Felix Confort, an ardent Democrat whose largely Catholic immigrant soldiers shared his political affiliation. Unflatteringly nicknamed *Les Enfants Perdus*, Confort's troops were notorious for their pro-Confederate sympathies. A score of them even attempted to switch sides during the Peninsula Campaign, and they frequently insulted or assaulted black Union troops while participating in the 1863 attack on Charleston.[365]

Unlike Confort, Colonel Lionel Jobert D'Epineuil's claims to have been a French army officer were false. His 53rd New York Zouaves had a strong complement of French immigrants all the same and was even supposed to include a company of Tuscarora Turcos under white

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[362] See Alfred D. Chandler, Jr., "Du Pont, Dahlgren, and the Civil War Nitre Shortage," *Military Affairs*, vol. 13, no. 3 (Autumn 1949), 142-49.
[363]See Kevin J. Weddle, *Lincoln's Tragic Admiral: The Life of Samuel Francis Du Pont* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2005).
[364] Quoted in Lonn, *Foreigners in the Confederacy*, 105. See ibid., 483.
[365] See *Don Troiani's Regiments and Uniforms of the Civil War*, ed. Earl J. Coates, Michael J. McAfee, and Don Trioiani (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 2002), 53.

officers. His regiment, however, quickly acquired a reputation for cowardice and disorder. It was utterly disgraced when D'Epineuil tried to murder one of his subordinate officers after a quarrel, and the 53rd New York was disbanded when more of its officers were court-martialed in 1862.[366] Yet even the famously brave and politically moderate French-American Zouave officer Abram Duryée came to be loathed by Republicans. Born in New York City to a wealthy Huguenot family whose scions had fought against Britain in both the American Revolution and War of 1812, Duryée was a Democratic merchant and militia officer who popularized Zouave uniforms among Democrat-leaning militia regiments throughout the 1850s North.[367] He rose to fame leading the 5th New York Infantry ("Duryée's Zouaves") during the 1861 battles of Big Bethel and Bull Run, after which he was promoted to brigadier general. He performed well as an Army of the Potomac brigade commander in 1862 and was wounded several times. A recovering Duryée, however, was shocked to learn upon returning to service that he had been relieved of command. Decrying Republican Francophobes, he resigned a few days after the Emancipation Proclamation went into effect and aligned himself with Andrew Johnson, who would secure the brevet rank of major general of volunteers for Duryée in 1866 as a reward.[368]

Julius P. Garesché, however, was unable to resign in protest against the Emancipation Proclamation as he had planned. He was descended from a St. Domingue planter family which had joined a Calvinist sect and escaped the great slave rebellion there by fleeing to the Union, where he rejected the "false tenets" of Protestantism and returned to Catholicism.[369] Garesché was born in Cuba as a result of his father's interest in the coffee trade, but he was educated at

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[366] See Thomas Power Lowry, *Tarnished Eagles: The Courts-martial of Fifty Union Colonels and Lieutenant Colonels* (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 1997), 21-24, 39.
[367] See "From Abram Duryée," New York City, March 3, 1856, *PJD*, 6:432.
[368] For Duryée's career, see New York *Times*, September 28, 1890; and Ezra J. Warner, *Generals in Blue: Lives of the Union Commanders* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1964), 133-34.
[369] Garesché, *Biography of Lieut. Col. Julius P. Garesché*, 17.

Georgetown and West Point from 1833 to 1841. He was such a zealous proponent of Catholicism and active organizer of Catholic charities like the St. Vincent de Paul Society that Pius IX conferred a medal upon him in 1851. He was also a fervent Democrat who wrote articles for the New York City *Freeman's Journal*.[370] Naturally, he appealed to Secretary of War Davis, who made him the U.S. army's assistant adjutant-general in 1855 upon verifying that he "has been Democratic and zealous in [his] support of the present administration."[371] Garesché, in turn, lamented in an 1857 letter to his wife "that I felt sorry to part with him [*i.e.* Pierce] and Col. Davis.... [T]o be esteemed and singled out by persons of eminent position, could not fail to attach me to those who had paid me this justice, or this compliment."[372] But he also admired them on an ideological level as his views on slavery and race echoed those of Pius IX and Louis-Napoleon. He favored gradual emancipation but opposed racial equality as a result, urging the army in an 1860 article to finally subject all Indians within the U.S. to white authority by emulating the "*Chasseurs à pied*, armed with the new rifles" of "Emperor Napoleon III."[373]

Arguing in an 1861 article that Davis's supporters within the C.S.A. were "proud... [and] enthusiastic Americans" who had been provoked into rage by "the snarling curs of Abolition," Garesché believed that they would return to the Union upon realizing that the vast majority of northerners still abhorred racial egalitarians, at which point all true Americans could unite to phase out slavery and stamp out abolitionism.[374] Yet because he was decapitated by a cannonball while serving under his friend General Rosecrans at the December 1862 Battle of Murfreesboro, he could not resign to protest the Emancipation Proclamation, which convinced

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[370] See Kurtz, *Roman-Catholic Americans in the North and Border States during the Era of the American Civil War*, 265.
[371] "Samuel Treat to Jefferson Davis," St. Louis, April 28, 1855, in Garesché, *Biography of Lieut. Col. Julius P. Garesché*, 216.
[372] Quoted in ibid., 304.
[373] Quoted in ibid., 344.
[374] Quoted in ibid., 356.

him that Davis and his own Confederate cousin Peter B. Garesché had spoken the "*truth*" when claiming that the Republicans were bent on crusading not just against slavery but also white supremacy.[375] Peter B. Garesché, for his part, was the supervisor of a powder magazine in Columbia, South Carolina that produced much of the Confederacy's best gunpowder. He had also wed Juliette McLane, who was a sister of General Joseph E. Johnston's wife, converted to Catholicism after the war alongside her sister Lydia Johnston, and entered the convent of the Religious of the Sacred Heart in St. Louis when her French-American husband passed away.[376]

The career of the Massachusetts Davis Democrat Benjamin Butler, however, took a very different course than that of Julius P. Garesché, one which drastically worsened relations between the Republican Party and Napoleon III's France. Butler helped arrange Davis's famous 1858 Boston speech and nominated the Mississippian for president at the Charleston convention.[377] He also supported Breckinridge in the 1860 election, but he soon became a War Democrat. Hoping to retain the Catholic goodwill he had won during the 1850s, Butler informed Father Thomas Scully of the predominantly Irish 9th Massachusetts Infantry at Fort Monroe in 1861 that he "was greatly pleased to see a Catholic Priest in the army, & expressed the wish that he had one with his men...."[378] But his relations with pro-Bonaparte French-American Catholic Confederates had soured even before he became the "beast" of New Orleans, for he had deprecated the character and conduct of de Coppens's Zouaves while stationed at Fort Monroe.

Butler became the U.S. military governor of New Orleans in May 1862 by defying the French navy, which had not forgotten the *Prony* incident. In November 1861, the French

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[375] Quoted in "Samuel Treat to Jefferson Davis," St. Louis, April 28, 1855, in Garesché, *Biography of Lieut. Col. Julius P. Garesché*, 356.
[376] See ibid., 352; *A Frenchman, A Chaplain, and A Rebel*, 186; and Brooke, Jr, *John M. Brooke*, 275, 281.
[377] See Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 1:594; *PJD*, 6:343; and Oakes, *Freedom National*, 91.
[378] See David P. Conyngham, "Soldiers of the Cross," Chapter 9, David P. Conyngham Collection, University of Notre Dame.

warship *Prony* ran aground at Ocracoke Bar, North Carolina. U.S. and C.S. ships were both in the vicinity, but the Union captains refrained from attempting a rescue in the hazardous waters. The U.S. navy lieutenant R. B. Lowry feared as a result that "[i]f the rebels rescue the crew of the Frenchman, or save the vessel, and after treating them with interested kindness cause them to be returned to France, the event might have a most important bearing upon our political questions."[379] His fears came to pass when three C.S. ships raced to the rescue; one of them sank in the process, but the other two managed to save the French sailors, delivering them in triumph to the French vice-consul at Norfolk Leon Misano, who authorized the *Prony* captain N. de Fontanges to publicly accused the U.S. navy of ignoring his distress calls and assure the Davis administration that "I cannot forget such services: you may be certain that the government of the Emperor shall know the persons to whom France owes the safety of 140 of her sailors."[380] Captain de Clouet of the French navy accordingly sought to hinder the U.S. conquest of New Orleans in late April 1862 by objecting to a U.S. ultimatum which warned that the city would be bombarded if it did not surrender within forty-eight hours. Demanding sixty days to evacuate the city's thirty thousand French citizens, he declared that "[i]f it is your resolution to bombard the city, do it; but I wish to state that you will have to account for the barbarous act to the power which I represent."[381] Butler ignored him and took the city, but French warships continued to vex him by visiting New Orleans and raising hopes among Confederates there of future "assistance from the Government of France."[382] Emphasizing the "many ties of amity and good feeling... [which] unite the people of this city with those of France," the New Orleans City

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[379] Quoted in Fred M. Mallison, *The Civil War on the Outer Banks: A History of the Late Rebellion along the Coast of North Carolina from Carteret to Currituck* (1924; reprint, Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, 1998), 56.
[380] Quoted in ibid., 57.
[381] Quoted in James Parton, *General Butler in New Orleans: History of the Administration of the Department of the Gulf in the Year 1862: with an Account of the Capture of New Orleans, and a Sketch of the Previous Career of the General, Civil and Military* (New York: Mason Brothers, 1864), 276.
[382] "N. P. Banks to Maj. Gen. H. W. Halleck," New Orleans, August 17, 1863, *OR*, Series I, 26/1:690.

Council urged him to give French naval personnel the "freedom and hospitality of the city," but an exasperated Butler ruled that he would only let them visit "the calaboose or the hospital."[383]

Butler also angered French Catholics on both sides of the Atlantic by peremptorily imprisoning such prominent pro-C.S. Creole civilians as Adolphe Mazureau. His suppression of *L'Abeille* had a similar effect, for it was the most popular French-language newspaper in the South, read by French-Americans throughout the Union, circulated in France, and aligned with Slidell's "Regular Democrats."[384] Butler shut down Henry Saint-Paul Léchard's *Propagateur catholique* newspaper as well. Léchard's father fought for Napoleon I at Waterloo, and his *vivandière* mother gave birth to him at Antwerp in 1815. He became a wealthy Louisiana Democratic politician and raised the *chasseurs-à-pied de la Louisiane* at Baton Rouge in early 1861. His regiment emulated the dress and "*comrades de battaille*" tactics of Napoleon III's *chasseurs*. Reporting to Davis for duty at Montgomery, it rose to prominence in the 1861 siege of Pensacola and then to fame in the Army of Northern Virginia. Captain Léchard attained the rank of major, but he was re-assigned to Mobile as a quartermaster when his health failed. He was also a friend of Father Gache and a generous patron of the Church in Louisiana, reviving the *Propagateur catholique* to spread both Catholicism and French in the new Confederacy, as well as to encourage Creole Confederates to become better Catholics and speakers of French.[385] To that end, he entrusted his paper to Father Napoléon-Joseph Perché, who founded the original but unprofitable *Propagateur* in the early 1840s. New Orleans's Catholic free blacks, however, reviled Father Perché's editorials, urging Louisiana's Catholic clergy to instead emulate the Protestant abolitionist churches of Britain and the North on racial matters. Butler, for his part,

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[383] "Benj. F. Butler to the Mayor and Gentlemen of the City Council of New Orleans," New Orleans, May 16, 1862, *OR*, Series I, 25:427.

[384] See Alfred McClung Lee, *The Daily Newspaper in America* (1937; reprint, London: Routledge, 2001), 174.

[385] For Léchard, see *Exercises de Cacographie: Deuxieme Partie* (Nouvelle-Orléans: Imprimerie Du "Propagateur Catholique," 1861); and *A Frenchman, A Chaplain, A Rebel*, 31. Léchard went on to establish the Mobile *Times*.

was gravitating toward the pro-abolitionist wing of the Republican Party and endorsed *L'Union*, which was the fledgling black Catholic alternative to the banned *Propagateur*, prompting the New Orleans archbishop Jean-Marie Odin to accuse him of fomenting race war by undermining white supremacy.[386] Unsurprisingly, when the former Spring Hill instructor and Irish-born New Orleans Jesuit priest Robert Kelly was expelled by Butler, he returned to his native land and founded the *Illustrated Monitor*, which depicted Napoleon III and Davis as the future liberators of oppressed Irish Catholics from British abolitionist rule on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean.[387]

The pro-Confederate French consul at New Orleans Count Eugène Méjan bedeviled Butler too. New Orleans's Depasseur banking house was connected to Parisian banks and lent a half-million dollars in specie to the C.S. government in 1861. Méjan kept all of that money out of U.S. hands by holding it in trust at the French consulate.[388] Butler, in turn, angered Méjan by levying steep taxes upon the French citizens in New Orleans who had purchased $1 million worth of C.S. bonds, which had been underwritten by the French banking houses Rochereau and Quertier.[389] Charles Heidsieck, moreover, was the head of a prestigious French wine firm who popularized champagne in the U.S. during the 1850s by carousing with Democratic cotton merchants in New York City, where he developed his "Champagne Charlie" persona. A Protestant who converted to Catholicism, Heidsieck was collecting debts in Mobile when Alabama seceded. He disguised himself as a bartender on one of the steamboats which Butler had given permission to bring provisions but not passengers from C.S. territory to New Orleans. He helped the Confederates in that capacity by smuggling letters which conveyed military intelligence, arranging contracts with French textile manufacturers to produce C.S. uniforms as

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[386] See McGreevey, *Catholicism and American Freedom*, 81-82. Father Perché, though, had the last laugh, for he rose to become the archbishop of New Orleans in 1870.
[387] Quoted in *A Frenchman, A Chaplain, and A Rebel*, 78. See ibid., 78.
[388] See Lonn, *Foreigners in the Confederacy*, 330-32.
[389] See "Benj. F. Butler to Edwin M. Stanton," New Orleans, October – , 1862, *OR*, series III, 2:722-23.

well. "Champagne Charlie" was arrested and sentenced to death by Butler, at which point Count Méjan went to Washington, D.C. to personally convey Napoleon III's warning that the U.S. would incur France's wrath if Heidsieck were to be executed. Butler was forced to commute Heidsieck's sentence and released him in November 1862 on condition that he would return to France. "Champagne Charlie," however, defied his expulsion order by invoking Count Méjan's protection, impelling an exasperated Butler to state that the French consul's "propriety of conduct and neutrality has, by subsequent revelations, been shown to be worse than doubtful."[390] The U.S. government expelled "Count No Account" at the end of 1862. As the pro-Republican New York *Times* remarked, "[t]his Count MEJAN, from the commencement of the secession movement, distinguished himself as an enemy of the United States Government. He led the entire foreign element at New-Orleans, fomented treason wherever he had influence...."[391]

According to the *Times*, Count Méjan "did more, perhaps, than all else to blacken the name of Gen. BUTLER in the eyes of Europe."[392] Butler's own General Order No. 28, however, did far more to harm his reputation and, by extension, that of the Union among the French, for he had declared on May 1, 1862 that any pro-C.S. woman in New Orleans who insulted U.S. troops would be deemed a prostitute rather than a lady. A disproportionate number of the targeted women were French-American *belles* or wives of resident French citizens. Claiming that "beast" Butler was trying to punish and silence them by means of sexual violence, they touched off a flurry of anti-U.S. sentiment in France, and de Coppens's Zouaves went into battle thereafter shouting imprecations against "Picayune Butler." The C.S. president, moreover, sought to capitalize upon the situation by insisting that Butler's order had received the Republican Party's

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[390] Quoted in Lonn, *Foreigners in the Confederacy*, 331. See ibid., 331; Joseph Henriot, *Champagne Charlie* (Paris: A. Michel, 1982); and Éric Glatre and Jacqueline Roubinet, *Charles Heidsieck: Un pionnier et un homme d'honneur* (Paris: Stock, 1995). Heidsieck, however, returned home before the war ended due to health and financial problems.
[391] New York *Times*, December 16, 1862; and ibid., January 9, 1863.
[392] Ibid., January 9, 1863.

"sanction," having been greeted with "applause… by public meetings and portions of the press of the Unites States." Mere condemnatory words from the French government and press, he insisted, would certainly not suffice to chastise Butler, for "the rebuke of civilized man has failed to evoke from the authorities of the United States one mark of disapprobation of his acts…."[393]

A veritable cult centering upon Beauregard's ailing wife Caroline Deslonde also emerged in the C.S.A. thanks to General Order No. 28. The Little Napoleon urged his devoutly Catholic wife to flee New Orleans in light of the impending U.S. occupation, but she demurred, citing her precarious health. Many Confederates, however, came to believe that she had remained in the city to share the trials of its pro-C.S. denizens. Viewing her as a saintly figure, they prayed that her husband would deliver her by rescuing New Orleans from the "beast." Beauregard was hardly a faithful *beau* in reality, but he was happy to play his role, insisting that his wife had stayed in the city from the purest of patriotic motives, not because she was reluctant to leave her comfortable home or loath to see her unfaithful husband. Butler, moreover, inadvertently fueled the emerging cult by offering Beauregard safe passage to privately visit his wife, for the Little Napoleon boasted that he would only return to her as a conquering hero.[394] When she died in March 1864, thousands of pro-Confederate women attended her funeral, and her husband insisted that her tombstone to bear the following inscription: "The Country comes before me."[395]

Realizing that Butler's presence at New Orleans had become more of a liability than an asset, Lincoln sent him back to Virginia in late 1862.[396] Davis had issued a general order

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[393] "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, August 18, 1862, *JDC*, 5:322. Butler, Davis declared, was not worthy of "wear[ing] the human form." "Speech of Jefferson Davis in Richmond," from the Richmond *Enquirer*, January 7, 1863, *JDC*, 5:392.

[394] For the Confederate cult of Caroline Deslonde Beauregard, see Gordon, "'To Comfort, To Counsel, To Cure,'" in *Jefferson Davis's Generals*, 120-21.

[395] See Richmond *Enquirer*, April 11, 1864; ibid., April 19, 1864; and Williams, *P. G. T Beauregard*, 204-05.

[396] Butler was replaced by Maine's George Foster Shepley, whom Pierce had informed Davis in 1860 "would rather fight the battle with you as the Standardbearer in 1860 than under the auspices of any other leader." "Franklin

directing Butler to be executed if captured, and he sought to keep the memory of the anti-French "beast" alive, observing in a December 1863 speech that Butler, "after having been withdrawn from the scenes of his cruelties against women and prisoners of war, in reluctant concession to the demands of outraged humanity in Europe, has just been put in a new command at Norfolk, where helpless women and children are again placed at this mercy."[397] He thus sent Beauregard to Virginia so that the French-American Confederate hero might obtain his revenge against the "beast" on behalf of his wife and all Frenchwomen. Davis himself went to Drury's Bluff to see the fighting during the Bermuda Hundred campaign, and while the Little Napoleon stymied Butler's advance toward Richmond, he failed once again to achieve a true Napoleonic victory.[398]

Asserting that Butler was scheming to incite "a servile insurrection in Richmond," Davis also pointed to the fact that the Lincoln administration had canceled the prisoner exchange cartel in December 1863 because the C.S. government would not swap black U.S. soldiers as further proof that the Republicans were seeking to destroy white supremacy.[399] And when Butler was put in charge of a more limited case-by-case exchange system in 1864, the C.S. president thought that both France and the Confederacy had been flagrantly insulted. Asserting that the C.S. government would never be "induced to recognize Butler," Davis angrily observed in a September 1864 speech that "Butler, the Beast, with whom no Commissioner of Exchange would hold intercourse, had published in the newspapers: that if we would consent to the

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Pierce to Jefferson Davis," Clarendon Hotel, [New York City], January 6, 1860, *JDC*, 4:118. Shepley's growing influence indicated, moreover, that Davis Democrats were "rapidly gaining ground in New England." Ibid., 4:118.

[397] "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, December 7, 1863, *JDC*, 6:125.

[398] Beauregard was supposed to have accomplished "the destruction of his army and possibly the capture of the large supplies he had accumulated…." "Jefferson Davis to General R. E. Lee, Comdg. &c.," Richmond, May 20, 1864, *JDC*, 6:256. See "Jefferson Davis to General R. E. Lee, Spottsylvania C.H. Va.," "Telegram (in cipher)," Richmond, May 19, 1864, *JDC*, 6:255-58. Also see "Jefferson Davis to General G. T. Beauregard, Comdg. &c.," Richmond, May 20, 1864, *JDC*, 6:259; and Allen, *Jefferson Davis, Unconquerable Heart*, 380-81. Ironically, Beauregard would have faced Butler much earlier had Davis not denied his 1861 request to command the defense of New Orleans rather than a field army in Virginia. See "Jefferson Davis to Genl. Beauregard, Manassas, Va.," Richmond, October 16, 1861, *JDC*, 5:142-43.

[399] "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," February 3, 1864, *JDC*, 6:166.

exchange of negroes, all difficulties might be removed."[400] When C.S. army engineers threatened over 150 captured black U.S. soldiers with severe corporal punishment if they would not toil as Confederate laborers in October 1864, moreover, Butler retaliated by putting Confederate prisoners of war to work under black U.S. guards on Virginia's Dutch Cap Canal.[401]

Butler and other pro-abolitionist Republican generals also tended to single out French Confederates when they responded to C.S. maltreatment of captured U.S. soldiers by treating Confederate prisoners of war in kind. One such French Confederate was the Marquis de Marcheville Paul François De Gournay, who was a member of a wealthy French family that had extensive landholdings in both France and Cuba. After managing his father's Cuban sugar plantations for several years, he moved to New Orleans, where he became a close associate of Narciso López, a prominent militia officer, and the editor of the New Orleans *Picayune*. Spending $10,000 of his own money to raise the Orleans Independent Artillery company in 1861, Captain de Gournay distinguished himself as an artillerist and fortifications engineer in the 1862 Peninsula Campaign, during which his company was attached to de Coppens's Zouaves. Promoted to major, he was transferred to the western theatre, where he commanded the artillery for a de Coppens's Zouaves detachment under Major St. Leon Dupiere. He also helped protect Port Hudson as a lieutenant colonel and was taken prisoner in that capacity after a dogged defense against Nathaniel Banks's far larger U.S. force. And in 1864 he had the dubious distinction of being one of the most prominent officers among the 600 captured Confederates who were selected to be human shields for U.S. batteries on Morris Island near Charleston in retaliation for Beauregard's initial use of U.S. prisoners-of-war in that capacity. Released at Davis's behest through a special prisoner exchange in December 1864, a physically-broken De

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[400] "Speech of Jefferson Davis in Macon, Georgia," from the Richmond *Enquirer*, September 29, 1864, *JDC*, 6:343.
[401] See Jordan, *Black Confederates and Afro-Yankees in Civil War Virginia*, 279, 281-83.

Gournay went back to France after the war. He returned to the U.S. in 1867, however, as Napoleon III's consul at Baltimore, where he participated in C.S. veterans' organizations, taught French, helped edit the pro-Democrat *Catholic Mirror*, and continued to promote equality among whites by eulogizing the famous women of French history in his ever-popular public lectures.[402]

Yet by the time Gournay came to Baltimore, the French had withdrawn from Mexico, terminating an invasion which had removed any direct threat posed to the Confederacy by Benito Juárez's mestizo-led abolitionist regime, which came to power in 1860 championing racial equality, espousing anti-clericalism, and lauding the incoming Lincoln administration. President Davis hence sent C.S. troops from the Mexican border for service elsewhere and banned Juárez's soldiers from Confederate soil even as he allowed pro-Maximilian Mexican forces to enter Texas for respite or sanctuary.[403] Juárez, in turn, ordered the Mexican consulate in Texas to shield Mexican citizens and anti-Confederate Texans from C.S. conscription.[404] Napoleon III's invasion also inflamed anti-Bonaparte sentiment among the Republicans.[405] President Lincoln thus informed the French emperor of the Union's displeasure at France's invasion shortly after it commenced through the U.S. minister to France John Bigelow, a Frémont ally who had abandoned the Democrats for the Republicans in 1860. Republicans accused Napoleon III of violating the Monroe Doctrine, castigating him as well for having "struck a disastrous blow at the cause of Republicanism on this Continent" on behalf of monarchism.[406] "I'm not exactly

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[402] De Gournay's Orleans Independent Artillery became the 12th Louisiana Heavy Artillery upon being sent to the west. See "Women of France, Col. Paul de Gournay Lectures in French before the Colonial Dames," Baltimore *Sun*, May 5, 1899; Baltimore *American*, March 15, 1904; ibid., July 27, 1904; New Orleans *Times-Picayune*, July 28, 1904; Lonn, *Foreigners in the Confederacy*, 144-45; and Antonio Rafael De la Cova, *Cuban Confederate Colonel: The Life of Ambrosio José Gonzales* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2003), 421.
[403] See "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, December 7, 1863, *JDC*, 6:107; and "Jefferson Davis to General E. K. Smith, Shreveport, La.," "Telegram (in cipher)," Montgomery, September 29, 1864, *JDC*, 6:348.
[404] See Lonn, *op. cit.*, 235.
[405] See Kelly, "The North American Crisis of the 1860s," *Journal of the Civil War Era*, 344.
[406] New York *Times*, July 2, 1867.

'skeered,'" Lincoln observed of the French invasion in 1863, "but I don't like the looks of the thing. Napoleon… has attempted to found a monarchy on the soil of Mexico in utter disregard of the Monroe Doctrine…. If we get well out of our present difficulties and restore the Union, I propose to notify Louis Napoleon that it is about time to take his army out of Mexico."[407]

Most of the northern Know-Nothings became Republicans, and though Lincoln sought to subdue overt anti-Catholicism in Republican ranks, there was still considerable hostility to Catholics among Republican soldiers and civilians throughout the war.[408] Anti-Catholic sentiment among Republicans became more overt and vituperative after the French invasion of Mexico as such former Know-Nothings as Maryland's increasingly pro-abolitionist Republican congressman Henry Winter Davis urged Lincoln to more actively assist Juárez and more openly defy Napoleon III.[409] A December 19, 1862 cartoon in the pro-Republican *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* hence depicted Maximilian bringing an object to Mexico that was at once a bomb and a papal orb.[410] The pro-abolitionist and anti-Catholic German '48ers bitterly denounced Napoleon III's invasion of Mexico as well, and Henry Louis Stephens of New York's *Vanity Fair* depicted the French emperor as fostering two "dangerous" animals to attack the Union in "Jonathan's Advice to Louis Napoleon," one of which was Maximilian (the "Mexican Pig"). The other animal was a battered yet rabid dog featuring the Confederate president's Louis-Napoleon-style goatee, which Senator Davis had begun sporting during the late 1850s.[411]

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[407] Quoted in Carl Sandberg, *Abraham Lincoln: The Prairie Years and the War Years, One-Volume Edition* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1954), 424.
[408] See Conyngham, "Soldiers of the Cross," Conyngham Collection, University of Notre Dame. Also see Rose, *Victorian America and the Civil War*, 63, 64-65, 78.
[409] See Marvin Goldwert, "Matías Romero and Congressional Opposition to Seward's Policy toward the French Intervention in Mexico," *The Americas*, vol. 22, no. 1 (July 1965), 22-40.
[410] See *Harper's Weekly*, June 7, 1862; and William Newman, "Indecent Haste of the Emperor Maximilian to his new States," *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, December 19, 1862. Also see "Design for a Modern Historical Picture: Napoleon III crossing the American Continent on his Mexican Mule," *Harper's Weekly*, March 7, 1863.
[411] Henry Louis Stephens, "Jonathan's Advice to Louis Napoleon," *Vanity Fair*, June 28, 1862. See Wittke, *Refugees of Revolution*, 245.

Many Republicans even came to believe that Napoleon III was the true power behind the Confederacy. Henry Louis Stephens hence published a political cartoon in July 1861 depicting Napoleon III fostering the growth of an infant Davis as the French emperor declares, "[v]en you grow so big and can valk all alone, you shall be great friend vith me!"[412] "We have no craftier enemy than Louis Napoleon," *Harper's Weekly* also declared in December 1865; "[h]is operations in Mexico were meant as a powerful flank movement for the rebellion. They were leveled at the United States, and the United States are not likely to forget it."[413] The Lincoln administration thus rejected all French entreaties for the U.S. to recognize Maximilian's regime after the Confederacy's demise, demanding instead that Napoleon III withdraw his forces from Mexico. General Grant, moreover, deployed tens of thousands of U.S. troops to the Rio Grande in July 1865, declaring that the "French occupation of Mexico" was "part and parcel of the late rebellion in the United States."[414] When U.S. forces temporarily occupied Brownsville in late 1863, after all, their control there was undermined by the Brownsville Home Guard militia, which was composed of anti-Juárez white Mexican foreign nationals who had fled from northern Mexico to Brownsville for safety. Ostensibly a neutral outfit dedicated to the maintenance of local law and order, the Brownsville Home Guard was actually pro-Confederate, and its commander Josè Maria Cobos was ultimately killed in Mexico fighting as one of Maximilian's generals, for he deemed Juárez a "tyrannical demagogue" and "a calamity for the people."[415]

Tens of thousands of U.S. weapons flowed over the border to Juárez's embattled forces in northern Mexico after 1865, and the tide of war shifted against Maximilian's hitherto triumphant

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[412] See Henry Louis Stephens, "A Long Look-Out," *Vanity Fair*, July 13, 1861. Also see "'Recognition,' or 'No,'" *Harper's Weekly*, September 14, 1861.
[413] *Harper's Weekly*, December 9, 1865.
[414] "U. S. Grant to Andrew Johnson," July 15, 1865, *OR*, series I, 48/2:108. See William E. Hardy, "South of the Border: Ulysses S. Grant and the French Intervention," *Civil War History*, vol. 54, no. 1 (March 2008), 63-86.
[415] "Josè Maria Cobos, general of division of the Mexican Army, to his companions in arms," Matamoros, November 6, 1863, *OR*, series I, 26/1:401. See Lonn, *Foreigners in the Confederacy*, 128.

armies.[416] When the Mexican emperor's last field army surrendered in June 1867, the pro-Republican Chicago *Tribune* exulted that "the last rebel army [had] surrendered." "Whoever shall write the history of the Great Rebellion," the *Tribune* explained, "will not complete it until he has traced to its final termination the effort of the Austrian Archduke to establish himself on the throne of a Mexican empire," for "[t]he invasion of Mexico by the French and the struggle of Maximilian to build up an Empire on this continent were, in fact, a branch of the Southern rebellion," and the "failure of the Southern rebellion and of Napoleon and Maximilian in Mexico will be linked together as events depending on each other, and inseparably connected."[417] Maryland's Elizabeth Rousby Green was aunt to Maximilian's eldest son, after all, and she had given shelter to a fleeing John Wilkes Booth as he sought to reach Mexico after assassinating Lincoln. Maximilian was married to the famously charming daughter of Belgium's King Leopold I Carlota, but they were childless and adopted two grandsons of Emperor Augustin I in 1863. Augustin I had not been able to impose a Bonaparte-style regime upon a newly independent Mexico during the early-to-mid 1820s, and his exiled son Prince Don Ángel Maria de Iturbide y Huarte married a Maryland Catholic named Alice Green, whose son Don Agustín de Iturbide y Green, the Prince of Iturbide, returned to Mexico as Maximilian I's adopted heir.[418]

Republicans like the abolitionist Harvard professor Francis J. Child wanted to send Davis packing to the French in Mexico with nothing but a "sombrero" because the C.S. government

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[416] See Robert Ryal Miller, "Arms across the Border: United States Aid to Juárez during the French Intervention in Mexico," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, vol. 63, no. 6 (December 1973), 1-68; and Kelly, "The North American Crisis of the 1860s," *Journal of the Civil War Era*, 360.
[417] Chicago *Tribune*, June 13, 1867.
[418] See "The Heir-Presumptive to the Imperial Crown of Mexico: Don Augustin de Iturbide," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, vol. 66, no. 395 (April 1883), 735-36; and William W. Warner, *At Peace with All Their Neighbors: Catholics and Catholicism in the National Capital, 1787-1860* (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 1994), 199-200. See M. M. McAllen, *Maximilian and Carlota: Europe's Last Empire in Mexico* (San Antonio: Trinity University Press, 2014).

openly welcomed the French invaders and sought to formally ally with Maximilian's Mexico.[419] As Slidell informed Napoleon III in a July 16, 1862 meeting, since the "Lincoln Government was the ally and protector of his enemy Juárez, we could have no objection to make common cause against a common enemy."[420] In June 1863, moreover, the French emperor personally informed Slidell that he had been reading American newspapers and was unsurprised to learn that reports of the French conquest of Mexico City had occasioned "disappointment and hostility" among the Republicans, whereas Richmond was "illuminated on the occasion." Slidell cheerfully answered that "[t]here could be no doubt of the bitterness of the Northern people at the success of his arms in Mexico, while all our sympathies were with France."[421] Indeed, Davis viewed the French invasion as a positive development in a continent-wide struggle for white supremacy, holding that Napoleon III had respected both the Monroe Doctrine and democracy because France was not directly colonizing Mexico but rather simply helping to protect white rule and equality among whites there.[422] Maximilian's regime, after all, was nominally independent, and it had been established by the votes of white Mexicans in a national plebiscite. "The Emperor of the French," the C.S. president thus explained to the C.S. Congress in late 1863, "has solemnly disclaimed any purpose to impose on Mexico a form of government not acceptable to the nation; and the eminent personage to whom the throne has been tendered declines its acceptance unless the offer be sanctioned by the suffrages of the people." "If the Mexican people prefer a monarchy to republic," he added, "it is our plain duty to cheerfully

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[419] Francis J. Child, "Overtures from Richmond," in *Songs of the Civil War*, 337. See Vine Wright Kingsley, *French Intervention in America; or, a Review of* La France, La Mexique, et les Etats-Confédérés (New York: C. B. Richardson, 1863).

[420] "Enclosure Memorandum," Paris, 25 July, 1862, *ORN*, series II, 3:484. See Louis Martin Sears, *John Slidell* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1925), 195.

[421] John Slidell, "Memorandum of an Interview with the Emperor at the Tuileries on Thursday, 18th June 1863," *ORN*, series 2, 3:813. See entry for July 31, 1863, in Jones, *A Rebel War Clerk's Diary*, 250; and Girard, *A Visit to the Confederate States of America in 1863*, 79-80.

[422] See "John Slidell to Edouard Thouvenal," July 21, 1862, *ORN*, series 2, 3:475.

acquiesce in their decision and to evince a sincere and friendly interest in their prosperity," for France had generously freed Mexico's whites from the supposed horrors of Indian rule and allowed them to exercise "the same right of self-government which we assert for ourselves."[423]

Davis deemed Maximilian's regime a kindred ideological spirit because it was dedicated to equality among whites, for it displeased the Mexican Right even as it fought against the Mexican Left. Slidell hence informed the French foreign minister that a Bonapartist regime in Mexico "will be regarded with no unfriendly eye by the Confederate States" as the Davis administration yearned to "see a respectable, responsible, and stable government established" there which would uphold religious toleration, protect white supremacy, promote equality among whites, and render Mexico ever-more white through immigration.[424] Juárez had targeted the Mexican Right for uncompensated property confiscation, seizing assets from both the Catholic Church and wealthy *hacienda* owners. Rightist Mexicans hence welcomed the French invaders, who restored their property and re-established the Catholic Church. Yet even as they stayed loyal to Maximilian due to their hatred for and fear of Juárez, they grew increasingly uncomfortable with the new regime's goal to re-make Mexico in the Bonapartist image of equality among whites, looking askance as Maximilian received as many white immigrants as possible, enhanced the political rights of poor Mexican whites, mandated religious freedom for non-Catholics, and heavily taxed wealthy white Mexicans to finance the war, pay Mexico's debts to France, and build such ambitious new internal improvements as an extensive railroad network.[425] The adherents of the Mexican Right, however, were especially discomfited by

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[423] "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, December 7, 1863, *JDC*, 6:107.
[424] "John Slidell to Edouard Thouvenal," July 21, 1862, *ORN*, series 2, 3:475. See "Memorandum of an Interview of Mr. Slidell with the Emperor at St. Cloud on Tuesday, October 28, 1862," *ORN*, series II, 3:577.
[425] See N. Andrew and N. Cleven, "The Ecclesiastical Policy of Maximilian of Mexico," *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, vol. 9, no. 3 (August 1929), 317-60; Nancy N. Barker, "The Factor of 'Race' in the French Experience in Mexico, 1821–1861," *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, vol. 59, no. 1 (February 1979), 64-

Maximilian's desire to "emancipate" their *Indios* peons, who were frequently impressed under martial law for military service as laborers and soldiers.[426] Tens of thousands of non-white Mexicans did in fact fight for Maximilian because the Mexican "peon system" was, as Davis put it in 1848, "far more harsh and repulsive to my mind than our domestic slavery...."[427] Yet they frequently defected to Juárez when his victories began to mount in 1865, for while the French and white Mexicans would punish them severely whenever they were caught assisting Juárez, the Mexican Left promised to deliver not only liberation from peonage but equal citizenship as well.

The C.S. president also liked Maximilian's government because the French Bonapartist Adrián Woll was one of its leading figures. Woll had been a captain in Napoleon I's Imperial Guard, served in the U.S. army after Waterloo, and sought revenge against Bonaparte's pro-British enemies on the Spanish Right by fighting for Mexican independence. Lieutenant Colonel Woll was Santa Anna's *aide-de-camp* when Spain invaded Mexico in 1830. He next fought against the Texans from 1836-42 as a Mexican major general, winning a few notable victories but also suffering several defeats.[428] Woll, however, had endeavored to prevent the war by informing the Texans that while Santa Anna's government was opposed to slavery, it was not amenable to racial equality. He therefore advised Santa Anna to treat Texan prisoners with leniency, urging him as well to promote equality among Mexican whites in addition to white

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80; and Robert H. Duncan, "Political Legitimation and Maximilian's Second Empire in Mexico, 1864-1867," *Mexican Studies*, vol. 12, no. 1 (Winter 1996), 27-66.

[426] See Jack Autrey Dabbs, *The French Army in Mexico, 1861-1867: A Study in Military Government* (The Hague: Mouton & Co., 1963).

[427] "Speech on the Oregon Bill," July 12, 1848, *PJD*, 3:365. The territorial governor of Louisiana had similarly observed in a letter to President Jefferson that "[t]he Native Mexicans are generally unarmed, and held in the most perfect state of Vassalage and degradation; – many of them, are employed in cultivating the Lands of others, and receiving in return, a bare subsistance." See "From William C. C. Claiborne," New Orleans, Septr. 1st. 1808, Thomas Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.

[428] See Joseph Milton Nance, "Brigadier General Adrian Woll's Report of His Expedition into Texas in 1842," *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, vol. 58, no. 4 (April 1955), 523-52.

supremacy.[429] Woll sat out the Mexican War in France on extended leave but returned to back Santa Anna in 1853 and spent the next seven years suppressing insurgent *Indios* led by the Juárez and the mestizo Porfirio Díaz. He also visited France in 1855 to inform Napoleon III of the plight of "Latin" Catholic Mexican whites. A "conservative" scourge of the "liberals" during the Wars of Reform in the late 1850s, Woll fled to France when Juárez rose to power in 1860.[430]

Juan Nepomuceno Almonte, moreover, was educated in the U.S. and had known Davis as the Mexican minister to the U.S. from 1853-56. He fled to France to escape Juárez as well, joining Woll to urge Napoleon III to liberate Mexico's beleaguered whites and flood Mexico with white immigrants.[431] Maximilian reached Mexico City in June 1864 after he had been delayed by celebratory *fêtes* and grand reviews in France and Rome, where Pius IX recognized and blessed him as the emperor of Mexico. He was accompanied by his *aide-de-camp* and soon-to-be adjutant general Woll, who was part of the Mexican delegation which went to Austria to officially offer Mexico's new imperial throne to Maximilian, a member of Forey's Mexico City convention, and had initially returned to Mexico with the French invasion force in 1862 to serve as the governor of Vera Cruz.[432] Woll had also extended a friendly reception in February 1863 to the French-born Texan A. Supervièle, who was the first of several pro-Bonaparte French-American Confederates whom the Davis administration would dispatch as emissaries to Napoleon III's forces in Mexico.[433] Supervièle thus informed Woll and the French officers that

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[429] For Davis's perception of Woll as a generous and likeminded adversary who was kind to U.S. prisoners, see "Jesse Speight, *et al*. to James K. Polk," House of Representatives, December 27, 1845, *PJD*, 2:400-01.
[430] For Woll's biographical details, see *PJD*, 2:402.
[431] For Davis's relations with "General Almonte," see "To William R. Cannon," "(*Confidential*)," Washington, D.C., December 13, 1853, *PJD*, 5:52; and *PJD*, 5:325, 447. Also see *PJD*, 5:53. For the influence of Woll, Almonte, and other white Mexicans upon Napoleon III in the 1850s, see Kelly, "The North American Crisis of the 1860s," *Journal of the Civil War Era*, 340.
[432] See Reed, *The Caste War of Yucatan*, 186-87.
[433] See Lonn, *Foreigners in the Confederacy*, 84.

"the conduct of the Emperor from the beginning of our struggle had gained all the sympathies of our Government and people and that we looked upon France as our natural ally."[434]

Supervièle was soon arrested by a pro-Juárez Mexican governor as a suspected spy, but his place as the C.S. commercial agent at Vera Cruz was taken by Emile La Sére, who had ceded his position as a 10th Louisiana major due to poor health and, thanks to Davis, became instead the chief quartermaster of the Trans-Mississippi Department.[435] French Confederates like La Sére and Supervièle naturally appealed to such Frenchmen serving Maximilian's government as Woll, A. Dubois de Saligny, Charles Le Baron, and L'Abbé Emmanuel H. D. Domenech. De Saligny was a French diplomat in Mexico who proudly informed Supervièle that "he himself was a Secessionist, and that his best friends were all engaged in the Southern cause."[436] Le Baron, for his part, was the proprietor of Le Baron and Son Commercial Merchants in Mobile and Maximilian's pro-C.S. consul there.[437] And L'Abbé Domenech was a Catholic missionary who served the residents of Castroville and Irish U.S. army soldiers stationed in Texas during the late 1840s and early 1850s. Domenech was personally blessed by Pius IX at Rome for his Texan services, and he rapidly ascended the Catholic hierarchy in France. Hoping to see Mexico's "ferocious Indians" placed under white Catholic rule once more, he was devoted to Napoleon III, ministered to French troops in Mexico, and became Emperor Maximilian's personal chaplain.[438]

Before his arrest, Supervièle had also encouraged the French to occupy Matamoros as soon as possible because the pro-Juárez governor in northern Mexico Santiago Vidaurri would,

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[434] "A. Supervièle to Brig. Gen. H. P. Bee," Brownsville, Texas, July 31, 1863, *OR*, series I, 26/2:144.
[435] See *PJD*, 2:637-38.
[436] "A. Supervièle to Brig. Gen. H. P. Bee," *op. cit.*, 2:143.
[437] Le Baron could hold French citizenship as he was a Louisianan born in 1803. See Kvach, *De Bow's Review*, 114.
[438] Quoted in Michael Pasquier, *Fathers on the Frontier: French Missionaries and the Roman Catholic Priesthood in the United States, 1789-1870* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 3. See ibid., 3-5, 209. For Domenech's unflagging devotion to Napoleon III, see Emmanuel H. D. Domenech, *Histoire de la campagne de 1870-1871 et de la deuxième ambulance dite de la presse Française* (Lyon: Chez tons les libraires, 1871). Also see Emmanuel H. D. Domenech, *Journal d'un Missionaire au Texas et au Mexique* (Paris: Librairie de Gaume Frères, 1857).

unless he was generously paid off, order his soldiers to raid Confederate camel caravans, impound C.S. war supplies, arrest Confederate civilians heading from Texas to France for safety, and help anti-Confederate German-Americans fleeing Texas evade capture.[439] Davis, in fact, was even willing to "declare war against Mexico [*i.e.* Juárez] and invade Sonora" to hasten a direct French-Confederate junction in northern Mexico.[440] And when the French took Matamoros in September 1864, the Confederates sent them a few spare artillery pieces from Brownsville as a good-will gesture.[441] One of Maximilian's officers informed the Confederates in turn "that he had secret instructions to permit the introduction of all kinds of arms and munitions of war... that might be desired, and that they pass freely for the use of the Confederacy."[442] Maximilian's commander at Matamoros General Tomas Mejía, moreover, came close to officially recognizing the C.S.A. by agreeing to an extradition convention with the Confederates when the C.S. representative Brigadier General James E. Slaughter accepted that Maximilian's government would not return fugitive slaves even though it would extradite any

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[439] See "Jefferson Davis to General E. K. Smith, Comdg., &c.," Richmond, November 19, 1863, *JDC*, 6:86; "Jefferson Davis to General E. Kirby Smith, Comdg. Trans-Miss. Dept.," Richmond, April 28, 1864, *JDC*, 6:237; and Dabbs, *The French Army in Mexico, 1861-1867*, 28. Supervièle took note of "the importance acquired by the port of Matamoras since the blockade, and the resources accruing from it to the Government of Juárez." "A. Supervièle to Brig. Gen. H. P. Bee," Brownsville, Texas, July 31, 1863, *OR*, series I, 2:144. De Saligny, in turn, assured him that the French would take Matamoros as quickly as possible, for Napoleon III fully understood "the importance of that port, and of the great trade carried on through it." Quoted in Lonn, *Foreigners in the Confederacy*, 90. Quite a few of Houston's wealthiest residents also sent their wives and children to France *via* Matamoros. See ibid., 348. Fanny Henderson would even marry into Austrian high society with Maximilian's blessing. She was a daughter of Davis's ally the Democratic U.S. senator for Texas James Pinckney Henderson, a North Carolinian who became the Republic of Texas's representative to both France and Britain; worked to secure Texas's entry into the Union; became the first U.S. governor of Texas; fought with Davis in the Mexican War as a major general under Taylor; and passed away in 1858. See "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the death of Senator J. Pinckney Henderson of Texas. June 5, 1858," *JDC*, 3:262; and Hampson Gary, "General J. Pinckney Henderson," *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, vol. 49, no. 2 (October 1945), 282-85.

[440] "Jefferson Davis to Govr. Joseph E. Brown, Milledgeville, Ga.," Executive Department, Richmond, May 29, 1862, *JDC*, 5:261. See "Jefferson Davis to Hon. W. L. Yancey, Richmond, Va.," Richmond, April 16, 1862, *JDC*, 5:232.

[441] See Kelly, "The North American Crisis of the 1860s," *Journal of the Civil War Era*, 359.

[442] Quoted in ibid., 358.

and all non-whites in open rebellion against white rule on either side of the border.[443] Slaughter, for his part, was a Virginian great-nephew of James Madison who rose to the rank of 1st lieutenant in the U.S. army thanks to Secretary of War Davis, defended Brownsville on May 12, 1865 in one of the very last Union-Confederate clashes, and fled to Mexico to offer his services to Maximilian after the final collapse of the C.S. Trans-Mississippi Department.[444] The final clause of Mejía-Slaughter convention declared that the signatories expected their agreement to be "accepted by their respective Governments, elevating them to solemn treaties," and the New York *Times* denounced Maximilian for bestowing "a formal recognition of the Confederacy."[445]

The pro-Democrat Hartford *Weekly Times*, however, had a very different view of the French and Maximilian in Mexico. It was the same view as the C.S. prisoner of war Creed T. Davis, who wrote from his cell at Newport News in April 1865 that "[t]he negro guards of this prison become more insolent and domineering every day…. Several prisoners have been shot down for the most trivial offences, without even a warning." He thus hoped that "the black devils" would die *en masse* at French hands in Mexico.[446] The *Weekly Times* also wanted France to kill United States Colored Troops if a war between Maximilian and a Republican-dominated Union broke out. It claimed in January 1866 that the 114th U.S.C.T. had perpetrated "Butchery" against whites during an incursion into Matamoros that had been tacitly-approved by the U.S. army, for the black soldiers "began plundering the place and killing the people. The scene is indescribable. The negroes shot men down for refusing to give them money." In retaliation, "[a]

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[443] See Brian Hamnett, "Mexican Conservatives, Clericals, and Soldiers: The 'Traitor' Tomás Mejía through Reform and Empire, 1855-1867," *Bulletin of Latin American Research*, vol. 20, no. 2 (April 2001), 187-209.
[444] See Warner, *Generals in Gray*, 279. Also see Brad R. Clampitt, "The Breakup: The Collapse of the Confederate Trans-Mississippi Army in Texas, 1865," *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, vol. 108, no. 4 (April 2005), 498-534.
[445] Quoted in Dabbs, *The French Army in Mexico, 1861-1867*, 136; and the New York *Times*, February 19, 1865.
[446] *Prison Diary of Creed T. Davis, of Second Company* (Richmond: J. W. Randolph & English, 1886), 6, 12, 297.

French corvette shelled the town all day," but "without doing any damage."[447] Yet the *Weekly Times* could do nothing to help the French in Mexico or to prevent the advent of "Negro Suffrage in the District." Relating that "[t]he House of Representatives, on the 18th inst., passed the bill authorizing negroes to vote in the District of Columbia by a vote of 116 to 54...," it added that "[a]n impartial observer would hardly infer from the proceedings that there were many white men in the country; but that the negroes are… entitled to rule this land, as if they had originally subdued it and advanced its people to a high state of civilization. The negroes, say the Republican leaders, must be made equal to the white man...."[448] No wonder, then, that Oliver E. Wood's popular 1863 pro-Republican print "The Pending Conflict" had depicted a martially-attired Davis seeking to kill a Union soldier with a copperhead snake's aid as Napoleon III cheers them on: "[w]hip him, Secesh, and when I get Mexico I'll help you whip him again."[449]

To be sure, many War Democrats like the California Catholic U.S. senator James A. McDougall supported the Republicans insofar as they too called for France to leave Mexico and backed a trade embargo against Maximilian's Mexico. But they also forced the Republicans to sustain a pre-existing U.S. arms embargo on Juárez's Liberals until the summer of 1865.[450] The Copperhead leader William M. Gwin, in contrast, sought to help both the French in Mexico and the Confederates by urging California Democrats to enter northern Mexico as pro-Maximilian settler-soldiers who would help finish Juárez off and induce Californians to secede from the U.S. with French assistance, at which point California would become a junior ally of France like the

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[447] Hartford *Weekly Times*, January 27, 1866.
[448] Ibid.
[449] See Bernard Reilly, *American Political Prints, 1766-1876: A Catalog of the Collections in the Library of Congress* (Boston: G. K. Hall, 1991), 514, 621.
[450] See Russell Buchanan, "James A. McDougall: A Forgotten Senator," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, vol. 15, no. 3 (September 1936), 199-212; and Jasper Ridley, *Maximilian and Juarez* (London: Constable, 2001), 117–19.

C.S.A. and Maximilian.[451] As General Grant explained in January 1865, Gwin was a "rebel of the most violent order" who "has gone to Mexico and taken service under the Maximilian Government." Gwin would, he feared, become the "Governor General of Sonora" and receive help from "the usurpers of the Government of Mexico" to "entice into Sonora the dissatisfied spirits of California, and if the opportunity occurs, organize them and invade the State"[452]

Gwin had represented Mississippi in Congress as a Democrat during the early 1840s. A strong supporter of President Polk, he also supervised the initial construction of the New Orleans customs house and moved to California in 1849.[453] Gwin made a fortune in gold mining and was selected as that state's other initial U.S. senator alongside Frémont in 1850 as a fervently anti-abolitionist Manifest Destiny Democrat.[454] As a graduate of Transylvania's French-influenced medical school, Senator Gwin was a close friend and ally of his fellow alumnus Senator Davis, whose wife befriended Gwin and his wife during the 1850s.[455] They both called for the U.S. government to build naval facilities, railroads, and a mint in California. Secretary of War Davis, however, was irritated by Gwin's attempts to influence court martial proceedings and officer appointments, and many Democrats feared that Gwin would prove just as untrustworthy as Frémont even though Gwin had fought a duel with a pro-Douglas California congressman.[456] Yet Gwin's support was vital to the success of Davis's 1859 drive to remove Douglas as chair of the Committee on Territories, and Senator Gwin toured the fledgling Confederacy in early 1861,

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[451] See Hallie M. McPherson, "The Plan of William McKendree Gwin for a Colony in North Mexico, 1863-1865," *Pacific Historical Review*, vol. 2, no. 4 (December 1933), 357-86.
[452] Quoted in "A Threatened Invasion of California: Letter Addressed to Major General McDowell by General U. S. Grant," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, vol. 13, no. 1 (March 1934), 38.
[453] See Robert J. Walker, "Circular to Collectors of the Customs," Treasury Department, November 27, 1847, in *Reports of the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States*, vol. 6 (Washington, D.C.: John C. Rives, 1851), 233.
[454] See Hallie M. McPherson, "The Interest of William McKendree Gwin in the Purchase of Alaska, 1854-1861," *Pacific Historical Review*, vol. 3, no. 1 (March 1934), 28-38.
[455] "From Varina Howell Davis," Washington, D.C., April 17, 1859, *PJD*, 6:243.
[456] See "From W. R. Isaacs MacKay," San Francisco, January 13, 1857, *PJD*, 6:99-100; and *PJD*, 6:455.

ostensibly to broker a compromise that would restore the Union.[457] After returning to California, he broached the idea of Californian secession when Lincoln called for troops. His compatriots in California strove to funnel gold and war *matériel* to the C.S.A. and French in Mexico throughout the war, but Gwin was arrested upon arriving in New York City to foment secessionism there.[458]

Gwin was subsequently expelled to the C.S.A. and moved back to Mississippi in 1863. He pitched his Sonora colonization scheme to Davis and other leading Confederates, but the C.S. president looked askance on the project because he did not yet want Confederates to move to Mexico, and because he wanted Gwin to incite California's Democrats to rebel within the Union immediately. When Gwin's Mississippi home was destroyed he went to Paris to broach his idea directly to Napoleon III, and the French emperor proved to be enthusiastic when he met Gwin in 1864. Gwin's scheme hence buoyed Confederate hopes that France would soon move to detach California from the Union. Indeed, a translation by "a gentleman of Louisiana" of Paul Henri Corentin Féval's novel about French adventurers in the California gold rush was published

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[457] See *PJD*, 6:341.

[458] See William Henry Ellison and William M. Gwin, "Memoirs of Hon. William M. Gwin," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, vol. 19, no. 1 (March 1940), 1-26; William Henry Ellison and William M. Gwin, "Memoirs of Hon. William M. Gwin (Continued)," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, vol. 19, no. 2 (June 1940), 157-84; William Henry Ellison and William M. Gwin, "Memoirs of Hon. William M. Gwin (Concluded)," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, vol. 19, no. 4 (December 1940), 344-67; Gerald Stanley, "Senator William Gwin: Moderate or Racist?" *California Historical Quarterly*, vol. 50, no. 3 (September 1971), 243-55; and Arthur Quinn, *The Rivals: William Gwin, David Broderick, and the Birth of California* (New York: Crown Publishers, 1994). Also see Robert W. Frazer, "Trade between California and the Belligerent Powers during the French Intervention in Mexico," *Pacific Historical Review*, vol. 15, no. 4 (December 1946), 390-99. John B. Weller, moreover, was born and raised in Ohio, fought in the Mexican War, narrowly lost an Ohio gubernatorial campaign to the Whigs in 1848, moved to California, and championed Secretary of War Davis's proposal as the Democratic chairman of the Senate Committee on Military Affairs "to modify the present law so as to make the *harboring* of a deserter an equal offence with the act of enticing him to desert." "To John B. Weller," War Department, Washington, D.C., March 17, 1856, *PJD*, 6:16-17. Serving as the governor of California from 1858-60, he urged his adopted state to secede if the Republicans won the 1860 election as an ally of Gwin. President Buchanan also made him minister to Mexico in 1860, and Lincoln promptly removed him from that post. Yet the Republicans adopted Weller's desertion law even though they had opposed it back in the 1850s. Weller moved to New Orleans after the war. See Leo P. Kibby, "Union Loyalty of California's Civil War Governors," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, vol. 44, no. 4 (December 1965), 311-21. Also see John W. Robinson, "A California Copperhead: Henry Hamilton and the Los Angeles Star," *Arizona and the West*, vol. 23, no. 3 (Autumn 1981), 213-30.

within the C.S.A. in 1864.[459] Féval, for his part, was a popular French writer of detective and adventure novels as well as a devout Catholic, Napoleon III supporter, and well-known Irish independence advocate whose 1844 *Les Mystères de Londres* featured an Irish Catholic protagonist named Fergus O'Breane who was seeking to overthrow the British government.[460]

Gwin had been arrested in New York City for associating with pro-C.S. Democrats there such as Chauncey Burr, whose journal *The Old Guard* signified his Democratic ideological purity by invoking the Napoleonic Imperial Guard's nickname. Contrasting "the wise and thoughtful words of Napoleon" with the "recklessness and folly" of the Republicans, *The Old Guard* declared in April 1865 that the Confederacy, Maximilian's Mexico, and Napoleon III's France were all preferable to Lincoln's Union. "Under Napoleon's reign," it explained, "the people were not plundered by the government. Under this of Lincoln they are." Deriding northerners as "*asses*" for failing to rise in rebellion at the prospect of "eternal slavery" under black Republicans and Republican blacks, *The Old Guard* yearned for the bygone days of the Pierce administration when far more northerners had abhorred British abolitionism and admired "the genius of Napoleon," whose governing philosophy was "greater even than his military prowess." Napoleon I had thus promoted liberty, equality, and fraternity among whites while "executing public works" and "assisting manufactories," elevating France and the white race as a whole whereas Republican abolitionists were "plundering and enslav[ing]" American whites.[461] "It is the impression of a large number of the American people," *The Old Guard* elaborated in July 1865, "that the government of Napoleon Bonaparte was one of the sword; but no idea could do greater injustice to the genius of that great man." Urging subscribers to read James A. Dorr's

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[459] See Paul Henri Corentin Féval, *The Golden Daggers; A Romance of California* (Columbia, SC: Evans & Cogswell, 1864).
[460] See *The Publisher's Weekly*, vol. 31, no. 789 (March 1887), 376; and Rolf Loeber, Magda Stouthamer-Loeber, and Anne Mullin Burnham, *A guide to Irish fiction, 1650-1900*, 2 vols. (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2006), 1:451.
[461] "Napoleon Bonaparte on the Despotism of Taxes," *The Old Guard*, vol. 3, no. 4 (April 1865), 168, 179, 169-70.

translation of *Napoleonic Ideas*, it held that the "oligarchy of Puritans" was far less democratic than Bonapartist France, for the Republicans were trampling upon the "principle of federation," persecuting Catholics, and planning to ban future white immigration to the U.S. even as they would flood the urban North with enfranchised blacks. "What a contrast was the government of Bonaparte," it declared, "to the administration of the party now in power in this country!" A phalanx of bodyguards had thus not been able to save Lincoln from the people *enragée*, whereas Napoleon "used to drive, in an open carriage, in the park of St. Cloud, in the midst of one hundred and fifty thousand spectators, unattended, except by the Empress and a single page."[462]

The Old Guard unsurprisingly cheered on the French invasion of Mexico. Asserting that "[t]he Caucasian, or white race, is capable of unlimited progress and indefinite perfectibility…," it held that "[a]ll other races are limited within certain boundaries…. the negro, lowest in the scale, when isolated, is incapable of any advance beyond simple and useless savagery." A Juárez-ruled Mexico would hence "collapse into Indianism." "[S]ensible" Jesuit missionaries had "domesticated and Christianized millions of natives, and rendered them useful and civilized beings as well as Christians." Anglo-Protestant Republican abolitionists, in contrast, would turn a "government of white men" into a dysgenic "mongrel" nation. *The Old Guard* thus even hoped that Maximilian would implement "the final solution; that is, the utter extinction of the mongrel [*i.e.* mestizo] element, and the restoration of the old normal relations of the Spaniards and Indians."[463] Predicting in April 1865 that not just Mexico's white population but also "Catholicism, called by Republican leaders 'a twin relic of barbarism,'" would "be banished from that land" were "the Puritan empire" to defeat the Maximilian, it also hoped that France would save the Confederacy, warning Republicans that "Napoleon [III] is not a man to be trifled

[462] "Lessons on Liberty from the Life of Napoleon," *The Old Guard*, vol. 3, no. 7 (July 1865), 308, 310, 308, 309.
[463] "The Downfall of the Republic of Mexico," ibid., vol.3, no. 2 (February 1865), 87, 90, 88, 89, 90.

with…."[464] Yet if the Confederacy was destined to fall one way or another, *The Old Guard* predicted that Democrats would emigrate to Mexico *en masse*, for "hundreds of thousands of the very best portion of the Northern people have their eyes and hearts fixed on Mexico, as a refuge from the abhorred contact with the negroized puritanism which has destroyed our country."[465]

Very few northern Democrats actually moved to Mexico, but an exception to the rule was the Jewish U.S. army captain Alfred Mordechai, who was one of Secretary of War Davis's favorite officers.[466] Mordechai's father, after all, was a friend of Julis P. Garesché's father, who had been an Ordnance Department contractor.[467] Senator Davis sought to secure additional compensation for Captain Mordechai when the latter produced a new edition of the Ordnance Manual in 1850, and Secretary of War Davis honored Mordechai by selecting him as one of the three primary U.S. military observers for the Crimean War.[468] Mordechai, moreover, put Davis's mind at ease in 1856 by determining that an "asphixiant shell" which an ostensibly traitorous U.S. inventor hoped to sell to Britain was intrinsically defective.[469] Davis also placed him in charge of acquiring the design for the *Canon obusier de 12* from France, and U.S. production of those cannons went into effect in 1857 due to the efforts of both Mordechai and McClellan.[470] Mordechai thanked Davis for securing his son a West Point cadetship by resigning from the U.S. army in the secession crisis, and he was soon followed by the long-time Washington, D.C. resident John J. Abert, whose father had fought the British during the American Revolution

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[464] "The Whole North American Continent Threatened with War," *The Old Guard*, vol. 3, no. 4 (April 1865), 171, 170.
[465] "Lincoln and Maximillian," ibid., vol. 3, no. 5 (May 1865), 235.
[466] See Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 1:535-36.
[467] See "Alfred Mordechai to Jefferson Davis," March 6, 1855, in Garesché, *Biography of Lieut. Col. Julius P. Garesché*, 215-16.
[468] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis, Sept. 28, 1850," *JDC*, 1:568-69
[469] "From Henry K. Craig," March 22, 1856, *PJD*, 6:446.
[470] See Hazlett, Olmstead, and Parks, *Field Artillery Weapons of the Civil War*, 88-89.

under the Comte de Rochambeau.[471] A Virginian U.S. army engineer whose translation of a French work pertaining to machinery had once interested Calhoun, and whose request to complete a series of reports about civil engineering in France was approved by Secretary of War Davis in 1855, Abert resigned in 1861 as the U.S. army's chief of topographical engineers, although his sons would fight for the Union.[472] Secretary of War Davis, after all, had been notified in 1853 by the Democrats of Erie, Pennsylvania that he had unwittingly selected as the superintendent of public works there "a well known and active Whig" named George Boyce, whom Abert reported upon investigating the matter was "obnoxious" even for a Whig as "an Englishman, and… unrelenting federalist" to boot.[473] And while both Abert and Mordechai did refrain from offering their ordnance and engineering skills to the Confederacy, the latter would assist the French as a railroad engineer for Maximilian I, who also welcomed the younger brother of Robert Anderson of Fort Sumter fame William M. Anderson, an ardent Democrat and devout Catholic who helped Matthew F. Maury establish the New Virginia colony inside of Mexico.[474]

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[471] See "From Alfred Mordecai, Jr.," February 20, 1857, *PJD*, 6:478; and *PJD*, 5:41.
[472] See "To Maj. J[ohn] J. Abert, Newport, R.I., 7/31," PJCC, 4:194; *PJD*, 5:441; and A. D. Kenamond, *Prominent Men of Shepherdstown During Its First 200 Years* (Jefferson County Historical Society, 1963), 15-16.
[473] "From John J. Abert," April 26, 1853, *PJD*, 5:188. See ibid., 5:188.
[474] See Hsieh, "I Owe Virginia Little, My Country Much," in *Crucible of the Civil War*, 46; and *An American in Maximilian's Mexico, 1865–1866; the Diaries of William Marshall Anderson*, ed. Ramón Eduardo Ruiz (San Marino, CA: Huntingdon Library, 1959).

Chapter 6
The Disillusionment of the Pro-Davis Confederates, 1864-1871

"[A]t the piano sat a burly German who, of course, crashed out the everlasting 'Marseillaise' while his enthusiastic audience sang it. A more ridiculous sight than a lot of native-born Americans, not understanding a word of French, beating their breasts as they howled what they flattered themselves were the words of the song, it was never before my bad fortune to witness."[1]

James Morgan Morris

French anti-Bonapartists of the Left and Right supported the Republicans against the Confederacy because they opposed equality among whites and white supremacy; the one in the name of universal equality and the other for the sake of hierarchy among whites. A similar pattern prevailed among non-French adherents of the Left or Right in the Americas, Europe, and beyond. Indeed, the king of Siam offered war elephants to Lincoln as a gift to be used against the C.S.A. because he felt menaced by the recent French conquests in Indo-China.[2] Davis was entirely cognizant of that pattern and was sure that Napoleon III's government was as well. Yet to his immense surprise and chagrin, France failed to save the Confederacy and thereby thwart what he took to be a trans-Atlantic Anglo-abolitionist alliance in the end. The British Empire, after all, was, he believed, the principal power mobilizing the Left and Right against both the C.S.A. and Bonapartist France. Eventually following the majority of northern Democrats and Napoleon III's government by realizing in 1865 that most anti-slavery Republicans were inclined to allow white rule in the South if the C.S. government were to surrender rather than prolong the war, many pro-Davis Confederates began to question their assumptions about the intolerable nature of the "black Republicans," although Davis himself and quite a few other likeminded Confederates still hoped to revive Confederate fortunes in Texas with French military assistance.

The Anti-Bonaparte Forces of the Left and Right Mobilize against Jefferson Davis's C.S.A.

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[1] James Morgan Morris, *Recollections of a Rebel Reefer* (Boston and New York: The Houghton Mifflin Company, 1917), 38.

[2] See Anita Hibler and William Strobridge, *Elephants for Mr. Lincoln: American Civil War-Era Diplomacy in Southeast Asia* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2006).

In July 1860, the Republican-leaning *Harper's Weekly* re-published a pro-Garibaldi and anti-Napoleon III London *Punch* cartoon titled "Garibaldi to the Rescue," and many Republicans did indeed want the European Left to come to the rescue during the war.[3] The Lincoln administration hence offered Garibaldi a commission in the U.S. army as a major general in September 1861 and thereby incensed Julius P. Garesché, who threatened to resign and urge his fellow northern Catholic Democrats to do so as well if the pro-abolitionist and anti-clerical Italian were to lead Union forces.[4] Garibaldi, however, turned the U.S. down after insisting that he be given command of all Union forces and that the U.S. immediately free and enfranchise blacks. He declined another U.S. offer after the Emancipation Proclamation, moreover, because he had been wounded.[5] But many of his officers served the Union, congregating around General Frémont. Gustave Paul Cluseret, for instance, was a French officer who supported the Left in the 1848 revolution. A scathing critic of President Louis-Napoleon, he was relieved of duty but allowed to re-enlist during the Crimean War, after which he resigned to join Garibaldi. Volunteering for U.S. service in 1861, Cluseret served under Frémont, edited the pro-Republican *New Nation* abolitionist paper, and even rose to become a brigadier general in October of 1862.[6]

Unlike the Radicals, Davis Democrats had initially hailed Lajos Kossuth's 1848 revolution against the rule of the Hapsburg Right in Hungary, but they joined William J. Grayson in condemning Kossuth as "a Nation's thankless guest" and lauded Austria instead after the defeated Hungarian toured the U.S. in the early 1850s as an exile and made his support for racial

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[3] John Tenniel, "Garibaldi the Liberator; or, the Modern Perseus," reprinted as "Garibaldi to the Rescue," *Harper's Weekly*, July 7, 1860.

[4] See "Papers Related to Foreign Affairs Accompanying the Annual Message of the President," in *Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1862 vol. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1861-65), 567; and Garesché, *Biography of Lieut. Col. Julius P. Garesché*, 361-62.

[5] See Lonn, *Foreigners in the Confederacy*, 165-66; Mahin, *The Blessed Place of Freedom*, 45; and *PJD*, 7:378.

[6] See A. Landy, "A French Adventurer and American Expansionism after the Civil War," *Science & Society*, vol. 15, no. 4 (Autumn 1951), 313-33; and Ferdinand Boyer, "Les volontaires français avec Garibaldi en 1860," *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine*, vol. T. 7e, no. 2 (April-June, 1960), 123-48.

equality clear.[7] Nearly all of the three hundred Hungarians who fought for the U.S. were Kossuth supporters, and many of them became pro-abolitionist U.S. army officers.[8] Colonel Nicholas Perczel, for instance, loathed McClellan as a pro-Republican ally of the German '48ers, and the Hungarian U.S. colonel L. L. Zulavsky was eager to lead U.S.C.T. soldiers.[9] Alexander Sandor Asboth, moreover, served Kossuth in 1848 and became Frémont's chief-of-staff. He was promoted to brigadier general in 1862, wounded several times by the Confederates, and honored with a brevet promotion to major general of volunteers by congressional Republicans in 1866.[10]

Many of the pro-Kossuth Hungarian U.S. officers had also served under Garibaldi in the late 1850s. Thanks to Asboth and such other Kossuth supporters on Frémont's staff as the former Garibaldi acolyte Emeric Szabad, Hungarian was even used as code by Frémont's officers.[11] The German-speaking Hungarian Julius H. Stahel, moreover, fought for Kossuth in 1848, served under Garibaldi in the mid-to-late 1850s, and immigrated to the U.S. on the eve of the Civil War. A close ally of the Republican German '48ers, Colonel Stahel commanded a cavalry brigade in western Virginia under Frémont in 1862 and was promoted to brigadier general in November. He was later wounded during General David Hunter's June 1864 victory at the Battle of the Piedmont, for which the Hungarian abolitionist received a Medal of Honor despite the fact that his penchant for allowing his troops to inflict, as General Hunter's adjutant Charles G. Halpine put it, "wanton outrages and injuries" upon C.S. civilians dismayed even

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[7] Grayson, *The Hireling and the Slave*, 28. See Arthur J. May, "Seward and Kossuth," *New York History*, vol. 34, no. 3 (July 1953), 267-83; William Warren Rogers, "The 'Nation's Guest' in Louisiana: Kossuth Visits New Orleans," *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association*, vol. 9, no. 4 (Autumn 1968), 355-64; and Donald S. Spencer, *Louis Kossuth and Young America: A Study of Sectionalism and Foreign Policy, 1848-1852* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1977).
[8] See Edmund Vasvary, *Lincoln's Hungarian Heroes: The Participation of Hungarians in the Civil War, 1861-1865* (Washington, D.C.: Hungarian Reformed Federation of America, 1939).
[9] See Mahin, *The Blessed Place of Freedom*, 118, 220.
[10] See ibid., 44, 233-34.
[11] See ibid., 44-45.

Hunter.[12] One of the most famous Union regiments, in fact, was the 39th New York Infantry (the "Garibaldi Guard"). Composed primarily of Left-leaning German, Hungarian, and Italian immigrants wearing Garibaldi's famous red shirt uniform, the Garibaldi Guard spent the duration of the war guarding the U.S. capital. But it also saw service in the field under Stahel and lost close to three hundred soldiers over the course of the war as a result of combat, disease, and particularly egregious treatment in C.S. prison camps. Its soldiers, after all, were already known for their abolitionist sympathies in 1861, when they requested that blacks be allowed to enlist among them and began treating their regiment's black servants as equals and *de facto* soldiers.[13]

The Davis administration, in contrast, had terrible relations with the few Garibaldi and Kossuth supporters within the Confederacy, hindering the efforts of Italian immigrants in New Orleans to form their own Garibaldi Legion. They only raised one company in the end, and it was summarily disbanded in 1862.[14] Ladislaus Ujházy, moreover, was a pro-Kossuth Hungarian nobleman who had settled in Texas. Fleeing the Confederacy, he was appointed U.S. consul at Ancona in Italy by Lincoln in 1861 and helped spread the Republican Party to Texas after the war.[15] Richmond's pro-Kossuth Hungarian immigrant Adolphus H. Adler had also "gallantly served under GARIBALDI." He worked for the C.S.A. as a colonel of engineers to allay suspicion that he was a secret abolitionist. Yet he was thrown into "McDANIEL's Negro Jail" anyway after he faulted his superior officers, resigned in August 1861, and castigated Davis. Adler was sentenced to death as an abolitionist U.S. spy, but he managed to escape from

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[12] Quoted in Grimsley, *The Hard Hand of War*, 178. See William E. Burns, "Stahel-Szamvald," in *American Civil War: The Definitive Encyclopedia and Document Collection*, ed. Spencer C. Tucker, 6 vols. (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2013), 4:1852.

[13] See Jordan, *Black Confederates and Afro-Yankees in Civil War Virginia*, 188; and Frank W. Alduino and David J. Coles, "'Ye come from many a far off clime; And speak in many a tongue': The Garibaldi Guard and Italian-American Service in the Civil War," *Italian Americana*, vol. 22, no. 1 (Winter 2004), 47-63.

[14] See New Orleans *Bee*, February 28, 1861; New Orleans *Daily True Delta*, October 20, 1861; and Lonn, *Foreigners in the Confederacy*, 110.

[15] See Lonn, *op. cit.*, 21.

Richmond after a suicide attempt and received a warm welcome in Republican circles.[16] The Genoese-Virginian Joseph Bixio, in contrast, was estranged from his younger brother General Gino Bixio, who was one of Garibaldi's favorite officers.[17] A Catholic priest who had served alongside Napoleon III's troops in 1859 as a chaplain for Piedmont-Sardinia, Father Bixio befriended Father Gache and helped the C.S.A. as an unofficial chaplain, medic, and spy. He even misdirected a whole U.S. wagon train into C.S. lines while posing as a Union chaplain in 1864, inducing "Beast" Butler to issue a standing order for his summary execution if captured.[18]

The upper North's Protestant Scandinavian immigrants frequently sympathized with abolitionism as well, constituting another group of Left-leaning abolitionist Republicans in the U.S. army.[19] Norwegian immigrants, for instance, were not only over-represented in U.S. service but also far more pro-abolitionist than most Union troops.[20] In contrast, the few Norwegians who lived in the South evinced precious little enthusiasm for the Confederacy, and the anti-C.S. husband of the Texan Norwegian immigrant Elise Wärenskjold was even assassinated for his pro-abolitionist views.[21] A similar pattern prevailed with regard to Swedish immigrants, whom Democrats had already come to associate with abolitionism in the 1850s thanks to Jenny Lind, a famous Swedish opera singer who denounced both slavery and white

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[16] New York *Times*, September 4, 1862. See Lonn, *Foreigners in the Confederacy*, 177-78; and Varon, *Southern Lady, Yankee Spy*, 88-89.

[17] See "Louis-Hippolyte Gache to Philip de Carrière," Camp Lee's Mill, near Yorktown, January 17, 1862, in *A Frenchman, A Chaplain, A Rebel*, 92; ibid., 97; Giuseppe Garibaldi, *The Memoirs of Garibaldi*, ed. Alexandre Dumas, trans. R. S. Garnett (1861; reprint, London: E. Benn, 1931), 313; and Frank W. Alduino and David J. Coles, *Sons of Garibaldi in Blue and Gray: Italians in the American Civil War* (Amhert, NY: Cambria Press, 2007), 156. The C.S. captain and future Texas Democratic politician George E. Clark of the 11th Alabama Infantry hence recalled that after he had been wounded during the 1862 Battle of Gaines's Mill, "I was sitting on an old log awaiting my turn [for treatment] when a Catholic priest came up and told me he would dress my arm if I would permit him, as he had a great deal of experience in the Italian army in the war between France and Austria." George W. Clark, *A Glance Backward, or Some Events in the Past History of My Life* (Houston: Rein & Sons, 1920), 23-24.

[18] See *A Frenchman, A Chaplain, A Rebel*, 99.

[19] The Republican governor of Minnesota Alexander W. Randall even issued a proclamation in Norwegian declaring that the Union was fighting "a war for self defense" because the Confederates were aiming to conquer Minnesota and slaughter Norwegian Republicans there. Quoted in Lonn, *op. cit.*, 59.

[20] See Mahin, *The Blessed Place of Freedom*, 186.

[21] See Lonn, *op. cit.*, 38, 209-10.

supremacy during her 1850-52 U.S. tour.[22] Swedes were notorious among Confederates for their abolitionism and outsized contributions to the U.S. war effort. The 1st Illinois Cavalry's Swedish immigrant lieutenant William Esbjorn, for instance, declared in 1861 that he was fighting not just to save the Union but also to help "the poor African race" gain freedom and citizenship.[23] Major Charles John Stolbrand, moreover, was a Swedish army sergeant who moved to Chicago in the early 1850s and helped conquer the Confederate southeast in 1864. President Lincoln personally promoted him to brigadier general in 1865, and Stolbrand soon became a South Carolina "carpetbagger" Republican politician.[24] The pro-Republican Swedish immigrant John Ericcson also built the U.S.S. *Monitor*, which ironclad famously fought the C.S.S. *Virginia* and boasted two Swedish-American gunners. Confederates, in fact, referred to *Monitor*-class ironclads as "Ericksons" both to express their antipathy for Swedes and re-claim the term "Monitor." *Le Moniteur*, after all, was the official Bonapartist paper, and the *Confederate Monitor and Patriot's Friend* sought to link the C.S. cause to both the American Revolution and Napoleonic France.[25]

Colonel August Forsberg was "one of the few Swedes to attain high rank in the [C.S.] army."[26] A former Swedish army engineer, he improved the South Carolina capitol but later moved to the North. Unlike most Swedes, he developed strongly anti-abolitionist views and defected to the C.S.A. in 1861. Entering Confederate service as a topographical engineer at Charleston, Lieutenant Forsberg was promoted to colonel for meritorious service, as well as to

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[22] See Horace Montgomery, "Howell Cobb, Daniel Webster, and Jenny Lind," *The Georgia Historical Quarterly*, vol. 45, no. 1 (March 1961), 37-41; and Keith S. Hambrick, "The Swedish Nightingale in New Orleans: Jenny Lind's Visit of 1851," *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association*, vol. 22, no. 4 (Autumn 1981), 387-417.
[23] Quoted in Mahin, *The Blessed Place of Freedom*, 185.
[24] See *History of the Swedes of Illinois*, ed. Ernst W. Olson, *et al*., 3 vols. (Chicago: Enger-Holmberg Publishing Company, 1908), 1:672-78.
[25] See Henry W. R. Jackson, *Confederate Monitor and Patriot's Friend.* (Atlanta: Franklin Steam Printing House, 1862); Nels Hokanson, *Swedish Immigrants in Lincoln's Time* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1943), 189-90; Brooke, Jr., *John M. Brooke*, 260; and William H. Roberts, "'The Name of Ericsson': Political Engineering in the Union Ironclad Program, 1861-1863," *The Journal of Military History*, vol. 63, no. 4 (October 1999), 823-43.
[26] Lonn, *Foreigners in the Confederacy*, 244.

insult the North's pro-Republican Swedish-Americans, who had excoriated him as a traitor to Swedish ideals.[27] But Forsberg's role in the war was overshadowed by his fellow Confederate Swede Charles Gustavus Ulrich Dahlgren. A wealthy Natchez banker and Radical-minded former Whig, Dahlgren outfitted two regiments in 1861 and was made a brigadier general of Mississippi militia as a result. He complained, however, when Davis subsumed his militia regiments into the Confederate army, and the C.S. president stripped him of command when he went public with his protestations, touching off a bitter feud between their families that lasted into the twentieth century.[28] Dahlgren's father, moreover, had been the Swedish consul at Philadelphia Bernhard Ulrik Dahlgren, whose other son was John Adolphus Bernard Dahlgren, a pro-Republican admiral who headed the U.S. navy's ordnance department during the war. Admiral Dahlgren's son Colonel Ulric Dahlgren also led an unsuccessful March 1864 U.S. cavalry raid upon Richmond that was thwarted by the French-American Confederate major Cyrus Bossieux, who was wounded in the process. Dalhgren, though, was killed, and the Confederates supposedly found orders on his corpse to "destroy and burn the hateful city," as well as to have "Jeff Davis and Cabinet killed."[29] As a result, Confederates usually agreed with the Virginian C.S. soldier William M. Willson, who claimed in an October 1864 letter that "they was going to murder Jeff Davis & his cabinet & all the leading men of Richmond & then plunder & take off what they could & then burn the city down regardless of the women & children or anything else."[30] And the Davis administration promptly sent copies of the so-called Dahlgren Papers to Slidell, who made copies *en masse* for circulation in France and throughout Europe.[31]

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[27] See Lonn, *Foreigners in the Confederacy*, 244-45.
[28] See Herschel Gower, *Charles Dahlgren of Natchez: The Civil War and Dynastic Decline* (Dulles, VA: Brassey's, 2002).
[29] Richmond *Examiner*, March 8, 1864.
[30] Quoted in Sheehan-Dean, *Why Confederates Fought*, 182.
[31] See James O. Hall, "The Dahlgren Papers: Fact or Fabrication," *Civil War Times Illustrated*, vol. 22, no. 7 (November 1983), 36-37.

The well-known Swedish author, pioneering feminist, and racially-egalitarian abolitionist Frederika Bremer, moreover, had been greeted at Richmond in 1851 when touring the U.S. by Elizabeth Van Lew, a Henry Clay Whig, friend of John Minor Boots, pro-abolitionist Quaker, and U.S. spy during the war who described a pro-secession Richmond parade in 1861 as follows: "Such a sight!... the multitude, the mob, the whooping, the tin-pan music, and the fierceness of a surging, swelling revolution. This I witnessed. I thought of France and as the procession passed, I fell upon my knees under the angry heavens, clasped my hands and prayed, 'Father forgive them, for they know not what they do!'"[32] Swedes, after all, had detested Bonapartists ever since Napoleon I had, in the sarcastic 1812 words of John Quincy Adams, "taken military possession of Swedish Pomerania…," for "Sweden has not yet reaped the advantages which she had promised herself from her new relations with France."[33] Napoleon III was famously spurned in his initial quest for a high-status wife by a Swedish princess as a result, and the Swedes would prove to be even more hostile to the French emperor's perceived Confederate clients than even anti-slavery Quakers, some of whom were Cotton Whigs who became pro-Davis Confederates.

Quakers like Van Lew who, as one Richmond denizen put it in the late 1860s, wished to encourage "impudence" among and "amalgamation" with blacks, abhorred the Confederacy, but Confederate Quakers who opposed slavery yet supported white rule encouraged Davis to push for gradual emancipation while upholding white supremacy.[34] Bushrod R. Johnson, for instance, was born in Ohio to a pacifist and abolitionist Quaker Whig family, which he defied by entering West Point, fighting Seminoles, and serving in the Mexican War. Having become an instructor at a military academy attached to the University of Nashville, he sided with the Confederacy as

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[32] Quoted in Varon, *Southern Lady, Yankee Spy*, 51. See ibid., 5, 17, 23.
[33] "John Quincy Adams to Thomas Boylston Adams," St. Petersburg 4. March 1812, Adams Family Papers, Letterbooks, Massachusetts Historical Society.
[34] Quoted in Varon, *op. cit.*, 261.

an anti-slavery but pro-white supremacy Quaker and obtained the rank of brigadier general in early 1862.[35] The fortuitously-named Samuel G. French, moreover, was a Quaker Confederate brigadier general after whom Fort French at Suffolk, Virginia was named.[36] He was promoted to major general in August 1862 and would ironically besiege Fort French in 1863, after which he served in the western theatre, where, as he recorded in a February 1864 diary entry, one Mr. Fournier happily gave him "rooms at his house" in Demopolis, Alabama.[37] Fournier, for his part, "came to Demopolis with Gen. Le Febre, who came to the United States after the abdication of Napoleon."[38] French grew up in New Jersey and followed a similar career path as his fellow Quaker Johnson thanks in part to a French immigrant neighbor in New Jersey who had fought for Napoleon I, "detested England," and impressed the young French by exhibiting an "abiding faith in and admiration for the Emperor that passed all abounds."[39] French, too, went so far in rebelling against his Whig abolitionist family as to become a slave-owning Mississippi planter in the 1850s, but he dismissed "[t]he cry at the North that the South was fighting to maintain slavery" as a lie "to prejudice the Emperor Napoleon III… against forming an alliance with the Confederate States" during and after the war, a claim which echoed that of Richmond's Mrs. James Grant and her Crenshaw relatives.[40] She and her wealthy but non-slaveholding Quaker family owned "great flouring mills near Richmond" and gave free flour to impoverished whites in the C.S. capital.[41] They also lived right by the Confederate executive mansion, greeting Davis

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[35] See Warner, *Generals in Gray*, 157-58.
[36] See "Jefferson Davis to Brig. Genl. Saml. G. French, Evansport, Va.," Richmond, December 7, 1861, *JDC*, 5:180.
[37] See "G. W. C. Lee to General R. E. Lee, Comdg., &c., Fredericksburg, Va.," Richmond, February 4, 1863, *JDC*, 5:430.
[38] Quoted in Samuel Gibbs French, *Two Wars: an Autobiography of General Samuel G. French* (Nashville: Confederate Veteran, 1901), 190.
[39] Ibid., 7-8.
[40] Ibid., 357.
[41] Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 2:201-202.

whenever he "came riding up the street…."[42] Buttressing religious tolerance in the C.S.A. by showing their fellow Confederates that not all Quakers were pro-Union abolitionists, they urged the C.S. president to eliminate slavery but not white rule in the Confederacy as well, and even Van Lew mourned when in 1865 "[o]ur beautiful flour mills, the largest in the world and the pride of our city, were destroyed."[43] The Confederate president, in turn, favorably distinguished Quakers from what he took to be the pro-abolitionist and hence pro-Republican Protestants of northern Europe and the North by castigating the ancestors of the New England Republicans in an 1862 speech for having "hung Quakers and witches in America."[44] He also endorsed Richmond's *Southern Friend*, which was established in October 1864 by J. B. Crenshaw and promised southern Quaker support for the Confederate cause so long as the C.S. government would allow Quakers to serve only in non-combat roles and bring the Confederacy into complete ideological alignment with the French by trending towards a white supremacist emancipation.[45]

Non-French supporters of the Left in both Europe and North America supported the Lincoln administration insofar as it stood for universal equality, but non-French adherents of the Right backed the Republicans to oppose equality among whites. Another enemy whom the C.S. president and Napoleon III thus had in common was Czarist Russia, which Davis deemed an example of inequality among whites even worse than Britain and had yearned to expel from Alaska, for Oregon Democrats had informed him in 1856 that Russian Alaska was, alongside British North America, inciting Indians against the Union as they besought more federal troops for protection against armed "barbarians from the English and Russian possessions."[46] An

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[42] Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 2:201-202.
[43] Quoted in Varon, *Southern Lady, Yankee Spy*, 194. See Beringer and Hattaway, *Jefferson Davis, Confederate President*, 84.
[44] "Speech at Jackson," December 26, 1862, *PJD*, 8:567.
[45] See Bernath, *Confederate Minds*, 261.
[46] "From Washington Territory Legislators," January 14 1856, *PJD*, 6:397. See "To the People of Mississippi," Steamer Star Spangled Banner, Mississippi River, July 13, 1846, *PJD*, 3:7. Also see Marilyn Pfeifer Swezey, *The*

inveterate foe of the Bonaparte emperors as well as a new-found ally of the Lincoln administration, Czarist Russia sent warships to pay friendly visits to U.S. ports and patrol the Union's Pacific coast, thwarting attempts by William Gwin's Democrats to ship gold and supplies to the C.S.A. while freeing up U.S. vessels to blockade the Confederacy.[47] Indeed, wintering Russian warships helped deter further violence in New York City in late 1863 because the affectedly aristocratic Russian ambassador to the U.S. Eduard A. Stoekl had been appalled by the riotous Democrats there and befriended many Republicans, delighting to negotiate the sale of Alaska to the Grant administration with Seward in 1867.[48] Colonel Charles A. de Arnaud, moreover, was a Russian officer of French *émigré* ancestry who visited U.S. and C.S. forces in 1861 as a military observer. He became a spy for the Union with Stoeckl's permission, although Russia was forced to recall him in February 1862 when his espionage activities were exposed.[49]

With Confederate, northern Democrat, and French audiences in mind, Davis also emphasized the exploits of the U.S. colonel Ivan Vasilievitch Turchaniov (John B. Turchin), a Russian immigrant living in Illinois who had fought the French in the Crimea as a Russian officer and became notorious when his Union cavalrymen abused and robbed hostile Alabaman C.S. civilians in February 1862.[50] Turchin was not censured by congressional Republicans or the U.S. War Department, but he was arrested and subjected to a court martial by the Mexican War hero and Democratic U.S. major general Don Carlos Buell. Thanks in part to his wife's personal

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Tsar and the President: Alexander II and Abraham Lincoln, Liberator and Emancipator (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2009).

[47] See E. A. Adamov, "Russia and the United States at the Time of the Civil War," *The Journal of Modern History*, vol. 2, no. 4 (December 1930), 586-602. Also see "U. S. Grant to Andrew Johnson," June 19, 1865, *OR*, series I, 48/2:923.

[48] See Oleh W. Gerus, "The Russian Withdrawal from Alaska: The Decision to Sell," *Revista de Historia de América*, no. 75/76 (January-December 1973), 157-78; and Antoine Gautier and Marie de Testa, "Le diplomate russe Edouard de Stoeckl (ca 1805-1892) et la cession de l'Alaska aux Etats-Unis," in *Drogmans et diplomates européens auprès de la Porte ottomane* (Istanbul: Editions Isis, 2003), 463–69.

[49] See Charles A. de Arnaud, *The Union, and Its Ally, Russia* (Washington, D.C.: Gibson Bros., 1890).

[50] See "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, December 7, 1863, *JDC*, 6:125.

appeals to Lincoln, Turchin was not only exonerated but promoted to brigadier general in September 1862.[51] A month later, in contrast, Buell became a target for congressional Republican wrath when he failed to pursue a retreating Confederate army in Kentucky after the Battle of Perryville. He was relieved of command and shelved, indignantly resigning in 1864.[52]

Collusion between the U.S. and Russia did not go unnoticed in France.[53] Napoleon III urged the British and Russian governments in early 1863 to accede to his scheme to recognize the Confederacy and pressure the Union to accept European mediation so as to forestall the Emancipation Proclamation and thereby prevent an impending race war. He retreated, however, in the face of unrelenting opposition from Russia, which was even more opposed to his plan than Britain despite the fact that, in Davis's January 1863 words, "[t]he clear and direct intimation contained in the language of the French note, that our ability to maintain our independence has been fully established, was not controverted by the answer of either of the Cabinets to which it was addressed."[54] The C.S. president thanked Napoleon III all the same, declaring that "[i]t is to the enlightened ruler of the French nation that the public feeling of Europe is indebted for the first official exhibition of its sympathy for the sufferings endured by this people with so much heroism…."[55] *The Old Guard*, moreover, insisted that "[t]he policy of the French government was altogether humane and sincere," for nothing could apparently be more inhumane than an abolitionist crusade to slaughter whites and elevate blacks – than "the edifice of quackery and

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[51] See Albert Parry, "John B. Turchin: Russian General in the American Civil War," *Russian Review*, vol. 1, no. 2 (April 1942), 44-60; Ernest E. East, "Lincoln's Russian General," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, vol. 52, no. 1 (Spring 1959), 106-22; Warner, *Generals in Blue*, 511; Grimsley, *The Hard Hand of War*, 81-85; and George C. Bradley and Richard L. Dahlen, *From Conciliation to Conquest: The Sack of Athens and the Court-Martial of Colonel John B. Turchin* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2006).
[52] For Buell's career, see Stephen D. Engle, *Don Carlos Buell: Most Promising of All* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999).
[53] See, for instance, M. Félix Aucaigne, *L'Alliance Russo-américaine* (Paris: E. Dentu, 1863).
[54]"Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, January 12, 1863, *JDC*, 5:407. See John Stevens Cabot Abbott, *The History of Napoleon III: Emperor of the French* (Boston: B. B. Russell, 1868), 607-8.
[55] "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," *op. cit.*, 5:407.

fraud which the present administration has substituted to the policy of Washington and Jefferson… leav[ing] the coming generations an enduring legacy of shame, suffering and woe."[56]

Aristocratic Protestant Prussia also favored the Union throughout the war as Bonapartist France's increasingly powerful rival, which was why Secretary of Davis had often been unenthusiastic about Prussian immigration to the U.S. in the 1850s.[57] The Prussian officer Otto Von Corwin hence proposed a plan to Lincoln in the summer of 1862 by which the U.S. might recruit up to twenty thousand Prussian immigrants to fight for the Union.[58] The Davis administration also trumpeted the fact that the Prussian officer Major Valentine Bausenwein had been granted permission by his government to serve as an adjutant for Garibaldi and then as the U.S. colonel of the 58th Ohio Infantry.[59] Prussia's Major Ernst F. Hoffman fought for Garibaldi as well upon concluding a stint with the British army during the Crimean War, and he became the chief engineer of the Union's predominantly German-American XI Corps.[60] Slidell stressed as a result that the Confederacy was, unlike the Union, hostile to France's Prussian enemy in his meetings with Napoleon III.[61] Davis, moreover, quietly sent the Prussian military observer Captain Justus Scheibert as an informal agent to the French emperor in the autumn of 1863 precisely because Scheibert had incurred the disfavor of his government by supervising the rapid construction of a pontoon bridge which facilitated the Army of Northern Virginia's escape from Pennsylvania after the Battle of Gettysburg. Scheibert had already violated his orders by observing C.S. rather than U.S. forces, and he was promptly recalled to Berlin. But he visited Napoleon III *en route*, explaining that Davis had told him to relate the following alliance terms:

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[56] "The Mediation of France in the United States," *The Old Guard*, vol. 1, no. 4 (April 1863), 90-91.
[57] See *PJD*, 6:454; and Mahin, *The Blessed Place of Freedom*, 18.
[58] See Mahin, *op. cit.*, 54.
[59] New Orleans *Daily True Delta*, October 2, 1861.
[60] See Mahin, *op. cit.*, 19.
[61] See "John Slidell to J. P. Benjamin," Paris, 25 July, 1862, *ORN*, series II, 3:483.

"If the Emperor will free me from the blockade[,] and he will be able to do that with the stroke of a pen, I guarantee him possession of Mexico." Indeed, Scheibert recalled that Davis had even offered to send a corps "of some 12,000 to 20,000 men" to finish Juárez off and hasten the convergence of French and Confederate forces, for to do so "would by no means be difficult for us in return for the advantages of lifting the blockade, which is gnawing at our vital nerve."[62]

Republicans generally came to think that Napoleon III abandoned Maximilian by withdrawing his forces from Mexico in 1867 due to French fears *vis-à-vis* the Union. Many Confederates also held the same belief, for the Richmond *Examiner* asserted in July 1863 that "France needs an ally as a shield to interpose between her new province of Mexico and the gigantic power of the United States."[63] The French emperor, however, recalled his troops primarily from fear of Prussia, which welcomed visiting U.S. officers soon after the Confederacy's demise. Those officers advised their superiors to study the Prussian rather than French army, and among them was Emory Upton, a U.S. army lieutenant who had become a brigadier general of cavalry by 1864. Upton studied at Ohio's pro-abolitionist Oberlin College in the early 1850s before attending West Point, where he fought a duel with a southern Democrat cadet who accused him of preferring black women.[64] The Prussians would in fact win a Napoleonic battle of annihilation against Marshal McMahon's army at Sedan in 1870, forcing all 120,000 French soldiers and Napoleon III himself to surrender. Prussian soldiers marched into Paris unopposed as a result, although a wounded and chastened Scheibert was not among them. Davis, for his part, surmised that the French emperor had been unable to send tens of thousands

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[62] Justus Scheibert, *Seven Months in the Rebel States during the North American War, 1863*, trans. Joseph C. Hayes, ed. W. M. Stanley Hoole (1874; reprint, Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2009), 12. See ibid., 13. Also see "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, January 12, 1863, *JDC*, 5:398; and Mahin, *The Blessed Place of Freedom*, 20, 75.

[63] Richmond *Examiner*, July 21, 1863,

[64] See Emory Upton, *The Military Policy of the United States*, 3rd ed. (1881; reprint, Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1912); and Stephen E. Ambrose, *Upton and the Army* (1962; reprint, Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1992).

more soldiers from France to save Maximilian and the Confederacy due to Prussia, for to do so would have left France itself even more vulnerable. And so he decried the pro-Republican Prussians who destroyed Napoleon III's France as the "arrogant, robbing Yankees of Europe."[65]

The London-based '48er Karl Marx, in contrast, celebrated Napoleon III's defeat because he loathed the Bonapartists due to their ability to win lower-class whites away from the Left. He had written a blistering condemnation of the new French emperor in 1852, decrying him for suborning the 1848 revolution in France much like Napoleon I suppressed far-Left Jacobins.[66] He detested Napoleon III so much, in fact, that he wanted the very Prussian aristocrats who had expelled him in 1848 to defeat Bonapartist France, declaring on the eve of the Franco-Prussian War that "[t]he French need a thrashing."[67] Marx was also a correspondent for Horace Greeley's pro-Republican and abolitionist-friendly New York *Tribune* during the Civil War. Yet he missed the fact that the C.S. government was not a force of the Right but rather stood for equality among whites and white supremacy like the French Bonapartists. Mistakenly viewing the Radicals as representative of the entire Confederacy, he celebrated the demise of what he took to be an especially atavistic bastion of the Right, exulting in the fall of "an oligarchy of 300,000 slave-holders" who "maintained 'slavery to be a beneficent institution,' indeed, the only solution to the great problem of the 'relation of capital to labor,' and cynically proclaimed property in man 'the cornerstone of the new edifice'...."[68] Frederick Körper, however, knew that the Davis administration was opposed to not just the Left but also the Right. He had been one of the few Prussian immigrants who supported the Confederacy, but his father had fought for Napoleon I.[69]

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[65] Quoted in Pressly, *Americans Interpret Their Civil War*, 120.
[66] See Karl Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Napoleon*, 3rd ed., trans. Daniel De Leon (1852; Chicago: Charles H. Kerr & Company, 1913).
[67] Quoted in Jonathan Sperber, *Karl Marx: A Nineteenth-Century Life* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2013), 375.
[68] Quoted in Sinha, *The Counterrevolution of Slavery*, 256.
[69] See Lonn, *Foreigners in the Confederacy*, 216.

Jefferson Davis's Perception of Britain as the Anti-C.S. Mobilizer of the Left and Right

The C.S. president and French emperor thought that the British aristocracy had cynically mobilized the forces of both the Left and Right against the U.S. and Napoleon I's France in the past. Believing that Britain was now replicating that policy *vis-à-vis* Napoleon III's France, Davis assumed that the British government would pursue a similar course of action against the Confederacy, the defeat of which would undermine Napoleon III's new global order of free trade, equality among whites, and imperial white supremacy. Charles Girard hence explained that the devotees of the Left fighting the C.S.A. were dupes of the "Anglo-Saxon" Right, and so "revolutionary utopias are nothing less than propositions to maintain the established order."[70] Surmising that the Right and Left were both opposed to equality among whites through white supremacy, Confederates often saw the Republicans as abolitionist British proxies who had forged a temporary alliance with the anti-Bonaparte Left against the Confederacy. President Lincoln was often depicted by Davis administration propagandists as well as by northern Democrats wearing a "Scotch Cap" as a result, for he had supposedly worn a tartan-pattern hat to conceal his identity when fleeing Baltimore in the dead of night *en route* to the U.S. capital in February 1861, evading an assassination attempt allegedly orchestrated by the Democratic Corsican immigrant barber and C.S. sympathizer Cipriano Ferrandini.[71] A pro-abolitionist Scottish immigrant named Alexander Gardner, moreover, took the most famous photographic portraits of the U.S. president, who inadvertently confirmed Confederate suspicions as to his

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[70] Girard, "The American Conflict," in the Paris *Pays*, August 31, 1861, in Girard, *A Visit to the Confederate States of America in 1863*, 109.

[71] See *Harper's Weekly*, March 9, 1861; Harold Holzer, "Confederate Caricature of Abraham Lincoln," *Illinois Historical Journal*, vol. 80, no. 1 (Spring 1987), 23-36; and Michael J. Kline, *The Baltimore Plot: The First Conspiracy to Assassinate Abraham Lincoln* (Yardley, PA: Westholme Publishing, 2008). Baltimore's Bavarian Catholic immigrant dentist and C.S. spy Adalbert J. Volck was particularly fond of depicting Lincoln wearing a Scotch Cap in his well-known political cartoons. His brother Frederick, moreover, was an artist in Richmond who sculpted a bust of Davis in 1862. See Frederick S. Voss, "Adalbert Volck: The South's Answer to Thomas Nast," *Smithsonian Studies in American Art*, vol. 2, no. 3 (Autumn 1988), 66-87. Also see Holzer, "With Malice toward Both," in *Wars within a War*, 117-18, 123-24.

proxy status *vis-à-vis* abolitionist Britain by hosting the famous British Congregationalist and Whig abolitionist George D. Thompson in 1864.[72] Thompson was a long-time Member of Parliament who had been an ally of William Lloyd Garrison since the 1830s and befriended such black abolitionists in the U.S. as William Wells Brown. In 1859, moreover, his son founded the London Emancipation Society, which supported the Republicans during the war and disliked northern Democrats nearly as much as Confederates. An alarmed Thompson, after all, had once hurried back to Britain when in 1836 the Irish-American Democrats of a Massachusetts fire company paraded through Boston bearing aloft a poster of his visage riddled with bullet holes.[73]

British observers in North America perceived that Bonaparte sympathizers within both the Union and Confederacy viewed Republican "Yankees" as pawns of abolitionist Britain. The famous London *Times* journalist William Howard Russell, for instance, noticed that northern Democrats were hoping to "humiliate Great Britain and conquer Canada" after defeating the Confederates as leniently as possible.[74] He also encountered an "old pilot" who "had the most wholesome hatred of the Britishers" and "favored me with some very remarkable views respecting their general mischievousness and inutility" when heading up the Potomac to the U.S. capital, a man whose property had "been taken and burnt by the English when they sailed up the Potomac to Washington" during the War of 1812.[75] Confederates, however, were, Russell observed, even more anti-British as a general rule, for "there is a degree of something like ferocity in the Southern mind towards New England which exceeds belief. I am persuaded that these feelings of contempt are extended toward England."[76] In Louisiana, moreover, "there is an

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[72] See Richard Lowry, *The Photographer and the President: Abraham Lincoln, Alexander Gardner, & the Images that Made a Presidency* (New York: Rizzoli Publications, 2015).
[73] See the Boston *Liberator*, July 7, 1836. Also see ibid., June 28, 1861; and ibid., February 19, 1864.
[74] William H. Russell, *My Diary North and South* (1862; reprint, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1954), 200.
[75] Ibid., 205.
[76] William H. Russell, *Pictures of Southern Life, Political and Military* (New York: J. G. Gregory, 1861), 8.

air thoroughly French about the people," many of whom were pro-Bonaparte and pro-Davis French-Americans who "would far sooner seek a connection with the old country [*i.e*. France] than to submit to the yoke of the Yankees."[77] A similar spirit prevailed as well in Mobile, which Russell characterized as "a very turbulent, noisy, parti-colored 'Marseilles!'"[78] "It is scarcely possible to imagine a more heterogeneous-looking body of men," he therefore observed in 1861 with reference to Confederate regiments from the Gulf South that were drilling in French, and "the variety of uniform, of clothing and of accoutrements were as great as if a specimen squad had been taken from the battalions of the Grand Army of 1812. The general effect of the men and of their habiliments is decidedly French, and there is even a small company of Zouaves...."[79]

Russell actually faulted the Republicans for being insufficiently abolitionist, but he most certainly did not want the French-inflected C.S.A. to triumph because he was himself a fervent abolitionist who had propelled Jamaica's Mary Seacole to fame.[80] Daughter to a Scottish soldier and black Jamaican woman, Seacole became a skilled nurse who lived in Panama from 1851-54 to help run her brother's British Hotel, the employees of which often had sharp exchanges with Anglophobic and anti-abolitionist U.S. citizens traveling to or from California. A zealous supporter of the British Empire who urged Britons to struggle not just against slavery but also for racial equality, she famously opened a new British Hotel in the Crimea to nurse British soldiers during the Crimean War, after which Queen Victoria herself would retain Seacole's services.[81]

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[77] Russell, *My Diary North and South*, 129, 144.
[78] Quoted in Lonn, *Foreigners in the Confederacy*, 6.
[79] Russell, *The Civil War in America*, 30. The Confederacy's *Grande Armée*, Russell also mused, might well manage to win Napoleonic battles of annihilation, for after the first Battle of Bull Run Lincoln and his cabinet had truly feared that "[a]t any moment the Confederate columns might be expected in Pennsylvania Avenue." Russell, *My Diary North and South*, 245.
[80] See Lonn, *op. cit.*, 359-60.
[81] See Mary Seacole, *The Wonderful Adventures of Mrs. Seacole in Many Lands* (1857; reprint, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988); and Jane Robinson, *Mary Seacole: The Most Famous Black Woman of the Victorian Age* (New York: Carroll & Graf Publishers, 2004).

Davis and his C.S. supporters, in fact, detested the abolitionist British monarch just as much as they had before 1861. Insisting that "the English Government... leaned to the side of the United States" during the war, Varina Davis recalled that she and her husband had not been surprised in 1861 when Queen Victoria "assured our enemies that 'the sympathies of this country [*i.e.* Britain] were rather with the North than the South.'"[82] Tens of thousands of pro-abolitionist British subjects, after all, were volunteering for U.S. service. Up to 55,000 Anglo-Protestants from British North America alone fought for the Union as naturalized immigrants, resident British subjects, or foreign volunteers, prompting Davis to publicly denounce Her Majesty's government for letting U.S. recruiting agents into British North America.[83] Bounties motivated quite a few of those troops, to be sure, but they were often so eager to serve in an abolitionist crusade that twenty-nine of them would win the Medal of Honor.[84] New Brunswick's Sarah E. E. Edmonds, for instance, was an Anglo-Protestant abolitionist who believed in equality between the races and sexes alike. She disguised herself as a man to enlist in the 2nd Michigan Infantry, and she rose to fame after the war as a rare female member of the Grand Army of the Republic, as well as by publishing a widely-read memoir detailing her exploits as a U.S. soldier, field medic, and spy in 1865.[85] The Garibaldi Guard's abolitionist colonel George D'Utassy, moreover, had been sentenced to death by Austria for serving under Kossuth in 1848. But he escaped *via* Britain to Nova Scotia, where he became a professor at Halifax's Dalhousie College

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[82] Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 2:329-30. See "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, December 7, 1863, *JDC*, 6:97.
[83] See "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, November 7, 1864, *JDC*, 6:388.
[84] See Claire Hoy, *Canadians in the Civil War* (Toronto: McArthur & Company, 2004); and John Boyko, *Blood and Daring: How Canada Fought the American Civil War and Forged a Nation* (Toronto: Knopf Canada, 2013).
[85] See S. Emma E. Edmonds, *Nurse and Spy in the Union Army: Comprising the Adventures and Experiences of a Woman in Hospitals, Camps, and Battle-Fields* (Hartford, CT: W. S. Williams & Co., 1865); Richard Hall, *Patriots in Disguise: Women Warriors of the Civil War* (New York: Paragon House, 1993), 45-46, 74-75; and Laura Leedy Gansler, *The Mysterious Private Thompson: The Double Life of Sarah Emma Edmonds, Civil War Soldier* (New York: The Free Press, 2005).

and tutored the children of that British province's lieutenant governor.[86] The *Illustrated London News* depicted Lincoln and Winfield Scott proudly reviewing D'Utassy's Garibaldi Guard in Washington, D.C. on July 4, 1861, placing a black soldier in the regiment's ranks as well.[87] Osborne P. Anderson, who was the sole black survivor among John Brown's Harpers Ferry raiders, would also return from his Upper Canada refuge to serve in the U.S.C.T. alongside hundreds of U.S. fugitive slaves who had become British subjects in British North America.[88] And John Wilkes Booth was hunted down after killing Lincoln by Lieutenant Edward P. Doherty, who was born and raised in British North America but came to New York in 1860.[89]

Davis also included Halifax's Union general John McNeil in an "execrable" trio of "Butler, McNeil, and Turchin," all of whom were "cherished by the authorities at Washington" and embodied the forces of the Left and Right coalescing under Britain's guidance to fight against white supremacy and equality among whites.[90] McNeil was descended from Loyalists who had fled to Upper Canada during the American Revolution. Although he had immigrated to Missouri and befriended Democrats there, he fought under Nathaniel Lyon when the war broke out. Rising to brigadier general in November 1862, McNeil acquired the sobriquet "Butcher" among Confederates and northern Democrats alike by perpetrating such "terrible barbarities" as his execution of ten Missouri C.S. soldiers for ostensible parole violations.[91] Davis promulgated

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[86] See Greg Marquis, *In Armageddon's Shadow: The Civil War and Canada's Maritime Provinces* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1998), 112.
[87] See "Review of the Federal Troops on the 4th of July by President Lincoln and General Scott: The Garibaldi Guard Filing Past," *The Illustrated London News*, August 1, 1861.
[88] See Osborne P. Anderson, *A Voice from Harper's Ferry: A Narrative of Events at Harper's Ferry; with Incidents Prior and Subsequent to its Capture by Captain Brown and his Men* (Boston: n.p., 1861); Fred Landon, "Canadian Negroes and the John Brown Raid," *The Journal of Negro History*, vol. 6, no. 2 (April 1921), 174-82; Jordan, *Black Confederates and Afro-Yankees in Civil War Virginia*, 2; and Richard M. Reid, *African-Canadians in Union Blue: Volunteering for the Cause in the Civil War* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2014).
[89] See Boyko, *Blood and Daring*, 244; and Betsy Fleet, "A Chapter of Unwritten History: Richard Baynham Garrett's Account of the Flight and Death of John Wilkes Booth," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. 71, no. 4 (October 1963), 391-95.
[90] "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, December 7, 1863, *JDC*, 6:125.
[91] Ibid., 6:125.

a standing order for McNeil to be executed if captured in response, inducing *Harper's Weekly* to complain that "Jefferson Davis is thirsting for the blood of the brave General, and his coadjutors in the North are maligning General McNeil, fabricating statements of his brutality…."[92]

Abolitionist racial egalitarian sentiment remained just as prevalent within the British Isles as within the Anglo-Protestant areas of British North America.[93] The pro-abolitionist play *The Octoroon* met a hostile reception from Democrats in both New Orleans and New York City in the late 1850s, prompting the Democratic New York *Herald* to denounce "negro worshipping mania" and insist that legitimate critiques of slavery must not savor of "the abolition aroma." The "sermons of Beecher and Cheever and the novels of Mrs. Stowe," it explained, were "excit[ing] the feeling which now threatens to destroy the Union of the States and ruin the republic," assuring southern Democrats that while northern abolitionists were "in close correspondence with their British brethren," they "stood in higher favor at Exeter Hall than at home."[94] The *Herald* was not surprised as a result to see *The Octoroon* became a sensation during the war not only in Upper Canada, where the stage was festooned in U.S. flags, but also in London, where some abolitionists went so far as to criticize the play for purveying racial stereotypes even though it espoused equal rights for blacks.[95] Those London abolitionists, however, lauded the 1864 British work *Miscegenation: The Theory of the Blending of the Races, Applied to the American White Man and Negro*, which popularized the term "miscegenation" among outraged northern Democrats and urged Republicans to go beyond black citizenship by encouraging race-mixing. Confederate anger, too, would be even further inflamed by the 1864

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[92] *Harper's Weekly*, January 17, 1863. See "Jefferson Davis to Lieut. Genl. T. J. Holmes, Comdg. trans-Mississippi Dept.," Richmond, November 17, 1862, *JDC*, 5:375; and Marquis, *In Armageddon's Shadow*, 88, 105.
[93] See Dean B. Mahin, *One War at a Time: International Dimensions of the American Civil War* (Washington, D.C.: Brassey's, 1999), 139-41. Also see Brent J. Steele, "Ontological Security and the Power of Self-Identity: British Neutrality and the American Civil War," *Review of International Studies*, vol. 31, no. 3 (July 2005), 519-40.
[94] New York *Herald*, December 5, 1859.
[95] See Giemza, *Irish Catholic Writers and the Invention of the American South*, 59, 287.

Richmond rejoinder play *Miscegenation; or, A Virginia Negro in Washington*, which decried the racially-amalgamated fate that would supposedly befall the South were the Confederacy to fall.[96]

Most of the fifty thousand or so Union soldiers from British North America were pro-abolitionist Protestants, and so were the additional fifty thousand U.S. troops hailing from England, Scotland, Wales, or Ulster. British immigrants were over-represented in the U.S. army and usually filled out "Yankee" Republican regiments instead of forming their own ethnic units.[97] Confederates, however, believed that the British abolitionist threat extended beyond uniformed Britons in the U.S. army, for their antebellum fears as to infiltration by British agents were exacerbated and seemingly confirmed by the fact that the principal U.S. spy ring in the C.S.A. was headed by the Scottish immigrant Allan Pinkerton. A Chicago detective who had helped Underground Railroad operatives in Illinois and bedeviled all-white Democratic labor unions, Pinkerton protected his friend Lincoln during the "Scotch Cap" incident, provided bodyguards for the U.S. president throughout the war, and recruited Sarah E. E. Edmonds for Union espionage operations.[98] He also sent the English immigrant Timothy Webster to Richmond as a spy in October 1861. Discovered and arrested in April 1862, Webster was the first spy to be executed during the war.[99] The Virginia farmer and Scottish immigrant Robert

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[96] See David G. Croly and George Wakeman, *Miscegenation: The Theory of the Blending of the Races, Applied to the American White Man and Negro* (London: Trubner, 1864); *Southern Illustrated News*, April 16, 1864; "The Miscegenation Ball," New York *World*, September 23, 1864; Coulter, *The Confederate States of America*, 489; and Jordan, *Black Confederates and Afro-Yankees in Civil War Virginia*, 122.

[97] See William E. Van Vugt, *Britain to America: Mid-nineteenth-century Immigrants to the United States* (Urbana-Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1999), 131-53; *Sons of Arthur, Children of Lincoln: Welsh Writings from the American Civil War*, ed. Jerry Hunter (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2007); Martin W. Öfele, *True Sons of the Republic: European Immigrants in the Union Army* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2008), 22, 24; and Clayton R. Newell and Charles R. Shrader, *Of Duty Well and Faithfully Done: A History of the Regular Army in the Civil War* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2011), 47.

[98] See Allan Pinkerton, *The Spy of the Rebellion; Being a True History of the Spy System of the United States Army during the Late Rebellion. Revealing Many Secrets of the War hitherto not made Public* (1883; reprint, New York: G. W. Dillingham Co., 1900).

[99] See Richmond *Examiner*, April 30, 1862; and Varon, *Southern Lady, Yankee Spy*, 74. Webster's true identity was uncovered thanks to information revealed under duress by the captured black U.S. spy John Scobell. See ibid., 75.

Orrock, Jr., moreover, helped disinter Ulric Dahlgren's body and convey it to Union lines.[100] When C.S. officials imprisoned a captured English-born U.S. spy called Pole in 1865 even though he had betrayed other Union spies such as the English immigrant William White, they finally reduced the efficacy of Pinkerton's British immigrant U.S. spy ring, which had been so proficient at intelligence-gathering that an exasperated Davis declared in 1863 that he "despaired in the present condition of Richmond of being able to keep secret any movement which is to be made… through this place."[101] The C.S. president's fears that British abolitionist agents were infiltrating the Confederacy at all points in order to spy and incite slave rebellions never abated, however, for he noted in an 1864 order that "[a] friend recently from the North reports that one John Reid who formerly lived in Charleston, but now resides in the country, and who had British papers, is a Yankee spy and nephew of General Butler. It would be well to look after him."[102]

Davis's hired-out slave coachman William Andrew Jackson, after all, had absconded to U.S. lines in May 1862 and gone a few months later to Britain, where he arrived with a letter of introduction from William Lloyd Garrison.[103] Indeed, blacks who rose to fame by defying the Confederate government were often known as "Anglo-Africans" or "Afro-Saxons."[104] Mary Peake was one such "Anglo-African." The daughter of a free black Virginia mother and British father, she opened a liberal arts school near Fort Monroe in September 1861 to prepare contrabands for citizenship, enraging not just Confederates but also white Virginian Unionists.[105]

Also see Corey Recko, *A Spy for the Union: The Life and Execution of Timothy Webster* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, 2013).

[100] See Varon, *Southern Lady, Yankee Spy*, 147. James Sharp, moreover, was a Scottish immigrant who lived near Malvern Hill and assisted U.S. forces as a scout. See ibid., 161.

[101] "Jefferson Davis to General R. E. Lee, Comdg. Army of N. Va., Orange C. H., Va.," Richmond, September 16, 1863, *JDC*, 6:37. See Varon, *op. cit.*, 187.

[102] "Jefferson Davis to General Saml. Jones, Charleston, S. C.," "Telegram," Richmond, July 25, 1864, *JDC*, 6:300.

[103] See Jordan, *Black Confederates and Afro-Yankees in Civil War Virginia*, 71.

[104] See ibid., 138. Also see Debra Jackson, "A Black Journalist in Civil War Virginia: Robert Hamilton and the 'Anglo-African,'" *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. 116, no. 1 (2008), 42-72.

[105] See Jordan, *Black Confederates and Afro-Yankees in Civil War Virginia*, 102.

The former Virginia slave and seamstress to the Lincoln family Elizabeth Keckley, moreover, became president of the Contraband Relief Association in August 1862, which organization was funded in large part by such British abolitionist groups as the Sheffield Anti-Slavery Society.[106]

The prominence of "Afro-Saxons" as well as soldiers and spies from Britain in the U.S. war effort combined with a dearth of enthusiasm for the C.S. cause among the Confederacy's British immigrants and resident British subjects to produce an explosion of Confederate Anglophobia. Britons were the most under-represented of all immigrant groups in the C.S. army, and they were even more eager to escape the Confederacy than Swedes or German '48ers.[107] James Campbell was an exception to the rule as a Scottish immigrant who served in a Charleston C.S. company of Scottish background, but he fought at Secessionville in June 1862 against his own brother Alexander, who was part of the famous 79th New York Infantry (the Cameron Highlanders).[108] The 79th Cameron Highlanders was a famous British regiment which had battled Napoleon I's soldiers all over Europe, and the Scottish-American soldiers of the Union's Cameron Highlanders copied the name, uniform, and ideology of the British original, proudly serving as an honor guard for the Prince of Wales in 1860 and lauding President Grant in an 1869 resolution for putting Elizabeth Van Lew in charge of the U.S. post office at Richmond.[109] The regiment was also strongly pro-Republican because it was commanded by Colonel James Cameron, who was brother to the prominent Pennsylvania Republican politician Simon Cameron. James Cameron was killed at the Battle of Bull Run and succeeded by David

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[106] See ibid., 88.

[107] See Lonn, *Foreigners in the Confederacy*, 407; and Mahin, *The Blessed Place of Freedom*, 89-90, 96. Dean B. Mahin observers that, contrary to the conventional wisdom among historians that British immigrants in the South were eager to serve the C.S.A., "evidence of resistance by Britons in the South to pressures to join the Confederate army is much more abundant that evidence of their enthusiastic support for the Confederate cause." Ibid., 85.

[108] See *Him on the One Side and Me on the Other: The Civil War Letters of Alexander Campbell, 79th New York Infantry Regiment, and James Campbell, 1st Carolina Battalion*, ed. Terry A. Johnson, Jr. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1999), 91-92, 98-99. The Floridian English immigrant Captain John L. Inglis also surrendered to his pro-Union brother on the battlefield. See Lonn, *op. cit.*, 61.

[109] See Varon, *Southern Lady, Yankee Spy*, 217.

Morrison, who had served in Britain's renowned Black Watch regiment during the Crimean War.[110] Simon Cameron, for his part, became the Union's ambassador to Russia in 1862 shortly after he was removed as Secretary of War, in which capacity he had been flagrantly corrupt.[111]

Anti-abolitionist persecutions of Britons were already occurring before 1861 in the South, from a lynch mob in which the Protestant minister Joshua Rhodes Balme barely escaped in 1859. A British immigrant and self-described "descendant of the Puritans," Balme had quietly condemned slavery but vocally denounced the "Colorphobia" of southern Democrats espousing French-style racial science. He returned to England and urged Britons to abjure the U.S. cause until the Republicans would commit themselves to fighting both "the dreadful sins of slavery and negro hatred." But he also made his abhorrence for the C.S.A. clear by calling Catholic-friendly Confederates singing "the 'Marseillaise'" tools of "Popery at Rome," which was under "the paternal care of the Emperor of the French."[112] Another Englishman, too, was appalled by an 1861 wave of anti-British mob violence orchestrated by Davis Democrats *cum* Confederates, although he pitied no less "the poor Germans" of a Richmond theater troupe who were forced by C.S. troops to play "repeats of 'Dixie,' 'My Maryland,' and the 'Marseillaise' – tunes which the audience accompanied with vocal efforts of their own, or embellished with a running accompaniment of stamps and howling."[113] In February 1861, a British merchant ship captain was tarred and feathered by a mob in Wilmington for inviting a black man to dine with him, and English merchants there were arrested as abolitionists even though North Carolina had not yet

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[110] See Mahin, *The Blessed Place of Freedom*, 32.

[111] See William Todd, *The Seventy-Ninth Highlanders: New York Volunteers in the War of the Rebellion, 1861-1865* (Albany, NY: Brandow, Barton and Co., 1886); W. Mark Night, *Blue Bonnets O'er the Border: The 79th New York Cameron Highlanders* (Shippensburg, PA: White Mane Books, 1998); and J. E. Cookson, "The Napoleonic Wars, Military Scotland and Tory Highlandism in the Early Nineteenth Century," *The Scottish Historical Review*, vol. 78, no. 205, (April 1999), 60-75.

[112] J. R. Balme, *American States, Churches, and Slavery* (London: Hamilton, Adams, & Co., 1863), iii, 59, xiii, iii, 108. See ibid., vi-vii, xiii, 422-23.

[113] "English Combatant, T. E. C.," *Battle-fields of the South, from Bull Run to Fredericksburgh; with sketches of Confederate commanders, and gossip of the camps*, 2 vols. (New York: John Bradburn, 1864), 2:30.

seceded.[114] At New Orleans in June 1861, moreover, dozens of Britons who had refused to enter C.S. service were "seized, knocked down, carried off from their labor at the wharf and workshop, and forced by violence to serve in the 'volunteer' ranks. These cases are not isolated.... These men have been dragged along like felons protesting in vain that they were British subjects."[115]

Even the few British immigrants who willingly entered C.S. service were suspected of abolitionism. Patrick Cleburne, for instance, was an Anglo-Irish Anglican who immigrated in 1849 to Arkansas, where he joined the Whigs but soon became a Democrat as he could not abide Know-Nothings. "Old Pat," after all, spoke with a brogue, and as the Confederate colonel of an Irish Arkansas regiment, he likened the C.S. cause to Ireland's independence movement.[116] Cleburne proved to be a brilliant Army of Tennessee officer and rose to the rank of major general in late 1862. Indeed, the C.S. veteran Sam Watkins recalled that the adept brigadier general Lucius C. Polk "was to Cleburne what Murat or the old guard was to Napoleon."[117] One of Cleburne's brothers, however, fought for the Union, and "Old Pat" used the British manual of arms to train his troops, among whom he formed an elite sharpshooter company armed with costly British Whitworth rifles. He was also very friendly to the few Britons who visited the Confederacy, and he was rumored to harbor racially egalitarian views as a result.[118] Cleburne actually supported the C.S.A. because, as he explained to his brother on the war's eve, "[t]he North is about to wage a brutal and unholy war… they are about to invade our peaceful homes, destroy our property, inaugurate a servile insurrection, murder our men, and dishonour our

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[114] London *Times*, February 26, 1861. See Russell, *Pictures of Southern Life*, 234.
[115] London *Times*, June 13, 1861. See Russell, *op. cit.*, 63.
[116] That regiment also presented Cleburne with a ceremonial sword featuring a shamrock upon its hilt and a harp of Erin upon its scabbard. See Lonn, *Foreigners in the Confederacy*, 444.
[117] Watkins, *Company Aytch*, 125
[118] See James Arthur Fremantle, *Three Months in the Southern States: April-June, 1863* (1864; reprint, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1991), 122-23.

women."[119] But when he wrote to the Army of Tennessee's leading officers in early 1864 proposing that the C.S.A. free and enlist slaves, he alarmed not just Radical pro-slavery zealots but also Davis administration supporters, who assumed that he was advocating not a white supremacist manumission policy but rather that the Confederacy itself adopt British abolitionism.

Cleburne wanted to manumit slave soldiers immediately, "guarantee[ing] freedom within a reasonable time to every slave in the South who shall remain true to the Confederacy in this war" as well. Such a policy "would remove forever all selfish taint from our cause and place independence above every question of property." Nor would it entail black citizenship, for while "[i]t is said slaves will not work after they are freed… necessity and a wise legislation will compel them to labor for a living." And he invoked Davis's own efforts to impress slaves and conscript free blacks as military laborers to prove that his idea was not "John Brown fanaticism." Yet he did not help his case when he implied that blacks were innately equal to whites by claiming that black C.S. soldiers might serve as frontline soldiers rather than as mere support or garrison troops, "tempt[ing] dangers and difficulties not exceeded by the bravest soldier in the field." And because he was focused upon winning British rather than French "moral support and material aid," he made a grave error by pointing out that "[t]he negro slaves of Saint Domingo, fighting for freedom, defeated their white masters and the French troops sent against them."[120]

Davis decided that, with regard to Cleburne's letter, "the best policy under the circumstances will be to avoid all publicity, and the Secretary of War has therefore written to… convey to those concerned my desire that it should be kept private. If it be kept out of the public

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[119] Quoted in Mahin, *The Blessed Place of Freedom*, 79.

[120] "Patrick Cleburne to Joseph E. Johnston & the Corps, Division, Brigade, and Regimental Commanders of the Army of Tennessee," Dalton, Georgia, January 2, 1864, *OR*, series I, 52/2:589.

journals, its ill effects will be much lessened."[121] Even though he had officially thanked Cleburne for saving a desperate Army of Tennessee in late 1863 thanks to "[t]he brilliant stand made by the rear guard at Ringgold…," he also denied him a well-deserved promotion to lieutenant general.[122] Many historians have assumed that Davis suppressed Cleburne's proposal because he was as wedded to the institution of slavery as his Radical critics.[123] Davis, however, feared that Cleburne would discredit his own white supremacist manumission initiatives by associating them with British abolitionism. And one French immigrant in the C.S. army did in fact interpret Davis's drive to enlist slaves as a shocking bid to foist racial equality upon the C.S.A. even though Cleburne's words had been effectually repressed and "Old Pat" himself had perished in the November 1864 Battle of Franklin: "Nevare!... I make what you call 'desairt.' Mon Dieu! Dey now tell me I fight for neeger! Frenschman nevare fight for neeger."[124]

The British government's commitment to abolitionism and consequent hostility to the C.S.A. seemed to be confirmed by the fact that Britain's consulates sheltered British subjects within the Confederacy seeking to evade C.S. military service. British consulates in the South were inundated by fearful British subjects seeking protection from 1861 onward, enraging Confederate onlookers in the principal C.S. cities.[125] Working in tandem with the British press, for instance, Britain's consuls pressured the governor of Louisiana into releasing British

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[121] "Jefferson Davis to General W. H. T. Walker, Army of the Tennessee," Dalton, Georgia, Richmond, January 23, 1864, *JDC*, 6:160.

[122] "Jefferson Davis to General J. E. Johnston, Comdg. &c., Dalton, Georgia," Richmond, December 23, 1863, *JDC*, 6:135. See Richmond *Examiner*, February 4, 1864. Also see Paul R. Fessler, "The Case of the Missing Promotion: Historians and the Military Career of Major General Patrick Ronayne Cleburne, C.S.A.," *The Arkansas Historical Quarterly*, vol. 53, no. 2 (Summer 1994), 211-31.

[123] See, for instance, Barbara C. Ruby, "General Patrick Cleburne's Proposal to Arm Southern Slaves," *The Arkansas Historical Quarterly*, vol. 30, no. 3 (Autumn 1971), 193-212.

[124] Quoted in Sarah A. Pryor, *Reminiscences of Peace and War* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1904), 281. See Craig L. Symonds, *Stonewall of the West: Patrick Cleburne and the Civil War* (Lawrence: Kansas University Press, 1997).

[125] See Lonn, *Foreigners in the Confederacy*, 385, 413; and Mahin, *The Blessed Place of Freedom*, 86.

immigrants who had been incarcerated at New Orleans for refusing to serve in the C.S. army.[126] The Confederacy's August 1861 Alien Enemies Act, moreover, required all U.S. citizens within the C.S.A. who had not yet pledged allegiance to the Confederacy to do so within forty days or suffer banishment and uncompensated property confiscation.[127] With many British subjects in the C.S.A. fearing that a similar law would soon target them, the British ambassador to the U.S. Viscount Richard Lyons issued a series of instructions to all of the British consuls in the Confederacy that would become Britain's official policy in October 1862. Having personally conveyed Lincoln's "good intentions towards the people of Great Britain" in November 1861, he warned that the Confederates would incur Britain's wrath if they were to confiscate the property of British subjects even with compensation.[128] The C.S. government, he insisted, could only impress or destroy British-owned property that was immediate danger of falling into U.S. hands, and it would have to allow a British consul to appraise the lost property's value in all such cases. Instructing the consuls to vigorously protect British persons and property, Lord Lyons also maintained that British subjects could not be lawfully expelled for refusing to serve the C.S. government, which had no authority to compel them to remain within the Confederacy either.[129]

Most of the British subjects who had been pressured into joining the C.S. army were already seeking consular protection in 1861, particularly when any prospect of combat loomed. Quite a few of them had also defrauded the Confederacy by collecting enlistment bounties and then sending their wives or friends to procure discharges *via* British consular pressure.[130] Hardly any of the Britons who stayed in the ranks, moreover, intended to re-enlist once their original

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[126] London *Times*, August 13, 1861.
[127] See William R. Robinson, *Justice in Grey: A History of the Judicial System of the Confederate States of America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1941), 229.
[128] Quoted in Amanda Foreman, *A World on Fire: Britain's Crucial Role in the American Civil War* (New York: Random House, 2010), 261.
[129] See Milledge L. Bonham, Jr., *The British Consuls in the Confederacy* (1911; reprint, New York: Columbia University Press, 1971), 197-98; and Lonn, *Foreigners in the Confederacy*, 385, 409.
[130] See Lonn, *op. cit.*, 97, 402.

term of service as "volunteers" expired. When the Davis administration began to implement conscription, Lord Lyons accordingly insisted that "no state can justly frame laws to compel aliens resident within its territories to serve against their will in armies ranged against each other in civil war."[131] And so the British consuls were instructed to vigorously resist "the forcible enlistment of British subjects in the army of the so-called Confederate states."[132] In response, the Davis administration asserted in April 1862 that every "domiciled" British subject was subject to conscription. Almost all British subjects in the C.S.A. were "domiciled" by definition as well, for any Briton who had previously acquired property in the Confederacy and had stayed there at the war's onset was presumed by the C.S. government to have expressed an intent to become a naturalized immigrant and was thus a *de facto* citizen whose property was liable to impressment and body to military service.[133] And Davis punished the few Britons whom the British consuls had shown could not possibly be "domiciled" by making them carry documents telling Confederate citizens to refrain from employing them or transacting business with them.[134]

The British consuls, in turn, appealed to Confederate Radicals, declaring that the C.S. government was courting Britain's wrath by violating international law and traducing the sacred *habeas corpus* traditions of Anglo-Saxon common law.[135] Yet despite or perhaps because of Radical entreaties, the Davis administration almost always refused to return impressed British property or discharge conscripted British subjects. British consuls such as Richmond's Frederick J. Cridland, who was to the Confederacy what Count Méjan was to the Union, retaliated by issuing false certificates of British subject status to Confederates who were hoping to avoid C.S.

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[131] Quoted in Bonham, Jr., *The British Consuls in the Confederacy*, 113-14.
[132] Quoted in ibid., 81-82.
[133] See ibid., 118.
[134] See Lonn, *Foreigners in the Confederacy*, 406. Also see Bonham, Jr., *op. cit.*, 137.
[135] See Lonn, *op. cit.*, 398-99; and Bonham, Jr., *op. cit.*, 104-05.

military service.[136] As a result, when the visiting British businessman W. C. Corsan produced his British papers to demonstrate his immunity to conscription when the train upon which he was traveling was subjected to a snap inspection by C.S. soldiers looking for draft evaders, the officer in charge said that British papers were more incriminating than not and promptly arrested him.[137]

The Davis administration's relations with Britain worsened even further in June 1863 when a new British consul came to Richmond but refused to submit his credentials for fear that doing so might be construed as recognition of the Confederacy. The C.S. government, in turn, refused to recognize him, revoked his consular exequatur, and demanded that all new British consuls present themselves to the Confederate secretary of state. Britain, however, transferred Consul Cridland to Mobile a few days later without notifying Davis, who expelled the anti-C.S. British consul in response.[138] When Britain refused to apologize, he expelled all of the British consuls in October 1863, and they were hardly unhappy to leave given that they had disdained the antebellum South and particularly the 1850s South as, on the whole, atavistic and Anglophobic.[139] Because they had not only refused to recognize the C.S.A. but were also actively undermining the Confederate war effort, the C.S. secretary of state told the British government that "the President has had no hesitation in directing that all consuls and consular agents of the British Government be notified that they can no longer be permitted to exercise their functions, or even to reside within the limits of the Confederacy," for their presence had

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[136] See *Soldiering for Glory: The Civil War Letters of Colonel Frank Schaller, Twenty-second Mississippi Infantry*, ed. Mary W. Schaller and Martin N. Schaller (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2007), 157.
[137] See "An English Merchant [W. C. Corsan]," *Two Months in the Confederate States: Including a Visit to New Orleans under the Domination of General Butler*, ed. Benjamin H. Trask (1863; reprint, Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1996), 404. Corsan went free only after winning a tortuous legal battle to prove his identity.
[138] See ibid., 414-15.
[139] See Laura A. White, "The South in the 1850's as Seen by British Consuls," *The Journal of Southern History*, vol. 1, no. 1 (February 1935), 29-48.

become an "encroachment on its sovereignty, [which] cannot be tolerated for a moment…."[140] Davis, however, was even less diplomatic, informing the C.S. Congress in December that he had expelled Britain's consuls because "the British Government has chosen to concede, that these sovereign States are dependencies of the Government which is administered at Washington," a government with which the British "entertained… the closest and most intimate relations…."[141]

"So soon as it had become apparent by the declarations of the British Ministers in the debates of the British Parliament in July last that Her Majesty's Government was determined to persist indefinitely in a course of policy which under professions of neutrality had become subservient to the designs of our enemy," Davis added, "I felt it my duty to recall the Commissioner formerly accredited to that Court…."[142] That commissioner was Virginia's James M. Mason, whom C.S. Radicals had feared would antagonize rather than appeal to the British. One Radical Confederate hence informed Mary Chesnut that "the English can't stand chewing [tobacco]… [A]t the lordliest table Mr. Mason will turn round halfway in his chair and spit in the fire!"[143] Mason, after all, was a long-time Democratic lawyer who was close to Calhoun and, through his grandfather George Mason, related to John Y. Mason.[144] Having entered the U.S. Senate in 1847, he read Calhoun's final speech aloud in 1850. A vehement foe of the Know-Nothings, he also upheld religious toleration, championed democratic equality among whites, drafted the 1850 Fugitive Slave Law, and led the Senate committee which investigated John Brown's Harpers Ferry raid.[145] Mason, moreover, was "an old acquaintance" of Charles Girard, and his sister Sarah Maria had wed the future C.S. adjutant and inspector general Samuel Cooper

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[140] "Judah P. Benjamin to Acting Consul Fullerton," Department of State, Richmond, October 8, 1863, in *Correspondence Respecting the Removal of British Consuls from the So-Styled Confederate States of America* (London: Harrison and Son, 1864), 20.
[141] "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, December 7, 1863, *JDC*, 6:105.
[142] Ibid., 6:105.
[143] Entry for January 1, 1864, in *Mary Chesnut's Diary*, 520.
[144] See Kate Mason Rowland, *The Life of George Mason, 1725-1792* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1892), 2.
[145] See Link, *Roots of Secession*, 125, 129.

in 1827.[146] He was therefore a personal friend and close ally of Secretary of War Davis, taking a keen interest in military affairs even as he deferred to the Mississippian's judgment.[147] Davis, in turn, hired him to secure the War Department's claim to lands near the Harpers Ferry Arsenal in 1855, stoking his Anglophobia throughout the 1850s as well.[148] And he would never send a replacement to Britain after he recalled Mason in August 1863 to protest British policy. Mason was then directed to assist Slidell in Paris, where he continued to show the world and particularly French Bonapartists that Davis's C.S.A. was hostile to rather than a would-be client of Britain.[149]

Mason was soon joined in Paris by Henry Hotze, who had been in charge of all C.S. government propaganda activity in Britain. Even before going to France, however, Hotze's primary purpose had been to win French sympathy, for he was supposed to focus upon cultivating pro-Confederate sentiment among the few Britons who wanted Britain to embrace Napoleon III's France as a true ally and to reform British society along Bonapartist lines. Hotze was born to French-speaking Swiss parents in Zurich and educated by Jesuits. He immigrated to Mobile in the early 1850s and became a U.S. citizen in 1856, during which year he also translated Arthur de Gobineau's work for Josiah C. Nott.[150] Hotze was appointed secretary to the U.S. legation in Belgium by the Buchanan administration in 1858 as a reward for his services to the Democracy, and he married into the family of the Spring Hill instructor Captain Robert Sands, who formed a Mobile militia company in the late 1850s that was composed of fellow

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[146] Girard, *A Visit to the Confederate States of America in 1863*, 53.

[147] See "To Stephen Cocke," December 19, 1853, *PJD*, 5:283; "From James M. Mason," April 21, 1856, *PJD*, 6:462; and *PJD*, 4:381, 6:268, 384-85. Mason also championed Secretary of War Davis's 1856 proposal to fund a comprehensive surveying and mapping project of the Great Lakes region for a future invasion of British North America. See *PJD*, 6:454. Requesting Davis's assistance in rifling or replacing the Virginia militia's muskets, he also declared that if the Republicans were to triumph in the 1856 election, "the South should not postpone but at once proceed to immediate, absolute and eternal separation." "From James M. Mason," September 30, 1856, from the Boston *Liberator*, October 23, 1863, *PJD*, 6:504.

[148] See *PJD*, 5:388; and "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Fort Snelling resolution of inquiry. May 23, 1860," *JDC*, 4:344.

[149] For Mason's career, see Robert W. Young, *Senator James Murray Mason: Defender of the Old South* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1998).

[150] See de Gobineau, *The Moral and Intellectual Diversity of Races*, ed. Hotze and Nott, trans. Hotze.

graduates called the Spring Hill Cadets. Hotze was a member and served in 1861 with the 3rd Alabama Infantry, of which the Spring Hill Cadets were a part.[151] In November, however, Hotze was sent to London by the Davis administration as a C.S. purchasing agent and propagandist, in which capacity he was supposed to deter Britain from harming the Confederates on an even more egregious scale by "convey[ing] a just idea of their ample resources and vast military strength."[152] And so his London *Index* newspaper cautioned "phlegmatic England" in 1862 that its *de facto* abolitionist alliance with the Republicans was threatening to bring Britain not only into collision with the Confederacy, the president of which was "himself a distinguished soldier," but also "the veteran armies of France," which he claimed were enthused not only by the Confederacy's battlefield feats but also by its ideological similarity, hostility to the current British aristocratic ruling regime, and rapport with the pro-Bonaparte elements within Britain.[153]

Hotze, to be sure, assayed such Jesuitical tactics as circulating a pamphlet among abolitionist British ministers called *An Address to Christians throughout the World by the Clergy of the Confederate States of America*, which was produced by an 1863 assembly of Radical-minded Protestant ministers convened by Richmond's *Central Presbyterian* and asserted that southern plantations were essentially similar to Britain's paternalistic landed estates. Such tactics usually backfired, however, for Hotze spent a small fortune placing the *Address* in such prominent British journals as the *Quarterly Review* and *Edinburgh Review* only to inspire over a thousand Scottish Presbyterian ministers to pledge their support for the Lincoln administration on abolitionist terms.[154] The circulation of Radical-style propaganda in Britain, moreover,

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[151] See Henry Hotze, *Three Months in the Confederate Army*, ed. Richard Barksdale Harweck (1862; reprint, Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2004), 29, 54.
[152] "R. M. T. Hunter to Henry Hotze," Department of State, Richmond, November 14, 1861, *ORN*, series II, 3:293.
[153] Quoted in Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 2:353. Also see London *Index*, May 12, 1864. For Hotze's biographical details, see Mobile *Daily Advertiser and Register*, May 11, 1887.
[154] See Richmond *Central Presbyterian*, April 23, 1863; Jordan, *Black Confederates and Afro-Yankees in Civil War Virginia*, 113

alienated the personages in the British Isles who were most naturally receptive to Bonapartist and Davis Democrat *cum* Confederate ideology, as when an Irish immigrant Union soldier informed his Irish-American C.S. captor that Thomas F. Meagher "is an Irishman thrue to the sod, none of your renegade spalpeens like John Mitchel – fighting for slave-holders in Ameriky... [who are] as Father Mahan toould me... more aristocratic, big-feeling, and tyrannical than the English nobility."[155] Hotze hence focused his efforts upon funding the London Anthropological Society, which he joined as an honorary member after its members split in 1863 from the older and more prestigious Ethnological Society to argue that the racial egalitarianism of such pro-abolitionist and pro-Union Ethnological Society members as Charles Darwin was unscientific.[156] He also circulated such works as Florence J. O'Connor's novel *The Heroine of the Confederacy* among the restive Chartists, impoverished Irish Catholic immigrant workers, and budding Fenian revolutionaries of Lancashire.[157] Louisiana's O'Connor had previously published poems in the Democratic New Orleans *Mirror* and found herself stranded in London because she could not find a blockade runner that would take her to the C.S.A. for a reasonable price.[158] Insisting that "[n]o amount of white-washing can place the African on the same social platform with the civilised European," her novel depicted wealthy Anglo-Protestant abolitionists on both sides of the Atlantic coddling blacks while mistreating poor whites in general and Irish Catholics in particular.[159] It also featured "a pretty girl of seventeen, of French descent, a sweet, a lovely

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[155] Quoted in Henry Morford, *Red Tape or Pigeon-Hole Generals as seen from the Ranks during the Campaign in the Army of the Potomac* (New York: Carleton, 1864), 87-88.
[156] See Robert E. Bonner, "Slavery, Confederate Diplomacy, and the Racialist Mission of Henry Hotze," *Civil War History*, vol. 51, no. 3 (September 2005), 288-316; and *Henry Hotze, Confederate Propagandist: Selected Writings on Revolution, Recognition, and Race*, ed. Lonnie Burnett (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2008).
[157] See Foster, *Modern Ireland*, 366.
[158] See Giemza, *Irish Catholic Writers and the Invention of the American South*, 61.
[159] Florence J. O'Connor, *The Heroine of the Confederacy; or, Truth and Justice* (London: Harrison, 1864), 282.

Creole" from Napoleonville who prays for the Confederacy's "noble President, Jefferson Davis," at "the feet of the statue of the blessed Virgin Mary which reposed on an altar in [her] room."[160]

Hotze also befriended the pro-Bonaparte British economist and C.S. sympathizer John Welsford Cowell, who had called for Britain to improve working conditions for its impoverished white workers as a member of both the Poor Law Commission and Factory Commission.[161] He urged the British government to adopt social and military reforms inspired by Napoleon III's France as a result.[162] Cowell, in fact, had once had long discussions with the "eminent Statesman" Calhoun when he was an "Agent and Representative" of the Bank of England "with full power and authority in the United States" from 1837-39.[163] He thus advised his fellow Britons in his 1863 *France and the Confederate States* that while it was still true that "England [was] occupying the first, and France the second place" among the world powers, "[t]he Emperor now sees before him the means of establishing the future naval and commercial glory of France on a foundation so solid and secure that nothing hereafter will be able to shake it...." "The real union of France with the South," he explained, "while it would speedily raise the South to a power of the first order – thereafter the ever-faithful ally of France – would raise France herself to be the first power in the world." Building on "what France has already effected in Mexico," Napoleon III would control the Gulf of Mexico and monopolize the world's cotton supply thanks to an alliance with the Confederacy, thereby fulfilling "[t]he natural and perfectly legitimate desire of France to acquire the same supremacy at sea which she already possesses on land...."[164]

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[160] O'Connor, *The Heroine of the Confederacy*, 385, 373, 42.
[161] See John D. Bennett, *The London Confederates: The Officials, Clergy, Businessmen and Journalists Who Backed the American South During the Civil War* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, 2007), 39.
[162] See John W. Cowell, *Lancashire's Wrongs and the Remedy: Two Letters Addressed to the Cotton Operatives of Great Britain* (London: Robert Hardwicke, 1863).
[163] John Wellsford Cowell, *France and the Confederate States* (London: McCowan & Danes, 1863), 12. See ibid., 16.
[164] Ibid., 15, 3, 25, 3.

If his fellow Britons were wise, Cowell warned, they would not only seek to placate rather than oppose an emerging French-Confederate alliance which was poised to dominate the world, but also re-make their kingdom along Bonapartist lines to become a "wise, active, and ambitious nation like France." Yet Britain had instead chosen to side with "the Yankees," who had sought "domination over the rest of the Sovereign States of the Union" by monopolizing the fruits of industrial modernity for themselves and threatening to incite race war through abolitionism if their "artificial prosperity" were ever challenged. Yet the South had finally called the Yankee bluff with the emergence of Napoleon III as a likely ally, seceding to finally industrialize on a substantial scale. And so the North's "narrow" and "fanatical" Republicans had launched an abolitionist crusade "to exterminate the Southerners altogether," for "the Yankees are now murdering men, women, and children throughout the South...." Their ultimate goal, Cowell averred, was to make the South an all-black agricultural colony, and Britons were traducing "the interests of justice and civilization" by giving their support to such a scheme.[165]

Cowell believed that the C.S.A. might prevail against a British-backed Union even without French assistance. Northern Democrats, after all, were increasingly hostile to the ever-more openly abolitionist Republicans, for "recruiting, even with a bounty of 1,000 dols. per man, has come to a stand still – and [the Republicans] shrink from attempting to enforce a conscription." A French-Confederate compact, however, would not only guarantee C.S. independence but forever shatter Yankee power. If the C.S.A. were to "form an alliance with a maritime power sufficiently strong to relieve it from the Yankee blockade," he explained, and "France is more powerful at sea than is necessary for this purpose," then Confederate armies reinforced by French forces from Mexico would surely crush the Union's field armies, enabling most of the lower North and West to secede as well. The "Yankees" would then probably appeal

[165] Cowell, *France and the Confederate States*, 18, 8, 7, 8, 9, 6, 10. See ibid., 16-17.

for Britain to help them overtly, but Cowell predicted that the British would balk at that prospect of fighting a C.S.A. which had already defeated the Republicans, and "the English Government knows France to be a strong power." Having bet on the wrong horse, Britain would have to stand by as French-Confederate trade "easily put the French merchants in such a position of advantage, as regards English merchants, that the future cotton market for the whole of Europe shall be established at Havre instead of Liverpool." An exclusive treaty of free trade was hence "the dower" which the C.S.A. would "bring to France in an alliance, and France, in accepting it, need not envy England the far less useful and lucrative possession of India or Australia."[166]

French Bonapartists took note of the fact that their friends within the British Isles were, thanks in large part to Hotze, staunchly pro-Confederate, but such pro-Bonaparte and pro-Confederate Britons as the Dublin polemicist George B. Wheeler were not able to make much headway against "the Ultra-Abolitionists in England" and their ally John Quincy Adams's son the U.S. ambassador Charles Francis Adams.[167] Like Cowell, Wheeler urged his fellow Britons to ingratiate themselves with the French and Confederates so as not to be frozen out of what seemed to be a powerful French-led alliance system and trading block emerging in the Americas, for "[w]hen Louisiana was sold to the United States by the Great Napoleon, that potentate required and obtained a monopoly of free trade for his exports for 12 years; the present Emperor of the French is fond of resuscitating the *idees Napoliennes*; and who could justly murmur if, in gratitude for his recognition and possibly for his aid, the Southerns give France free trade in cotton?"[168] And so the British would do well to repudiate abolitionism in favor or anti-slavery

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[166] Cowell, *France and the Confederate States*, 24, 17, 21, 9, 6. See ibid., 5-6, 17-18, 23-25.
[167] *The Southern Confederacy and the African Slave Trade: The Correspondence Between Professor Cairnes, A.M., and George McHenry, Esq. (Reprinted from the "Daily News")*, ed. George B. Wheeler, A.M. (Dublin: McGlashan & Gill, 50, Upper Sackville-Street, 1863), vi. See ibid., xxviii.
[168] Ibid., xiv. "[T]he Genius who rules that country," Wheeler added, "will estimate fully the vast influence the possession of a great and expansive export trade to the South and a monopoly of the Southern cotton trade would give his dominions." Ibid., xv.

white supremacism, correcting the mistakes of the past by distancing themselves from "[t]he Northerns [who] but repeat against the South the policy of the English Government against the American colonies during the great American war. It is remarkable that even Mr. Lincoln's slave-arming proclamation is copied from one issued by Lord Dunmore...."[169] Wheeler persuaded few of his fellow Britons, but his message received a warm reception in the French Bonapartist press thanks to Hotze and such other C.S. propagandists in France as Charles Girard and Edwin De Leon.[170] Hotze also befriended the pro-Confederate head of the Havas Bullier Telegraphic Company, which inflected telegraphs sent between France and North America with a C.S. bias, and the influential editor of the Paris *Patrie* newspaper Félix Aucaigne collaborated with Hotze to turn Havas Bullier telegrams into pro-Confederate *Patrie* articles, introducing the *Index* to France and northern Italy as well.[171] The Mobilian would therefore boast that "we have now the almost undivided ear of three-fourths of the newspaper reading public" in France.[172]

Before departing for France, Hotze had also warned the British government that an expulsion of the British consuls within the Confederacy would leave "tens of thousands of British subjects and millions of British property without consular protection" from an angry C.S. government.[173] Such threats were not necessary in France, however, for the C.S. government enjoyed amicable relations with the French consuls, who usually sympathized with the Confederate cause.[174] The acting French consul at Charleston blanched at the prospect of enduring a U.S. bombardment and abandoned his post in 1863, to be sure, but Napoleon III

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[169] *The Southern Confederacy and the African Slave Trade*, ed. Wheeler, xxiv-xxv.
[170] See Mahin, *The Blessed Place of Freedom*, 183.
[171] See "Henry Hotze to M. Felix Aucaigne," 17 Saville Row, W., January 29, 1864, *ORN*, series II, 3:1026-27. Also see Blackburn, *French Newspaper Opinion on the American Civil War*, 14.
[172] Quoted in Lonn, *Foreigners in the Confederacy*, 73. See ibid., 72.
[173] "R. M. T. Hunter to Henry Hotze," Department of State, Richmond, November 14, 1861, *ORN*, series II, 3:293. See London *Index*, March 12, 1863; and ibid., April 23, 1863.
[174] See Gordon Wright, "Economic Conditions in the Confederacy as Seen by the French Consuls," *The Journal of Southern History*, vol. 7, no. 2 (May 1941), 195-214.

ordered him to return upon being informed by Slidell that Charleston's denizens were feeling disappointed and abandoned. And when that consul took his time in doing so, his place was assumed by Julien-Sosthènes-Joseph Bayot, who was a Chevalier de la Légion d'Honneur and captain of the French warship *Granade*, which cruised off Charleston from April 1863 to July 1864 flaunting the U.S. blockade.[175] The British warship *Cadmus*, in contrast, met a hostile reception at Charleston in late 1862 when it passed through the U.S. blockade with the Union's permission to remove dozens of British subjects who were desperate to avoid C.S. conscription. It was also there to evacuate the entire British consulate, the staff of which was not inclined to suffer through the Union's impending bombardments in solidarity with Charleston's populace.[176]

The French consuls also had very few French citizens to shelter from Confederate conscription. Besides seeking consular protection, a white non-citizen could avoid C.S. service by petitioning the Davis administration for a special exemption, only a few hundred of which were granted. Nearly all of the petitions came from Britons and Germans because the Davis administration had exempted the French from conscription so as to avoid any potential friction with France and show Napoleon III that French citizens within the C.S.A. were so pro-Confederate that they would serve of their own volition. As the Confederate Assistant Secretary of War John A. Campbell explained in 1862, because "the French population" was already making outsized contributions to the war effort, "[i]t would be an act of injustice to coerce men of this description to fight our battles." Besides, French citizens were "seldom willing to forego their relations with the Empire, which is an object both of affection and pride."[177] Georgia's Campbell, for his part, had been one of Davis's fellow cadets at West Point, where they were

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[175] See *A Frenchman, A Chaplain, A Rebel*, 206-07, 262.
[176] See Bonham, Jr., *The British Consuls in the Confederacy*, 118.
[177] "J. A. Campbell to Maj. Gen. J. B. Magruder," Richmond, Va., January 22, 1863, *OR*, Series IV, 2:366.

both nearly expelled for their Eggnog Riot roles.[178] Moving to Alabama, he became a Democratic lawyer and state legislator. He was also nominated to the Supreme Court by President Pierce in 1853. Endeavoring to open a channel of communication between three C.S. emissaries and such leading Republicans as Simon Cameron in April 1861, Justice Campbell sought to restore the Union by inducing the Republicans to make drastic concessions to the Davis Democrats *cum* Confederates. Rebuffed, he resigned from the court and offered his services to Davis, who made him the C.S. Assistant Secretary of War, which office he held all through the war. After enduring a half-year spell in a U.S. military prison, Campbell relocated to Louisiana, where he helped topple the ruling Republicans and mastered the Napoleonic Code.[179]

France's consuls also rarely had to intercede on behalf of skilled French workers, who were usually employed willingly by the C.S. government. The French immigrant Alexandre Henri Dufilho thus produced high-quality swords for Confederate officers at New Orleans, and the French priest Father Terillion put his gun-making and metal-smelting skills at the Confederacy's disposal in Texas.[180] The French immigrant and aspiring Texan industrialist Charles J. Mathis, moreover, requested temporary conscription exemptions from the governor of Texas for laborers building a new textile factory, promising that "as soon as I do not need a man, I will release him that he may join the army." "As a Frenchman," he added, "I have seen many things in my own country as well as in Ohio; I began to build a cotton and wool factory with

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[178] Davis, however, did not actually participate in the Eggnog Riot because he had passed out in his quarters, to which he had been confined by Ethan A. Hitchcock. See "Proceedings of a Court of Inquiry – First Day Case of Seventy Cadets," January 8, 1827, *PJD*, 1:61; and "Proceedings of a Court of Inquiry – Fifth Day Case of Seventy Cadets," January 12, 1827, *PJD*, 1:71.

[179] See Robert Saunders, Jr., *John Archibald Campbell, Southern Moderate*, 1811-1889 (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1997); and Michael A. Ross, "Obstructing Reconstruction: John A. Campbell and the Legal Campaign against Reconstruction in New Orleans, 1868-1873," *Civil War History*, vol. 49, no. 3 (September 2003), 235-53.

[180] See Lonn, *Foreigners in the Confederacy*, 333; and Ron Field, *The Confederate Army, 1861-65 (3): Louisiana & Texas* (Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 2006), 18.

about $2,500 worth, my whole property, that is now swallowed up."[181] The French immigrant and skilled Mobile watchmaker Jules l'Etondal even offered to serve the Confederacy in the field as well as the workshop, and a group of skilled French industrial workers attached to the Virginia militia rushed to the battlefield when the Army of the Potomac approached Richmond in 1862.[182]

Thanks in part to such French workers, Davis could boast in late 1863 that Confederate "foundries and workshops have been greatly improved," but there were never enough of them. To remedy the "deficiency in the requisite skilled labor," he turned to British workers by having twenty Scottish lithographers smuggled through the U.S. blockade in late 1862 to assist the C.S. treasury department.[183] Davis did so with reluctance, however, for the English immigrant and Richmond machinist John Hancock had been briefly imprisoned in 1862 as a suspected Republican abolitionist, and he was in fact serving as a U.S. spy by 1864.[184] In late 1863, moreover, a group of imported British iron-workers demanded payment in specie upon arriving at Wilmington. Refusing to accept any C.S. notes whatsoever, they enraged Confederate workers struggling to cope with rampant inflation and were soon deported, after which the British consul at Wilmington accused the Davis administration of breaching their contract even though it had paid two thousand pounds in gold to entice them in the first place and bring them over.[185] Yet "domiciled" British immigrant workers were not so lucky, for they were often conscripted and detailed to labor under military discipline after the C.S. Congress formally

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[181] Quoted in Lonn, *Foreigners in the Confederacy*, 334.
[182] See ibid., 7, 117.
[183] "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, December 7, 1863, *JDC*, 6:124. See "Jefferson Davis to Govr. M. L. Bonham, Governor of S. Carolina," Richmond, July 21, 1863, *JDC*, 5:572; and Lonn, *op. cit.*, 89. Davis accordingly mused in a September 1863 letter that it would be vital in the future to "persuade everybody of the importance of educating citizens of the country in the manufacturing arts." "Jefferson Davis to Rev. A. D. McCoy, Livingston, Sumpter Co., Alabama," Richmond, September 26, 1863, *JDC*, 650.
[184] See Varon, *Southern Lady, Yankee Spy*, 160.
[185] See "S. R. Mallory to J. D. Bulloch," Navy Department, Richmond, April 11, 1864, *ORN*, series II, 2:623.

rendered them liable to conscription in February 1864.[186] A few British immigrant workers such as the Nitre Bureau's Anglo-Irish lieutenant colonel John William Mallett dutifully served the Confederacy, to be sure, but they were overshadowed by, in the 1863 words of the British consul George Moore, the "numerous British workmen in the different [C.S.] government workshops who are anxious to leave at their own expense, but are refused passports."[187] The Britons at the C.S. navy's Selma ordnance plant even besought a British consul for protection and extradition despite the fact that John M. Brooke had given them and all of the other white workers there low-rent housing in government-owned flats together with impressed foodstuffs sold at low government prices.[188] Forced to replace skilled British workers with impressed slaves and conscripted free blacks, Catesby ap Roger Jones and Lawrence Rousseau made several breakthroughs at Selma anyway, as when they devised a way to shrink layers of wrought iron around cannons to cast artillery in accordance with Brooke's improved banding methodology.[189]

British workers who refused to render C.S. military service and demanded scarce Confederate specie for remuneration were not the only Britons whom Davis and his C.S. supporters disdained as mercenaries or disparaged as parasites. As the Confederate president explained in late 1864, British blockade runners had "no interest in our cause beyond the millions which they are accumulating...."[190] Such blockade running Britons as William Watson, in turn, detested "the arrogance and pugnacity of Jefferson Davis and his cabinet."[191] Watson

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[186] See "Jefferson Davis to Governor Henry W. Allen, Governor of Louisiana," Richmond, April 9, 1864, *JDC*, 6:222.
[187] Quoted in Bonham, Jr., *The British Consuls in the Confederacy*, 91. See Steven G. Collins, "System in the South: John W. Mallet, Josiah Gorgas, and Uniform Production at the Confederate Ordnance Department," *Technology and Culture*, vol. 40, no. 3 (July 1999), 517-44.
[188] See "John M. Brooke to S. R. Mallory," Confederate States Navy Department, Office of Ordnance and Hydrography, Richmond, November 25, 1863, *ORN*, series II, 2:548-51.
[189] See Brooke, Jr., *John M. Brooke*, 266-67.
[190] "Jefferson Davis to Hon. Samuel J. Person, Raleigh, N.C.," Richmond, December 15, 1864, *JDC*, 6:420.
[191] William Watson, *Life in the Confederate Army: Being the Observations and Experiences of an Alien in the South During the American Civil War* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1887), 114-15.

was a Scottish immigrant merchant in Baton Rouge who admitted after the war that he "would much rather have been called upon to act with the United States troops to suppress the secession movement and maintain the Union."[192] He joined the C.S. army in 1861 as a result of threats to his person and property, and with conscription approaching in 1862, he was offered a promotion to sergeant if he would renounce his British subject status and voluntarily re-enlist. He denounced Davis instead for traducing Anglo-Saxon liberty and obtained a discharge thanks to a sympathetic officer. Yet he was subjected to so many blandishments from his Baton Rouge neighbors that he enlisted as a "volunteer" once again upon concluding that Britain's consulates could offer little protection from conscription anyway. Having been wounded, captured, and paroled, Watson became a blockade runner whose *Rob Roy* brought only consumer luxuries through the blockade while facilitating illicit commerce between Radical Louisiana planters and the Union.[193] And he recalled that the British blockade runners did not hope for a quick and decisive Confederate victory but rather for "a long continuance of the war," toasting "the Confederates that produce the cotton; the Yankees that maintain the blockade and keep up the price of the cotton; [and] the Britishers that buy the cotton and pay the high price for it."[194]

Charles "Champagne Charlie" Heidsieck, in contrast, funded two Mobile blockade runners which the U.S. navy eventually sank, and he also forgave or at least deferred C.S. debts owed to his firm in addition to conducting his pro-Confederate espionage activities. But British debt collectors within C.S.A. usually insisted upon full and immediate payment of debts owed to British investors, demanding imbursement in gold as well.[195] British blockade runners also required full and immediate payment in gold, worsening Confederate inflation by draining away

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[192] Watson, *Life in the Confederate Army*, 78. See William Watson, *The Adventures of a Blockade Runner: or, Trade in Time of War* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1892), 131.
[193] See Watson, *The Adventures of a Blockade Runner*, 145, 159, 303, 361-87, 433.
[194] Ibid., 305.
[195] See Lonn, *Foreigners in the Confederacy*, 365.

C.S. specie.[196] They also drove hard bargains when they bought cotton, purchasing it for a few cents per pound at Confederate ports and re-selling it for up to a dollar per pound in Britain.[197] British blockade runners, to be sure, did bring in much-needed weaponry, foodstuffs, machinery, and printing supplies, as when they made a 350% profit supplying the Army of Northern Virginia with emergency provisions in late 1864.[198] Yet they also angered Davis and stoked resentment within the Confederacy by filling their ships with luxury goods, which were often conspicuously consumed by wealthy and ostensibly unpatriotic Radicals. Already embittered by the fact that British blockade runners had caused a severe yellow fever outbreak at Wilmington in 1862, a former Confederate there recalled shortly after the war's end that the blockade running Britons "lived like fighting cocks, and astonished the natives by their pranks, and the way they flung the Confederate 'stuff' [*i.e.* paper money] about." They also hosted lavish parties at their mansion "until the neighbors remonstrated and threatened prosecution," for "[a] stranger passing the house at night, and seeing it illuminated with every gas jet (the expense, no doubt, charged to the ship), and hearing the sound of music, would ask if a ball was going on. Oh, no! it was only these young English Sybarites enjoying the luxury of a band of negro minstrels after dinner."[199]

Historians have claimed that Davis wanted blockade running to be an entirely private concern until the war's last year, but while he did indeed want the C.S. navy to prioritize *jeune école* warfare, he still urged the states to regulate or impress private blockade runners so as to import more war *matériel* at the expense of luxury goods and drive the Britons out of the business.[200] The French immigrant and Edgeworth, North Carolina Female Seminary instructor

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[196] See Lonn, *Foreigners in the Confederacy*, 467; and Beringer and Hattaway, *Jefferson Davis, Confederate President*, 86.
[197] See Lonn, *op. cit.*, 307.
[198] See ibid., 465; and Bernath, *Confederate Minds*, 91.
[199] Quoted in Lonn, *op. cit.*, 346-47. See ibid., 467.
[200] See, for instance, Cooper, Jr., *Jefferson Davis, American*, 351.

J. J. Ayre accordingly managed the North Carolina-owned *Advance*, which sold state-impressed cotton to European buyers in exchange for weaponry and printing machinery.[201] Other state regulatory agents, however, were not as dependable, for they took bribes from British blockade runners or quietly went into business for themselves on similarly extortive terms. As a result, the C.S. army's ordnance department purchased three Wilmington-based blockade runners for its own exclusive use in the autumn of 1863, one of which was named the *Eugénie* while another was styled the "Lady Davis." Those three ships imported a slight majority of the 110,000 or so rifles brought into the C.S.A. from Europe between August 1862 and November 1863, by which time they had all been crippled or captured by the U.S. navy.[202] Yet corruption was rife even on the Confederate-owned blockade runners, inducing a frustrated Davis to remark in August 1863 that C.S. officials "had not carried out my views" because they were failing to keep up "a strict observation of the regulation which forbids use of public vessels for private purposes."[203] Indeed, the C.S. government once impressed *Rob Roy* to help defend Fort Velasco at the mouth of the Brazos River, but Watson managed to recover his ship thanks to a few judicious bribes.[204]

British blockade runners had to contend with a hostile C.S. government, the officials of which suspected them of being pro-abolitionist U.S. spies or sought to conscript them as "domiciled" foreigners, but they were also frowned upon by their own government.[205] As the British blockade runner Charles Hobart-Hampden recalled, the Royal Navy was irritated by the fact that "[t]he British men of war on the West-India station found it a difficult matter to prevent

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201 See George Washington Paschal, *A History of Printing in North Carolina: A Detailed Account of the Pioneer Printers, 1749-1800 and of the Edwards & Broughton Company, 1871-1946, Including a Brief Account of the Connecting Period* (Raleigh, NC: Edwards & Broughton, 1946), 33.
202 See Stephen R. Wise, *Lifeline of the Confederacy: Blockade Running During the Civil War* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1991), 97.
203 "Jefferson Davis to Dr. A. R. Medway, Wilmington, N. C.," Richmond, August 24, 1863, *JDC*, 6:14.
204 See Watson, *The Adventures of a Blockade Runner*, 54-59, 62-63.
205 See Lonn, *Foreigners in the Confederacy*, 308-09, 345, 467.

their crews from deserting, so great was the temptation offered by the blockade-runners."[206] The British government hence declared that all British subjects involved in blockade running had relinquished their right to protection from the Crown by effectively enlisting in C.S. service, and it did not protest whenever British blockade runners were captured and imprisoned by the Union.[207] Unsurprisingly, British blockade runners often used false names to conceal or at least plausibly obscure their identities from both the Davis administration and their own government. Hobart-Hampden, for instance, was the Earl of Buckinghamshire's son and a British naval officer who had served in the Crimea with distinction. Having commanded Queen Victoria's own yacht, he went by "Captain Roberts" to avoid the anger which would have been directed toward one of the abolitionist British monarch's favorites in the Confederacy, as well as to avert punishment from the British government and ostracism from his pro-abolitionist relatives. And the British blockade runner Captain Charles Murray had to take particular care in the C.S.A. to conceal the fact that he was descended from Lord Dunmore of American Revolution notoriety.[208] The British blockade runners, though, began to drop out of the business in 1864 even though it was still very lucrative. Having no ideological affinity for the C.S. cause, they saw that further profiteering was not worth the mounting risk of being caught by the U.S. or conscripted by the

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[206] Augustus Charles Hobart-Hampden, *Never Caught: Personal Adventures Connected with Twelve Successful Trips in Blockade Running During the American Civil War, 1863-1864* (1867; reprint, Carolina Beach, NC: The Blockade Runner Museum, 1967), 2. Also see Augustus Charles Hobart-Hampden, *Sketches of My Life* (New York: D. Appleton & Company, 1887).

[207] See Lonn, *Foreigners in the Confederacy*, 410. The British consuls, moreover, not only ceased to enclose letters from Britons in their dispatches at the Lincoln administration's behest; they also advised Britons to cease paying British blockade runners to convey their letters on pain of forfeiting their protected status as ostensible neutrals. See Bonham, Jr., *The British Consuls in the Confederacy*, 78-79.

[208] See Lonn, *op. cit.*, 185, 301, 353. Also see "English Combatant, T. E. C.," *Battle-fields of the South*; and "An English Merchant [W. C. Corsan]," *Two Months in the Confederate States*. Corsan went by the false name Richard Bentley on his travels.

Confederates. "Captain Roberts" thus retired in 1864 after making an immense fortune on six Nassau-to-Wilmington voyages, bequeathing his vessel to a novice who was quickly captured.[209]

Louisa C. Medway, moreover, was a British subject living in Wilmington whose husband was a well-known doctor there, and her career as a would-be blockade runner encapsulated Davis's inimical relationship with the British blockade runners and Britons within the C.S.A. more generally. Claiming that she could use her medical knowledge and status as a British subject to bring medicine into the Confederacy, she asked Davis to make her a C.S. purchasing agent and give her permission to travel onboard British blockade runners. Always looking to bolster the war effort and promote equality among whites, the C.S. president granted her the desired commission but was annoyed to learn in August 1863 that a supposedly ill Medway had not yet left on her mission. He politely chastised her in a letter to her husband as follows: "I regret sincerely to hear of Mrs. Medway's illness. I recollect her with much interest and trust that the sea voyage may produce the beneficial effects you anticipate and that she may be able to render valuable service to the Confederacy abroad, and in due time be restored to her sphere of usefulness here."[210] British blockade runners were becoming scarce, however, and she never did leave the Confederacy. Writing to Davis again in February 1865 to assure him that she still felt "our cause" to be "breath of my life," and that she still deemed Republican abolitionists to be "the most vindictive adversary on record," she extended an "offer of service" which she admitted was "presumptuous" yet "the result of deliberation, and an unfeigned desire to benefit our cause." She wanted to become a hospital matron *à la* Florence Nightingale, refusing to work as an ordinary nurse because "[s]ervices have been rendered by other women, which I could not do – I mean the manner of rendering them…." Davis unsurprisingly ignored her letter, in which she

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[209] See Hobart-Hampden, *Sketches of My Life* (New York: D. Appleton & Company, 1887), 300.
[210] "Jefferson Davis to Dr. A. R. Medway, Wilmington, N. C.," Richmond, August 24, 1863, *JDC*, 6:14.

also claimed that "should this town fall into the enemy's hands, I will always be ready to perform any service you may desire." She became infamous among Confederates, however, when she welcomed and tended to black Union soldiers in occupied Wilmington. Her neighbors concluded that she had been yet another pro-U.S. abolitionist Briton all along and harassed her to such a degree after the war that she moved to Illinois. Ironically, she also lost a compensatory lawsuit against the U.S. government, which had confiscated her husband's hoarded medical supplies, thanks to "the rule of common law" and precedents based upon "history in England."[211]

The C.S. government had similarly poor relations with British firms, which refused to lend the Confederacy money and charged C.S. purchasing agents exorbitant prices.[212] The Union was able to cast massive artillery guns thanks in no small part to Davis's longstanding concern with coastal defense against the Royal Navy, for the Mississippian had insisted in 1859 that the U.S. adopt "modern improvements in ordnance" by "construct[ing] at least one gun of a caliber hitherto unknown in the United States – say a fifteen-inch gun.... I am anxious that the experiments should be made."[213] Disappointed by the fact that the C.S.A. was unable to cast "a few of the 15 in. guns, like the one cast at Pittsburg [*sic*]," Davis authorized the importation of two massive British Blakely guns to protect Charleston in August 1863.[214] Smuggled through the U.S. blockade at enormous expense, one of the guns cracked apart upon being fired for only the fourth time, and the other Blakely was taken out of service as a result.[215] John M. Brooke, however, inspected the broken Blakely at the behest of the Confederate army's brilliant

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[211] "Lousia C. Medway to Jefferson Davis," Wilmington, NC, February 10, 1865, in *Cases Decided in the Courts of Claims of the United States at the December Term for 1870 with the Rules of Practice and Acts of Congress Relating to the Court*, ed. Charles C. Nott and Samuel H. Huntington, vol. 6 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1871), 426-28. See ibid., 426, 428.
[212] For the unwillingness of British banks to lend money to the C.S. government, see Lonn, *Foreigners in the Confederacy*, 367.
[213] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Army appropriation bill. Feb. 26, 1859," *JDC*, 4:3-4.
[214] "Jefferson Davis to Capt. R. Semmes," Montgomery, Alabama, February 21, 1861, *JDC*, 5:56.
[215] See Brooke, Jr., *John M. Brooke*, 266.

Pennsylvanian Chief of Ordnance Josiah Gorgas, and he learned that an air space in the barrel actually made a cannon less rather than more dangerous to fire, a principle which would soon guide artillery construction throughout the world.[216] The Davis administration also exacted a measure of revenge upon voracious and unreliable British arms firms by stealing the Enfield rifle design. Ferdinand and Francis Cook were English immigrants who landed in New Orleans on the eve of the war. The former was an engineer with knowledge of Enfield schematics, and he established Cook & Brother to make 30,000 Enfield rifles under C.S. government contract. The Cook brothers moved their operation to Athens, Georgia when they saw that New Orleans was about to fall, but they only managed to produce 4,000 rifles despite receiving liberal loans from the C.S. government, which also detailed conscripts to work in their factory.[217] Production ceased in the summer of 1864 when the conscripts were called into active service to fight marauding U.S. cavalry. Major Ferdinand Cook was soon killed in battle, and his brother ended up with naught but an I.O.U. from the Davis administration, which impressed the entire firm of Cook & Brother while giving nothing in return but a future promise of compensatory payment.[218]

The Davis administration also had no choice but to hire costly British firms to build wooden steamship hulls, which the C.S. navy would convert into commerce raiders by furnishing weapons and officers. The French, after all, could not rival the quality and quantity of Britain's wooden steamships, subsidizing expensive Confederate purchases of British steamers instead. As Davis informed the C.S. Congress in April 1863, "I herewith transmit, for your consideration in Secret Session, a communication from the Secretary of the Navy submitting an Estimate of the

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[216] See Brooke, Jr., *John M. Brooke*, 266-67. Gorgas had already been impressed by Brooke's new system of mirrors to adjust artillery gun-sights with greater accuracy. See ibid., 282.

[217] Davis reluctantly concluded as a result that the Confederacy would still need to import British rifles. See "Jefferson Davis to Govr. J. J. Pettus, Jackson, Miss.," "Telegram," Richmond, June 19, 1862, *JDC*, 5:282.

[218] See Michael J. Gagnon, *Transition to an Industrial South: Athens, Georgia, 1830-1870* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2012), 181-82.

amount required… for the use of the Navy Department abroad." Mallory, in turn, stated that "[i]t is understood by the Secretary of the Treasury and myself that this appropriation is to be paid out of the Erlanger loan…."[219] Yet the C.S. president was willing to excuse Britain's shipbuilders insofar as they had to meet additional costs entailed by the British government, which was violating both "the law of nations and the municipal law of Great Britain" by confiscating British vessels secretly under construction for the Confederate navy, as well as by seeking to impound British-built ships which "were subsequently armed and commissioned as [C.S.] vessels of war, after they had been far removed from English waters," whenever they ventured near any British port.[220] As he explained to a congressional ally who was outraged by the chicanery of contracted British shipbuilders, "contracts made for the construction of vessels of war" in Britain "can only be successfully executed by the maintenance of the utmost secrecy, and are undertaken by the builder at hazard to himself which would only be encountered under the entire confidence that the transaction would not be divulged by agents of our Government… so as by any contingency to allow the information to become available in a prosecution."[221]

The British government also strove to suppress the sale of commerce raiders to the C.S.A. partly because Royal Navy sailors were deserting to man them. The C.S. navy replaced British officers on its commerce raiders as quickly as possible with Confederate equivalents and forbade their presence altogether when it had sufficient personnel, but it had to employ quite a few British seamen due to its dearth of skilled sailors.[222] Most of the Britons onboard C.S. commerce raiders simply wanted a share of the prize money derived from capturing U.S. ships, and they would often refuse to fight resistant Union vessels, desert during lean stretches, or

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[219] "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, April 23, 1863, *JDC*, 5:476-77.
[220] "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, December 7, 1863, *JDC*, 6:104.
[221] "Jefferson Davis to Hon. C. C. Clay, Chairman, &c. &c.," Richmond, March 10, 1863, *JDC*, 5:445.
[222] See Lonn, *Foreigners in the Confederacy*, 299.

betray their officers for lucre.[223] The unarmed British vessel *Oreto*, for instance, was purchased by the Confederate government to be converted into the C.S. commerce raider *Florida*. It was dispatched to secretly rendezvous with Confederate officers at the Bahamas in March 1862, but a British boatswain on the ship called Jones notified a British court of admiralty after taking a bribe from the U.S. consul there. The Royal Navy quickly impounded the vessel for violating British neutrality laws, at which point, as the wife of the *Florida*'s captain angrily recalled, "[t]he Yankees rejoiced, and the… rascal Jones, a low, dirty, Liverpool dock-rat, went to Washington, and as the hero of a great event was made an acting lieutenant in the Federal Navy."[224]

Yet Britain prosecuted British firms building ships for the C.S.A. at the behest of the U.S. government as well. After two Confederate-purchased ironclad ram hulls were seized by the British government in the autumn of 1863, Davis informed the C.S. Congress that Britain was doing everything possible "for precluding the possibility of purchase by this Government of vessels that are useless for belligerent purposes, unless hereafter armed and equipped outside of the neutral jurisdiction of Great Britain."[225] The "Foreign Secretary of the British nation," he added, had, after all, boasted "in correspondence with our enemies, how 'the impartial observance of neutral obligations by Her Majesty's Government has thus been exceedingly advantageous to the cause of the more powerful of the two contending parties.'"[226] And when the British government sent him an April 1864 missive demanding that he cease hiring British shipbuilders because Britain was "at peace and on terms of amity" with the Union, he entirely

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[223] See "James D. Bulloch to S. R. Mallory," Paris, July 9, 1863, *ORN*, series II, 2:455; and Lonn, *op. cit.*, 287, 293.
[224] Emma Martin Maffitt, *The Life and Services of John Newland Maffitt* (New York and Washington: The Neale Publishing Company, 1906), 239.
[225] "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, December 7, 1863, *JDC*, 6:104. See Beringer and Hattaway, *Jefferson Davis, Confederate President*, 263.
[226] "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," *op. cit.*, 6:105.

lost his temper.[227] Insisting in his response to Lord Lyons that he would continue to negotiate clandestine contracts with British firms despite Britain's displeasure, Davis issued a "protest and remonstrance" against the British government's "studied insult" and "actual hostility," denouncing the "sinister course of Her Majesty's present Government against the Government of the Confederate States" as well. He also accused Britain of engaging in "persistent persecution of the Confederate States" at the "beck and bidding" of the Lincoln administration, which was, he noted, represented in Britain by John Quincy Adams's son Charles Francis, whose grandfather John Adams had objected to commissioning the American Revolution veteran Louis de Tousard as the U.S. Inspector of Artillery in 1798 because there "has already been so much uneasiness expressed on account [of] the French Officers in the Artillery," and "as his native Country is France and his Speech betrays his original, I am very apprehensive that in a French War, neither the Army nor the People, would be without their Jealousies and Suspicions…."[228]

Much as the supposedly neutral Adams administration had allowed U.S. merchants to trade with the British during its Quasi-War against France, an ostensibly neutral Britain now seemed to be waging a quasi-war of its own by letting British subjects trade unhindered with the Republican heirs of the New England Federalists as they battled Davis's pro-French Democrats *cum* Confederates. "It is due to you and to our country," Davis told the C.S. Congress in late 1863, that a "full statement should be made of the just grounds which exist for dissatisfaction with the conduct of the British Government." "The partiality of Her Majesty's Government in favor of our enemies," he explained, "has been further evinced in… its conduct on the subject of

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[227] "From Her Britannic Majesty's Legation," Washington, D.C., April 1, 1864, in Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 2:478.

[228] "To the Right Honorable Lord Lyons, C.B., and Her Majesty's Minister to the Government of the United States," Richmond, April 6, 1864, in Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 2:480-81; "John Adams to Alexander Hamilton," Quincy September 4. 1798, Alexander Hamilton Papers, Library of Congress. See "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, December 7, 1863, *JDC*, 6:103.

the purchase of supplies by the two belligerents."[229] Britain was thus endeavoring to suppress all British commerce with the Confederacy "in deference to the importunate demands of the United States" even as "cargoes of munitions of war were being openly shipped from British ports to New York, to be used in warfare against us."[230] "Her Majesty's Foreign Secretary," too, "takes care to leave no doubt of the further purpose of the British Government to prevent our purchase of vessels in Great Britain, while supplying our enemies with rifles and other munitions of war…."[231] Secretary of War Davis had sought to eliminate the Union's dependency on British nitre in the 1850s, and the Confederacy became self-sufficient in terms of gunpowder production thanks to its massive nitre mill at Augusta, Georgia. In contrast, the bulk of Union's nitre came from British India.[232] Charles Girard, moreover, highlighted the fact in the Paris *Pays* that at least 25,000 rifles had been shipped to the U.S. from British North America in 1861, urging Napoleon III to send even more rifles to the C.S.A. in response.[233] Davis also observed in late 1864 that "the New York and London packet of 1500 tons" dwarfed the British blockade runners, and the British businessman W. C. Corsan confirmed that Britain's blockade runners were carrying a trifling amount of war *matériel* past the U.S. blockade compared to the vast flow of supplies openly entering the Union from the British Empire, pro-abolitionist businessmen of which were often purchasing U.S. government bonds as well.[234] A bitter John Welsford Cowell hence decried the fact that "the English Government has acknowledged their blockade, because

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[229] "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," *op. cit.*, 6:105, 103.
[230] "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, December 7, 1863, 6:104.
[231] Ibid., 6:102. "He gives to the United States," Davis added, "the assurance that he will do in their favor not only 'everything that the law of nations requires, everything that the present foreign enlistment act requires,' but that he will ask the sanction of Parliament 'to further measures that Her Majesty's ministers may still add.'" Ibid., 6:102.
[232] See "Report of the Secretary of Navy, No. 5, Report of the Bureau of Ordinance," in *Executive Documents Printed by Order of the House of Representatives during the Third Session of the Thirty-Seventh Congress, 1862-'63*, 12 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1863), 3:709.
[233] See Hoole, "Introduction," in Girard, *A Visit to the Confederate States of America in 1863*, 24.
[234] "Jefferson Davis to Hon. Samuel J. Person, Raleigh, N. C.," Richmond, December 15, 1864, *JDC*, 6:420. See W. C. Corsan, *Two Months in the Confederate States: An Englishman's Travels through the South*, ed. Benjamin H. Trask (1863; reprint, Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1996), 93-94.

the English Government has winked at their [*i.e.* the U.S. government] supplying themselves with English arms and ammunition — with soldiers and sailors — against the South."[235]

The British government hindered the few British officers who fought on behalf of the Confederacy at the same time, for the London Foreign Office forbade all British subjects from volunteering for C.S. service in April 1862 and ruled that any British officer who sought leave to visit the Confederacy would forfeit his commission even if he had not declared an intention to serve the "*de facto* authorities" there.[236] A total of thirty-three British officers offered their swords to the C.S. government, a number surpassed by the Swedish officers who came to serve the Union.[237] Having jeopardized their British army careers, the volunteer Britons expected to receive adulatory receptions and prestigious field commands, but they were met with suspicion and hostility from the Davis administration, which relegated them to staff positions in which their talents could be exploited under the close supervision of C.S. officers.[238] Secretary of War Davis, after all, had ignored the junior British army and navy officers G. Fraser Smith and James McClary, who had intimated in an 1856 letter that many of their counterparts would emulate them if they were to receive high rank and generous pay in U.S. service.[239] No British Confederate volunteer officer attained brigadier general rank or higher before 1865.[240] And only five such Britons would lead a C.S. regiment as a colonel up until 1865, during which span of time President Lincoln commissioned no less than twelve brigadier generals of British origin.[241]

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[235] Cowell, *France and the Confederate States*, 21.
[236] Quoted in Bonham, Jr., *The British Consuls in the Confederacy*, 81-82. See Lonn, *Foreigners in the Confederacy*, 350.
[237] See Mahin, *The Blessed Place of Freedom*, 47.
[238] See ibid., 33.
[239] See *PJD*, 6:449.
[240] See "Jefferson Davis to Lt. Genl. W. J. Hardee, Charleston, S.C.," "Telegram (in cipher)," Richmond, February 2, 1865, *JDC*, 6:463.
[241] See ibid., 33, 241. Leonard Curry, for instance, resigned his British army commission to enter U.S. service as colonel of the 133rd New York Infantry, and he led a brigade in the 1863 Red River campaign and then in the 1864 Shenandoah Valley campaign. See New York *Times*, June 11, 1915.

The volunteer Britons were shocked and disappointed by their lowly staff positions and painfully slow rate of promotion in the Confederacy. Captain Henry Wemyss Fielden, for instance, had fought with distinction in India and China during the 1850s, but he was denied a field command. He served on Beauregard's staff from 1862-64, and the C.S. president rebuffed the Little Napoleon's request to promote him to major.[242] The British volunteer Captain Bryne, moreover, was assigned to Cleburne's staff, in which capacity he came to be seen as a pernicious influence upon "old Pat."[243] George Gordon, for his part, was one of the few volunteer British officers to lead Confederate soldiers in the field (he was wounded at the Battle of Gettysburg as the lieutenant colonel of a North Carolina regiment), but he too spent most of the war serving on the staffs of several C.S. generals. And he had already run afoul of the British government before 1861, having move to the South shortly before the war so as to evade arrest in England.[244]

The British volunteer officers were also discomfited to encounter anti-British sentiment emanating from C.S. soldiers and civilians alike. London's young and cultivated Austin John Reeks sympathized with the Davis administration insofar as he was a Catholic who reviled domineering Protestants, but his relatives urged him to stay home for fear that he would further antagonize their Protestant neighbors and end up in a U.S. or British prison. He adopted the false name of Francis Warrington Dawson to placate them and made his way to the Confederacy on a blockade runner in 1862. He was wounded once and captured twice in C.S. service, rising to the rank of captain in 1864. Yet he was never given a field command, always serving as a staff officer to his chagrin: "The staff had no 'use' for me, which perhaps was not surprising, as I was a stranger and foreigner, and I was on no better terms with them in 1864 than I had been in

[242] See Lonn, *Foreigners in the Confederacy*, 185.
[243] See Mahin, *The Blessed Place of Freedom*, 91.
[244] See Lonn, *op. cit.*, 175.

1862."[245] He was also arrested by Anglophobic Virginia state reservists on one occasion, and due to his "English accent... I really had some little difficulty in making myself understood at Stevensburg."[246] And when he was wounded at the 1862 Battle of Mechanicsburg, he was bitterly dismayed to hear a Confederate soldier exult that "[t]hat Britisher has gone up at last."[247]

Unlike Dawson, most of the British volunteer officers had no sympathy whatsoever for the official ideology of the Confederacy, which they wished to serve simply because it seemed to be the weaker side. Seeking adventure and fame, quite a few of the volunteer Britons had served under Garibaldi for similar reasons, although in that case the British government had tacitly applauded rather than condemned them. Colonel George St. Leger Grenfel, for instance, was born to a British aristocratic family and began his military career fighting for Garibaldi on behalf of the Colorado Party. He then served a stint with the French in Algeria, where he became a lieutenant of cavalry and earned praise from the future Marshal MacMahon himself. Grenfel deserted from the French army, however, and joined the famous Arab Islamic leader Abd-El-Kader, whose followers employed guerilla tactics against the French Foreign Legion and were finally neutralized by Napoleon III thanks to a judicious combination of bribes, amnesties, and tactical innovations. He proceeded to fight for Britain in both the Crimean War and the Sepoy Mutiny. Arriving at Charleston in 1862 onboard a blockade runner, he openly declared that he cared not a whit for the Confederate cause but was rather simply seeking personal military glory. The Davis administration unsurprisingly disliked and distrusted him, relegating him to various staff positions as an inspector of cavalry, in which capacity he incurred the ire of many a

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[245] Francis W. Dawson, *Reminiscences of Confederate Service, 1861-1865*, ed. Bell I. Wiley (1882; reprint, Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1980), 128.
[246] Ibid., 61.
[247] Ibid., 49.

Confederate soldier due to his harsh discipline and haughty bearing.[248] Grenfel resigned in disgust after Davis personally denied him a promotion and field command in April 1864. And having convinced the Lincoln administration that he had deserted from the C.S. army, he was allowed to make his way through the Union to British North America *en route* back to Britain.[249]

Insofar as the Confederacy's British volunteer officers had any ideological motivation, Davis and his C.S. supporters suspected that they sympathized with the Radical Confederates, and so the C.S. president blamed Captain Robert Goring Atkins for irredeemably ruining the once-promising Chatham Roberdeau Wheat. Atkins was the son of an Anglo-Irish Anglican rector and served Garibaldi in Italy, where he befriended Wheat, who was one of the most prominent Cotton Whigs to become a Davis Democrat in the 1850s. Heir to a devoutly Protestant Virginia Whig family, Wheat rose to fame as a captain under Winfield Scott in the Mexican War. Yet he rebelled against his minister father by moving to Louisiana and gravitating toward the Democracy, for he served Narciso López as a colonel, helped William Walker conquer Greytown in early 1857, and endorsed Breckinridge in 1860. The erratic Wheat, however, soon disappointed the Davis Democrats by fighting against Adrián Woll for the Mexican Liberals. Even worse, he joined Garibaldi's British Legion in 1860, battling alongside Atkins to conquer Sicily and Naples. Having strayed from the Davis Democrats by fighting for Napoleon III's enemies, Wheat was aptly called the "American Murat" partly because Napoleon I's great cavalry general Joachim Murat had once famously betrayed the first French emperor.[250]

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[248] See Lonn, *Foreigners in the Confederacy*, 451.

[249] See Stephen Z. Starr, "Colonel George St. Leger Grenfell: His Pre-Civil War Career," *The Journal of Southern History*, vol. 30, no. 3 (August, 1964), 278-97; and Stephen Z. Starr, *Colonel Grenfel's Wars: Life of a Soldier of Fortune* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1971). Also see Abdelkader El Djezairi, *The Life of Abdel Kader, Ex-Sultan of the Arabs of Algeria; Written from his own Dictation and Compiled from other Authentic Sources*, ed. Colonel Charles Henry Churchill (London: Chapman & Hall, 1867); and Wilfred Blunt, *Desert Hawk: Abd el Kader and the French Conquest of Algeria* (York: Methuen, 1947).

[250] See Charles L. Dufour, *Gentle Tiger: The Gallant Life of Roberdeau Wheat* (1957, reprint; Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1999), 116, 148, 198.

Wheat redeemed himself in Davis's eyes by declining General Scott's offer of a high U.S. command, offering his services to the C.S.A. instead when Virginia seceded. Returning to New Orleans after receiving the blessing *en route* of Empress Eugénie herself during a chance encounter in Paris, he raised the five-hundred-strong 1st Louisiana Special Battalion (the "Tiger Rifles"), which celebrated Zouave outfit was filled with Irish Catholic immigrant dock workers and former Walker filibusters.[251] The unruly but fierce Tiger Rifles rose to fame at Bull Run, and all of the Louisiana Zouaves came to be called Tigers as a result. Yet Davis still did not like or trust Major Wheat, who was lightly wounded during the battle. The C.S. president personally urged him to "keep quiet until entirely well" as a result, prompting Wheat to retort that "I shall keep quiet, Mr. President, as long as yourself and the army do, but no longer."[252] Davis also used the fact that Wheat commanded a battalion rather than a regiment as an excuse to deny him a promotion to colonel, but Wheat's family accused the C.S. president of holding him back "because he was a Whig."[253] The Virginian perished in the 1862 Battle of Gaines' Mill, shortly after which the depleted Tiger Rifles were absorbed by de Coppens's Zouaves. Atkins, for his part, served Wheat as an aide and then as the captain of Company E in the Tiger Rifles. Assigned to various staff positions after Wheat's death, he received a furlough in 1863 to visit an ill relative in Ireland, wherefrom he mailed a letter of resignation to the C.S. War Department.[254]

The few British subjects within the Confederacy who embraced Davis's version of the C.S. cause were atypical Britons indeed. Most British reporters disliked the Confederacy as much as Russell, but not the London *Daily Telegraph* correspondent George Augustus Henry

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[251] See Dufour, *Gentle Tiger*, 114, 115.
[252] Quoted in ibid., 152.
[253] Leo Wheat quoted in ibid., 116. See "Jefferson Davis to General R. Taylor," Richmond, June 19, 1862, *JDC*, 5:281.
[254] See Lonn, *Foreigners in the Confederacy*, 194. Also see Gary Schreckengost, *The First Louisiana Special Battalion: Wheat's Tigers in the Civil War* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, 2008).

Sala, who was the son of an Italian immigrant but also descended from West Indian slaveholders. He was an avid scientific racialist too and would be formally received into the Catholic Church before his death in 1895.[255] George Osburn Elms, moreover, was an Anglo-Protestant British subject, but he was born and raised in Québec. He helped build railroads across the antebellum South as an engineer, and he was so eager to fight for the Confederacy that he was even willing to serve as a private. Rising to become a C.S. engineer corps lieutenant by late 1864, Elms returned to service after being captured and exchanged in 1865. He settled in Louisiana after the war, percolating in Creole social circles.[256] William Montague Browne, for his part, was born to a respected Anglo-Irish family with Catholic roots. He moved to the U.S. shortly after fighting for Britain in the Crimea. Yet unlike most British immigrants, he joined the Democracy and rose to fame as a New York City editor, running a Buchanan administration organ in Washington, D.C. as well. He re-located to Georgia on the eve of the war, renounced his status as a British subject, and intrigued the C.S. president, who made him a colonel and personal *aide-de-camp*.[257] Davis also made him the acting Confederate Secretary of State in 1861, and his nomination of Browne to the rank of brigadier general in late 1864 was stymied by C.S. Senate Radicals. Indeed, Browne was still writing, in his biographer's words, "long appreciative editorials" about Napoleon III long after the war together with his equally Democratic wife Lizzie.[258] And he dismissed Garibaldi's *The Rule of the Monk* in 1870 as follows: "Garibaldi's anxiety to complete

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[255] See Mahin, *The Blessed Place of Freedom*, 35. The pro-C.S. illustrator for the *Illustrated London News* Frank Vizetelly came from a similar personal and ideological background as Sala. See William Stanley Hoole, *Vizetelly Covers the Confederacy* (Atlanta: Confederate Pub. Co., 1957).

[256] See *Proceedings of the Grand Commandery of Knights Templar and Appendant Orders, of the State of Louisiana, at its Fifth Annual Conclave* (New Orleans: Isaac T. Hinton, 1868), 12, 18-19; and Lonn, *Foreigners in the Confederacy*, 217, 242-43.

[257] See "Jefferson Davis to Col. Wm. M. Browne, Macon, Ga.," "Telegram," Richmond, July 29, 1864, *JDC*, 6:300; "Jefferson Davis to General Howell Cobb, Macon, Ga.," "Telegram," Richmond, August 11, 1864, *JDC*, 6:311-12; and *PJD*, 6:374.

[258] E. Merton Coulter, *William Montague Browne: Versatile Anglo-Irish American, 1823-1883* (1967; reprint, Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2010), 195. Browne also befriended General Polignac during the war. See ibid., 94; and Warner, *Generals in Gray*, 36-37.

the 'regeneration of Italy' by the destruction of the Papacy, makes him a prejudiced witness, and betrays him into the utterance of slanderous statements too extravagant for belief."[259]

Mobile's Kate Cumming, moreover, was a Scottish immigrant who was a nurse employed by the C.S. army's medical department from September 1862 onward. She was devoted to Davis ("a truer patriot never lived") and the equality among whites principle for which he stood.[260] She therefore condemned the Confederate Radicals "condemning Davis's administration. I have even heard him called a despot. If his detractors could see themselves in the proper light, perhaps they would hear a voice whispering, 'He that is without sin, let him cast the first stone.'" Cumming also scorned C.S. women who were reluctant to heed Davis by leaving the comfort and privacy of the domestic sphere for the grime and danger of the hospital or factory, deeming them an "adverse current" to the war effort just like the Radical plantation patriarchs who wished to keep them at home. She thus nearly came to blows in early 1864 with a woman who wanted Alexander Stephens to replace Davis, whose slave soldier manumission initiative she upheld in an acrimonious March 1865 debate with a dubious C.S. doctor. And she detested the nativism prevalent among Davis's critics, for when an "Alabama woman" insisted that office-holding should be restricted to native-born southrons in an 1863 editorial, Cumming accused many "native southerners" of doing far more to besmirch "our beloved President" than to strengthen the war effort even as immigrant whites "poured out their blood in our defense."[261]

Cumming's favorite Irish and French Catholics were foremost among those immigrants. She worked alongside the C.S. chaplain Patrick Coyle at Corinth in 1862, and she wept when her patient the Irish Catholic Confederate soldier Patrick Couda died, for his relatives were far away

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[259] Quoted in Coulter, *William Montague Browne*, 217. See ibid., 130-31, 199.
[260] Kate Cumming, *A Journal of Hospital Life in the Confederate Army of Tennessee from the Battle of Shiloh to the End of the War: With Sketches of Life and Character, and Brief Notices of Current Events during that Period* (Louisville: John P. Morgan & Co., 1866), 182. See ibid., 132.
[261] Ibid., 182, 7, 87. See ibid., 121, 171. Also see Mobile *Register*, August 30, 1863.

in New York City and he had "blessed me every time I did any little thing for him." When a native-born Protestant C.S. officer spurned "a nice drink" she made for him as "a treat" in June 1862, moreover, another nurse remarked that "if I had made it for some Frenchmen who are in the house, they would have taken it for politeness' sake, whether they liked it or not." Indeed, Cumming tended in October 1864 to the seven-decades-old M. Chillion, who was the brother of "a well-known Roman Catholic priest" and had "been in the service since the commencement of the war" as a 24th Alabama Infantry soldier. "The poor old man actually cried when he found out who I was. He is a Frenchman, and… requested me to write to Mrs. [Adelaide de Vendel] Chaudron...." In contrast, Cumming was ashamed of her fellow Britons because "Great Britain has aided the North in every possible way." Nearly all of the British Empire's Anglo-Protestants seemed to support U.S. abolitionist war criminals like Ulric Dahlgren, who had, she believed, attempted to assassinate Davis. She hence likened the C.S. president to Washington and William Wallace, who had allied with the French to protect Scotland from England in the 13th century.[262]

Yet even the few Britons within the Confederacy who sympathized with Davis administration ideology were sidelined. The British volunteer Lord Edward St. Maur, for instance, was a C.S. staff officer. His older brother had served under Garibaldi, to be sure, but helped the Confederates to spite his pro-abolitionist father the Duke of Somerset, who was a member of the British cabinet, sympathized with the Union, and endorsed Lord Lyons's directive that British consuls were not to intercede if the U.S. army were to capture his son.[263] The white supremacist yet not pro-slavery British Canadian John Orr, moreover, had managed thousands of imported non-white "coolies" on British Guyana's sugar plantations, but he was disappointed to

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[262] Cumming, *A Journal of Hospital Life in the Confederate Army of Tennessee from the Battle of Shiloh to the End of the War*, 109 , 35, 97, 126. See ibid., 8, 66, 124, 182.
[263] See Foreman, *A World on Fire*, 261.

become a mere adjutant captain in the 6th Louisiana Infantry.[264] Samuel P. Mendez, for his part, was the son of a Jamaican sugar planter who had been a British army surgeon. Yet he was proud of his Spanish Catholic ancestry as well. Mendez was attending school in Baltimore when the war broke out, and he was such an enthusiastic supporter of the Davis administration that he even offered to serve as a C.S. private. Having been wounded and captured at Gettysburg, he was paroled five months later and spent the rest of the war working as a mere hospital orderly.[265] Similarly, one staunchly anti-abolitionist Scottish immigrant in the U.S. army whose ironic surname was Black deserted to join the Confederates in Virginia, swimming across a stream amid a hail of bullets fired by his former compatriots as he shouted "[s]hoot, and be d–d, you white-livered nigger-thieves."[266] Black, however, was disheartened to become no more than a private in Confederate service, although he did get to escort his erstwhile company into captivity.

The Scottish C.S. officer Robert McNab was never promoted to colonel and given a regimental command despite three separate recommendations from his immediate superiors, and he blamed the Davis administration's unfriendliness toward the Britons in C.S. service on a pervasive Confederate hostility to all officers of "foreign birth."[267] McNab, however, failed to see that Davis and his supporters were not hostile to all foreign officers but rather specifically to British officers. As one Confederate veteran recalled of a British volunteer staff officer, "[h]e was chockful of conceit and had a lordly contempt for anything not English...," and C.S. soldiers mocked his conviction that his name would be "emblazoned alongside Lafayette's in American history."[268] Davis, after all, wanted a French C.S. officer to assume Lafayette's role in the new Confederate American Revolution. He thus promoted French Confederates rapidly up the ranks

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[264] See Lonn, *Foreigners in the Confederacy*, 154.
[265] See ibid., 188.
[266] Quoted in "English Combatant, T. E. C.," *Battle-fields of the South*, 2:156.
[267] Quoted in Lonn, *op. cit.*, 134.
[268] Quoted in ibid., 186.

even as he held British Confederates back to appeal to Napoleon III's France, which was unlikely to sympathize with the Confederates if Britons were among their principal field officers. He also welcomed pro-C.S. Britons who were not in Britain's service. Fitzgerald Ross, for instance, was a captain of hussars in Austrian service who was visiting the U.S. as a military observer. Yet he conferred a kind of official recognition upon the C.S.A. by visiting Richmond, where he was greeted by a grand reception on June 18, 1863 and personally conversed with Davis, who gave him letters of introduction to meet leading generals and officials throughout the Confederacy.[269] Ross toured the C.S.A. in his Austrian uniform from May 1863 to April 1864, after which he wrote anonymous pro-C.S. articles in British journals, declaring that the Confederate cause was "in truth a noble one," and that the C.S.A. would have long since won the war "[w]ere it not for the friendly neutrality of the British government toward the North."[270] Donald Malcolm MacDonald, moreover, was a British immigrant living in Missouri who was wounded several times as a C.S. soldier and rose to become a staff officer with the rank of major. He might well have received a field command and an even higher rank, however, had he emphasized the fact that he was a distant relation of Napoleon I's marshal Étienne Jacques Joseph Alexandre MacDonald, whose Catholic Scottish father fled to France after the failed Jacobite rebellion of 1745. Having risen up through the ranks during the French Revolution, MacDonald lost a disastrous battle to the Russian general Alexsandr Suvorov at Trebbia in 1799. Napoleon I prized him for his loyalty all the same and made him a marshall in 1809. Macdonald served the French emperor in Spain, Russia, and Germany until the 1814 collapse of the first French empire. Perhaps Donald Malcolm MacDonald chose to elide his link to Marshal

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[269] See Fitzgerald Ross, *A Visit to the Cities and Camps of the Confederate States* (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1865), 15-23, 25, 38, 49.
[270] Quoted in ibid., 219; [Fitzgerald Ross], "A Visit to the Cities and Camps of the Confederate States, 1863-64," *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, vol. 97, no. 592 (February, 1865), 172.

MacDonald because his famous ancestor failed to support Napoleon Bonaparte during the Hundred Days, although he did not actively oppose the returning emperor either.[271] But it was far worse to be recognized as a Briton in a Confederacy governed by an administration which assigned starring roles to such outfits as Company A of the 1st Louisiana Special Battalion, which was called the Walker Guards due to its large contingent of former filibusters under William Walker, who had been captured by the British in 1860 and turned over to Honduras for execution. The Walker Guards were proudly mustered into service by the former Mexican War colonel, French Creole New Orleans lawyer, and Louisiana adjutant general Maurice Claude Grivot on April 27, 1861.[272] Having "marched to Camp Davis" for French-language military instruction, they yearned to "show, on a bloody field, that they keep at heart the brave lessons of General Walker, whose base murder every Nicaraugua-American hopes to see yet avenged."[273]

Anti-British C.S. Policy and Rhetoric as a Means to the End of Winning French Favor

Perceiving that British subjects on both sides of the Atlantic were, at best, helping the C.S.A. for purely mercenary reasons or, at worst, racially-egalitarian abolitionist enemies of the Confederacy, Davis intimated on several occasions that a victorious, enlarged, and vengeful C.S.A. would conquer the British Empire and its remaining allies within the Americas in the not-so-distant future. He certainly believed that the current conflict would not be the final war waged by the Confederacy. The Republicans, he told the C.S. Congress in November 1861, were simply "the adversary whom we now encounter."[274] And whether they managed to hold the North together under their control or were thrown back upon their strongholds in New

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[271] See Étienne Jacques Joseph Alexandre MacDonald, *Recollections of Marshal MacDonald, Duke of Tarentum*, ed. Camille Rousset, trans. Stephen Louis Simeon, 2 vols. (London: Richard Bentley and Son, 1892); and Lonn, *Foreigners in the Confederacy*, 150.
[272] See Allardice, *Confederate* Colonels, 176.
[273] New Orleans *Daily True Delta*, April 28, 1861.
[274] "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, November 18, 1861, *JDC*, 5:170.

England and the upper North, future strife with them was, he predicted a year later, bound to occur once "the present war" had concluded.[275] "At some future day," he had mused, "after our independence shall have been established, it is not [an] improbable supposition that our present enemy may be tempted to abuse his naval power by depredations on our commerce, and that we may be compelled to assert our rights by offensive war."[276] Convinced that the Republicans would receive British support in such future wars as in the present conflict, Davis bitterly informed the C.S. Congress in late 1863 that Confederates were currently "without adequate remedy for the injustice under which we have suffered at the hands of a powerful nation, at a juncture when our entire resources are absorbed in the defense of lives, liberties, and independence…."[277] But "adequate remedy" would not be lacking in the future, when the C.S.A. would exact its revenge by crushing the British and finishing off their Republican proxies. Thus, when Davis was ordered by Lord Lyons to stop contracting British shipbuilders in the spring of 1864, the Confederate president responded by declaring that Britain's "malignant hostility" would not go unrequited in the end by the "Chief Magistrate of a nation comprising a population of more than twelve millions, occupying a territory many times larger than the United Kingdom, and possessing resources unsurpassed by those of any country on the face of the globe."[278]

For Davis, enmity toward abolitionist Britain and its clients within the Americas was central to Democratic *cum* Confederate American nationality, from which northern Democrats had strayed but might still return. Yet he also thought that his anti-British policies and rhetoric would show Napoleon III that the C.S.A. wanted to join what he took to be a bloc of French-led

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[275] "Jefferson Davis to Mrs. Mary Wilkinson," Richmond, November 7, 1862, *JDC*, 5:365.
[276] "Jefferson Davis to Govr. Joseph E. Brown, Milledgeville, Ga.," Executive Department, Richmond, May 29, 1862, *JDC*, 5:261.
[277] "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, December 7, 1863, *JDC*, 6:105.
[278] "To the Right Honorable Lord Lyons, C. B., and Her Majesty's Minister to the Government of the United States," Richmond, April 6, 1864, in Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 2:482, 480. Also see "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, May 2, 1864, *JDC*, 6:241.

nations standing for white supremacy and equality among whites that was confronting an anti-Bonaparte, anti-Confederate, and pro-abolitionist coalition of the Left and Right organized by Britain. Many British observers, after all, feared that a French-Confederate alliance directed against Anglo-Protestant abolitionists on both sides of the Atlantic was emerging, for Napoleon III had "taken his uncle for his model ever since he was elected President of the Republic," and "we may expect that either in Europe or America his fleet and army will find the employment for which they are impatient."[279] Yet historians have mistakenly assumed that Davis craved Britain's approval just like his Radical C.S. critics, and they have been at a loss to explain why he sent a Democratic firebrand who loathed British abolitionists on a deeply personal level, a notable Pierce administration official, and an old soldier of Napoleon I to Britain as emissaries in March 1861.[280] The main point of sending envoys so ill-suited to winning British favor was to appeal to Bonapartist France, the Congress of Paris principles of which were, Davis insisted, being assailed by the British and their Republican emulators yet sustained by the Confederacy.

The initial C.S. ambassador to Britain was the Anglophobe William Lowndes Yancey. He abhorred his New England step-father the abolitionist Presbyterian reverend Nathan S. S. Beman for abusing his widowed South Carolinian mother, whose separation from Beman in the mid-1830s induced a young Yancey to leave Massachusetts for South Carolina, where he repudiated his step-father's Whig politics. Beman advanced the trans-Atlantic abolitionist movement as a friend of such leading pro-abolitionist "Yankee" Protestant divines as Theodore Dwight Weld and Lyman Beecher, but his step-son became a vitriolic Democratic editor. Yancey had opposed Calhoun during the Nullification Crisis, but he moved to Alabama in 1838, championed the rights and interests of poor whites, immigrants, small-scale slaveholders, and

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[279] *The Christian Observer: Conducted by Members of the Established Church, for the Year 1863*, 562.
[280] See Cooper, Jr., *Jefferson Davis, American*, 334. Also see Hubbard, *The Burden of Confederate Diplomacy*, 30-31; and Bennett, *The London Confederates*, 26.

upwardly mobile non-slaveholders against Alabama's Whig planters, espoused Manifest Destiny as a Democratic congressman in the mid-1840s, and reconciled with Calhoun in 1850, during the crisis of which year he echoed Davis by making similar secession threats.[281] And while Davis faulted him for being too quick to write off all northerners as hopelessly pro-abolitionist, he lauded him for his fierce opposition to both Know-Nothings and Douglas Democrats, praising him too for supporting southern commercial conventions, "Border Ruffians" in Kansas, William Walker filibusters, a slave code for U.S. territories, and Breckinridge's presidential campaign.[282]

Yancey hailed Davis as a "statesman," "patriot," and "soldier" when the Mississippian arrived at Montgomery to assume the provisional C.S. presidency in February 1861, and Davis also appreciated his efforts to convince other Radical-leaning Democrats, whom he had derisively called "the Yanceyites" in 1860, to accept and obey him.[283] Yancey, moreover, had come to be closely associated with the preservation of George Washington's Mount Vernon, and he hailed Davis as Washington's revolutionary successor. Davis offered him a cabinet position in turn, but the Alabaman wanted a diplomatic post and became the first C.S. minister to Britain, where he exhibited behavior that was, in one historian's words, "consistently impulsive, arrogant, [and] unreasonably demanding."[284] British officials refused to receive him by June 1861 as a result, and Davis proffered those snubs as proof of Britain's anti-Confederate stance.[285]

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[281] See Austin L. Venable, "William L. Yancey's Transition from Unionism to State Rights," *The Journal of Southern History*, vol. 10, no. 3 (August 1944), 331-42.

[282] See "Speech of Jefferson Davis in relation to property in the territories. May 16 and 17, 1860," *JDC*, 4:298. Also see Austin L. Venable, "The Conflict Between the Douglas and Yancey Forces in the Charleston Convention," *The Journal of Southern History*, vol. 8, no. 2 (May 1942), 226-41. Yancey had alarmed Davis by endorsing Edmund Ruffin's League of United Southerners in a private letter which became public, but unlike most of the Radical Democrats who walked out of the Charleston convention, he agreed to return to the Baltimore convention if Douglas were to be rejected. See "Reply to Stephen A. Douglas," May 17, 1860, *PJD*, 6:299; and *PJD*, 6:352.

[283] Quoted in Holzer, "The Image of Jefferson Davis as Commander in Chief," in *Jefferson Davis's Generals*, 134; and "Speech at Memphis," September 22, 1860, *PJD*, 6:366. See ibid., 6:367.

[284] Hubbard, *The Burden of Confederate Diplomacy*, 31.

[285] See "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, December 7, 1863, *JDC*, 6:97. Also see Owen Peterson, *A Divine Discontent: The Life of Nathan S. S. Beman* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1986); and

Yancey resigned in the autumn of 1861 and returned home after John M. Mason arrived to replace him in early 1862. Taking a seat in the C.S. Senate, his Radical inclinations came to the fore once more as he condemned the many secret sessions of the Confederate Congress, declared in September 1862 that he would rather "be vanquished in open combat with the invader" than yield "constitutional safeguards to the stealthy progress of legislative and executive usurpation," and rather hypocritically faulted Davis, who had ignored "the application previously made in favor of your son," for nepotism.[286] Davis, in turn, accused Yancey and other Radicals of attempting to "preserve" their personal "independence" to the detriment of the war effort, informing Yancey as well "that the Senate is no part of the nominating power and that according, as I do, the highest respect to the opinions of Senators when they recommend applicants, I decline to yield to any dictation from them on the subject of nominations."[287] Yet having reproached Yancey in May 1863 because "the impression has been made upon me that you were in opposition to my Administration, and that it was not that measured kind that results from occasional difference of opinion, but does not disturb good wishes and desire to give support," Davis was pleasantly surprised to observe a month later that "[y]ou promise a candid judgment and generous support to my administration so far as demanded by the interests of our country, whatever may be our personal relations. I accept your promise with pleasure as worthy of a patriot…."[288] Yancey, after all, had broken with the Radicals to endorse conscription even

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Eric H. Walther, *William Lowndes Yancey: The Coming of the Civil War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006).

[286] Quoted in Beringer and Hattaway, *Jefferson Davis, Confederate President*, 102; and "Jefferson Davis to W. L. Yancey," Richmond, June 20, 1863, *JDC*, 5:528.

[287] "Jefferson Davis to W. L. Yancey," Richmond, June 20, 1863, 5:529-30. Davis also assured Yancey that he had "appointed persons holding to me no relations of personal friendship, and refused to appoint others very affectionately regarded by me…." "Jefferson Davis to W. L. Yancey," Richmond, May 26, 1863, *JDC*, 5:498.

[288] Ibid., 5:498; and "Jefferson Davis to W. L. Yancey," Richmond, June 20, 1863, 5:530. Davis also insisted that it was not the case that "I entertained personal enmity towards you," and that "I was sure you had no right to feel personal hostility towards me, and hoped you might not." "Jefferson Davis to W. L. Yancey," Richmond, May 26, 1863, *JDC*, 5:498. "It is surely not at the present time," he insisted as well, "that unfriendly relations should be

though he still sought to secure various exemptions for planters, and when his health began to fail rapidly in July, he even bequeathed "the spy glass once the property of Genl. Washington" to Davis.[289] The "treasure committed to my care," the C.S. president consoled Yancey's widow, was already "precious from the associations connected with the object," but it "derives greatly enhanced value from the proof which it affords of the kind feelings of my former associate and friend, the distinguished patriot and statesman whose loss is deplored by his country."[290]

Yancey was accompanied to Britain by his fellow C.S. emissaries A. Dudley Mann and the French-born Pierre Adolphe Rost, who was educated at the Lycée Napoleon and École polytechnique. An ardent Bonapartist who fought bravely in the 1814 defense of Paris as a member of the École cadet corps and followed Napoleon during the Hundred Days, Rost despised Louis XVIII and moved to Mississippi. He studied law under the supervision of Davis's older brother Joseph at Natchez, married into the Louisiana Creole Destrehan planter family, and served as a judge on the Louisiana Supreme Court from 1846 to 1854. Davis chose Rost as the C.S. ambassador to Spain, in which capacity the old Bonapartist assured the Spanish government that the religiously-tolerant C.S.A. was, unlike the Union, friendly toward Catholics, and that it would not seek to acquire Cuba if Spain were to fully adopt Bonapartism, recognize the Confederacy, help C.S. blockade runners at Havana, further assist France in Mexico, and attack Haiti in conjunction with the French.[291] Britain had in fact been discomfited in 1861 when Spain re-annexed Santo Domingo after a confirmatory plebiscite was held there and sent troops

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allowed to spring up between those to whom the people have committed their interests in this great struggle. For myself all of hostile feeling that I possess is reserved for the enemies of my country, not for those who like yourself are devoted to the common cause." "Jefferson Davis to W. L. Yancey," Richmond, June 20, 1863, *JDC*, 5:530.

[289] "Jefferson Davis to John Harrell, Richmond, Va.," Richmond, December 16, 1863, *JDC*, 6:133. See Beringer and Hattaway, *Jefferson Davis, Confederate President*, 183.

[290] "Jefferson Davis to Mrs. W. L. Yancey," Richmond, December 16, 1863, *JDC*, 6:133.

[291] See William W. White and Joseph O. Baylen, "Pierre A. Rost's Mission to Europe, 1861-1863," *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association*, vol. 2, no. 3 (Summer 1961), 322-31; and James W. Cortada, "Pierre Rost and Confederate Diplomacy," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, vol. 54 (Summer-Fall 1971), 18-28. Also see "Ch. J. Helm to R. M. T. Hunter," Havana, January 17, 1862, *ORN*, series II, 3:317.

to help the French in Mexico. The Spanish also seemed to be preparing an invasion of Haiti together with France, and in September 1862 Slidell would inform "the Emperor that however distasteful such a measure might be to the Washington government ours could have no objection to it."[292] The Union, after all, had not just recognized Haiti in June but even opened trade relations with it, accusing Spain of violating the Monroe Doctrine as well. Indeed, the U.S. "Erickson" *Monadnock* nearly triggered a war off Valparaíso, Chile in 1866 by confronting the French-built Spanish *Numancia*, which was the first ironclad to circumnavigate the globe and under orders to bombard that city. The *Monadnock* relented in the end and the *Numancia* razed Valparaíso, riling Britain by flagrantly destroying much British-owned property in the process.[293]

Declaring to the world that the Republicans "avow that it is the purpose of the war to subjugate the Confederate States, spoliate the property of our citizens, sack and burn our cities and villages, and exterminate our citizens…," Yancey, Mann, and Rost also announced a number of anti-British C.S. policies before the latter two men proceeded to their European posts.[294] Davis had encouraged Confederates to hold their cotton off the export market in early 1861 until the principal global powers recognized the Confederacy.[295] This policy was partly designed to induce planters to grow foodstuffs or invest in textile factories, stimulating "diversion of labor and an investment of capital in other investments" such that Confederates would become "rival producers instead of profitable customers" for textile manufacturers in England and New England.[296] Yet as Varina Davis recalled, it was also meant to "compel recognition" from

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[292] John Slidell, "Memorandum of an Interview of Mr. Slidell with the Emperor at St. Cloud on Tuesday, October 28, 1862," *ORN*, series II, 3:577.
[293] Yet the Spanish did not follow through with their plans to invade and conquer Chile. See New York *Times*, June 1, 1866; and "Spanish Ironclads *Numancia* and *Vitoria*," *Warship International*, vol. 8, no. 3 (1970), 287–89.
[294] "Secretary of State R. Toombs to Hon. Wm. L. Yancey, Hon. Pierre A. Rost, and Hon. A. Dudley Mann, Commissioners of the Confederate States," [no. 5], Department of State, Montgomery, May 18, 1861, *ORN*, series II, 3:211.
[295] See Mahin, *The Blessed Place of Freedom*, 167.
[296] "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, November 18, 1861, *JDC*, 5:173.

Britain by devastating the British economy.[297] France, after all, had its own guaranteed Egyptian cotton supply as well as a much smaller textile import volume than Britain, which was foremost by far among the "foreign countries which are dependent on that staple."[298] When their textile industry collapsed, the British would, Davis calculated, have no choice but to recognize the C.S.A. and abandon their fellow Anglo-Protestant abolitionists in the Union. Rost, Mann, and Yancey were thus instructed to make sure that "the British ministry will comprehend fully the condition to which the British realm would be reduced if the supply of our staple should suddenly fail or even be considerably diminished," and they warned that the Confederacy would maintain and even formalize its Jefferson-like embargo until Britain behaved as Davis wished.[299]

The British government, however, recognized the C.S.A. in May 1861 merely as a *de facto* entity in a state of "belligerency" against the Union. Davis further tested Britain's resolve in response, informing the Confederate Congress in November 1861 that the C.S.A. might be forced to "totally cut off" its cotton exports to Britain on a permanent basis.[300] Concluding by mid-1862 that the British were so committed to abolitionism that they would rather suffer severe economic distress than recognize Confederate independence, he pointed out that "Her Majesty's Secretary of Foreign Affairs" had declared that Britain would never render itself "forever infamous" by recognizing the "slaveholding States of America" even though Britons "were suffering severely for the want of that material which was the main staff of their industry…."[301] And so Davis blasted Britain for what he deemed arrant hypocrisy in a late 1863 message to the Confederate Congress, echoing Jefferson's redacted charge in the Declaration of Independence

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[297] Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 2:160.
[298] "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, November 18, 1861, *JDC*, 5:173.
[299] "R. Toombs to William L. Yancey, Pierre A. Rost, A. Dudley Mann," Department of State, Montgomery, March 16, 1861, *ORN*, series II 3:192.
[300] "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," *op. cit.*, 5:173.
[301] "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, December 7, 1863, *JDC*, 6:101.

that it was the British government which had fastened African slavery upon the South in the first place. "[T]he intimation that relations with these States would be discreditable because they are slaveholding," he declared, "would probably have been omitted if the official personage who has published it to the world had remembered that these States were, when colonies, made slaveholding by the direct exercise of the power of Great Britain, whose… interests in the slave trade were then supposed to require that her colonies should be made slaveholding."[302]

As for that trade, Mann, Rost, and Yancey notified Britain that the Confederacy was repudiating the Webster-Ashburton Treaty, for the C.S. navy would not suppress the African slave trade in conjunction with the Royal Navy. They stressed at the same time, however, that the C.S.A. was not promoting the trans-Atlantic slave trade but rather duplicating Napoleon III's policy, just as Davis had wanted the U.S. to do in the late 1850s. The C.S. president hence boasted that the Confederacy would not take part in the African slave trade even as it denied Britain permission to search any C.S. ship.[303] Indeed, thanks to the pro-Davis delegates, the C.S. Constitution had even stronger proscriptions against the African slave trade than the U.S. Constitution, permanently rather than provisionally banning "[t]he importation of negroes of the African race from any foreign country other than the slaveholding States or Territories of the United States of America… and Congress is required to pass such laws as shall effectually prevent the same." The Lincoln administration, in contrast, would negotiate the 1862 Lyons-Seward Treaty, which was a new and even stronger version of the Webster-Ashburton Treaty.[304]

Echoing his antebellum stance, Davis defied British pretentions to search C.S. ships by asserting that Britain's efforts to interdict the African slave trade were a non-effective blockade

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[302] "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, December 7, 1863, *JDC*, 6:102. See ibid., 125-26.
[303] See ibid., 6:106.
[304] See A. Taylor Milne, "The Lyons-Seward Treaty of 1862," *The American Historical Review*, vol. 38, no. 3 (April 1933), 511-25.

and hence a flagrant violation of the Congress of Paris.[305] According to the "Congress of Paris," he noted in early 1863, "[b]lockades, in order to be binding, must be effective; that is to say, maintained by a force sufficient really to prevent access to the coast of the enemy."[306] Asserting that Lincoln had abrogated the Union's commitment to the Congress of Paris by imposing a "paper blockade" upon the Confederacy, Davis also accused the U.S. of behaving as had Britain when "blockades became the chief cause of the war between Great Britain and the United States in 1812…," for it was now boarding neutral ships on the high seas in emulation of "the British orders in council, in the years 1806 and 1807…."[307] And Britain was endorsing the "monstrous pretension of the United States," doing so in large part to help the Union destroy the Confederacy.[308] "A few extracts from the correspondence of Her Majesty's Chief Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs," Davis told the C.S. Congress in late 1863, "will suffice to show marked encouragement to the United States to persevere in its paper blockade…."[309] Those extracts indicated that Britain was forcing its subjects to respect the U.S. blockade and pressuring genuinely neutral countries to do likewise, obfuscating "knowledge of our rights by other powers" as well.[310] Indeed, Britain had not only let U.S. warships board British vessels going to or coming from the C.S.A. with nary a protest, but had even validated the new U.S. principle of "continuous voyage" by allowing the U.S. navy to search British ships which were heading to non-Confederate ports yet assumed to be carrying cargo secretly destined for the Confederacy.[311]

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[305] See "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the naval appropriation bill. June 18, 1860," *JDC*, 4:524-26.
[306] "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, January 12, 1863, *JDC*, 5:402.
[307] Ibid., 5:404, 403. See "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, November 18, 1861, *JDC*, 5:171.
[308] "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, January 12, 1863, *JDC*, 5:403.
[309] "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, December 7, 1863, *JDC*, 6:99.
[310] Ibid., 6:105. See ibid., 6:99, 110.
[311] See Thomas Baty, "The History of Continuous Voyage," *University of Pennsylvania Law Review and American Law Register*, vol. 90, no. 2 (December 1941), 127-36.

According to Davis, however, the British were augmenting the U.S. blockade primarily to reverse their humiliation at the Congress of Paris by re-affirming or setting precedents in favor of blockades, the limitation of which had been "one of the principal motives that led to the declaration of the Congress of Paris, in 1856, in the fond hope of imposing an enduring check on the very abuse of maritime power which is now renewed by the United States in 1861 and 1862, under circumstances and with features of aggravated wrong without precedent in history."[312] Citing "a published dispatch from Her Majesty's Foreign Office to her Minister at Washington, under the date of 11th of February, 1862," Davis also informed the C.S. Congress in January 1863 of "an addition made by the British Government of its own authority to a principle the exact terms of which were settled with deliberation by the common consent of civilized nations and by implied convention with this Government…." Britain had thus declared that blockades did not have to be truly effective but had to merely present an "*evident danger*" to would-be violators in order to be acceptable under international law.[313] The British consul at Charleston would therefore notify the C.S. government "that there was no difference of opinion between Great Britain and the United States as to the validity of the principles enunciated in the fourth article of the declaration of Paris in reference to blockades," endeavoring as well to exonerate the Union's "barbarous attempt to destroy the port of Charleston by sinking a stone fleet in the harbor…."[314]

If the Union was playing Britain's role during the era of Napoleon I while the Confederacy was filling that of France as the blockaded power, Britain was, Davis thought, assuming the role of the New England Federalists rather than that of the Jeffersonian Democrats. John M. Mason, after all, would be brusquely rebuffed when Davis "directed our commissioner at London to call upon the British Government to redeem its [Congress of Paris] promise and to

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[312] "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, January 12, 1863, *JDC*, 5:404.
[313] Ibid., 5:405.
[314] "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, December 7, 1863, *JDC*, 6:98, 99.

withhold its moral aid and sanction from the flagrant violation of public law committed by our enemies…," for "so far from claiming the rights of British subjects as neutrals to trade with us as belligerents, and to disregard the blockade on the ground of… explicit confession of our enemy of his inability to render it effective, Her Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs claimed credit with the United States for friendly action in respecting it."[315] Davis hoped instead that France would step forth to emulate the Jefferson and Madison administrations by upholding neutral rights and warring upon the blockader if scorned, for while France had assailed neutral Union ships in the past, it had repented of all "wrongdoing" under the Bonaparte emperors.[316]

Chiding Napoleon III in early 1863 for his *de facto* acceptance of the U.S. blockade, Davis explained that "[t]he Cabinet of Great Britain, however, has not confined itself to such implied acquiescence in these breaches of international law as result from simple inaction, but has… assumed to make a change in the principle enunciated by the Congress of Paris, to which the faith of the British Government was considered to be pledged; a change too important and too prejudicial to the interests of the Confederacy to be overlooked, and against which I have directed solemn protest to be made, after a vain attempt to obtain satisfactory explanations from the British Government."[317] But the French, he warned, had even more at stake than their Confederate would-be allies, for if Napoleon III were to let the U.S. baldly defy the Congress of Paris and allow the British to get away with failing to "adhere to the pledge made by their Government at Paris in 1856…," France would inevitably receive the same treatment as the C.S.A. at the hands of a trans-Atlantic Anglo-Protestant abolitionist alliance.[318] Blockading, after all, was the only viable use for Britain's vast fleet of wooden warships in the dawning

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[315] "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, December 7, 1863, *JDC*, 6:100.
[316] Ibid., 6:106.
[317] Ibid., 5:405.
[318] Ibid., 6:100. See "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, January 12, 1863, *JDC*, 5:402.

ironclad age, for they were ill-suited to serve even as commerce raiders. And so Davis predicted that France was the true target of British efforts "to reopen to the prejudice of the Confederacy… disputed questions on the law of blockade which the Congress of Paris professed to settle."[319]

Taking up the issue once again in late 1863, Davis submitted his administration's case against the British government "with confidence to the candid judgment of mankind."[320] Britain, he insisted, was cynically misinterpreting "the obligations of the declaration of Paris" in order "to make its terms mean almost the reverse of what they plainly conveyed," and its actions could not "be construed otherwise than as a notification of the refusal of the British Government to remain bound by… those articles of the declaration of Paris which had been repeatedly denounced by British statesmen and had been characterized by Earl Russell as 'very imprudent' and 'most unsatisfactory.'" If the Confederacy fell, then, France would have to face the Anglo-Protestant abolitionist naval powers all by itself, for "[t]he British Government may deem this war a favorable occasion for establishing, by the temporary sacrifice of their neutral rights, a precedent which will justify the future exercise of those extreme belligerent pretentions that their naval power renders so formidable."[321] A future British blockade against France would probably not be effective in legal terms, but it was likely to be as irksome and inhumane as that of 1807, when Britain "declared a paper blockade of 2,000 miles of coast" against the French empire.[322] And while a Republican-ruled Union would likely reciprocate by helping the British in such a conflict, the subjugated and perhaps even exterminated heirs of the southern Jeffersonian Democrats would not be able to assist Napoleon III as their progenitors had once aided his uncle.

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[319] "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, January 12, 1863, *JDC*, 5:4505.
[320] "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, December 7, 1863, *JDC*, 6:101.
[321] Ibid., 6:101, 105-06. Charles Girard, moreover, warned Napoleon III that the Republicans would direct all of the resources of a conquered C.S.A. to the British, who would attain a level of dominance in North America and the Atlantic Ocean rivaling that of 1763, when Britain won the French and Indian War. See Girard, *A Visit to the Confederate States of America in 1863*, 47.
[322] "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, December 7, 1863, *JDC*, 6:102.

Davis accordingly endeavored to show that the C.S.A. was abiding by the Congress of Paris, for "[t]he principles of the declaration of Paris commend themselves to our judgment as more just, more humane, and more consonant with modern civilization than those belligerent pretensions which great naval powers have heretofore sought to introduce into the maritime code."[323] He therefore stressed that the Confederacy had not imposed a paper blockade of its own upon the U.S. coast, respecting the right of neutrals to trade with the Union even as it attacked U.S. shipping because "the Declaration of Paris… was a new concession by belligerents in favor of neutrals, and not simply the enunciation of an acknowledged preexisting rule…."[324] The Congress of Paris, however, had also banned privateers, which the C.S.A. had used to attack the U.S. shipping in 1861. As Davis admitted in early 1863, "all the principles announced by the Congress of Paris were adopted as the guide of our conduct during the war, with the sole exception of that relative to privateering."[325] Pleading that the C.S.A. had faced "an adversary possessing [a]n overwhelming superiority of naval forces" with virtually no navy of its own in 1861 as an excuse, he pointed out that the Union insisted upon its right to use privateers even though it had no use for them against the Confederacy, emphasizing as well that he had replaced his privateers with C.S. navy cruisers as soon as possible to abide by the Congress of Paris.[326] He thus chastised Confederates who referred to C.S. commerce raiders as "privateers" rather than as "regularly commissioned and officered vessels of the Prov. Navy of the C. States...."[327]

Aside from striving to overturn the Congress of Paris, Britain was, Davis stressed, working with the Republicans to oppose imperial white supremacy, which Napoleon III's France

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[323] "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, December 7, 1863, *JDC*, 6:107.
[324] Ibid., 6:106.
[325] "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, January 12, 1863, *JDC*, 5:403.
[326] Ibid., 5:403. See "Jefferson Davis to The Confederate Congress," Montgomery, April 29, 1861, *JDC*, 5:79.
[327] "Jefferson Davis to Governor Z. B. Vance, Raleigh, N.C.," Richmond, October 25, 1864, *JDC*, 6:367. See "Jefferson Davis to Hon. Samuel J. Person, Raleigh, N.C.," Richmond, December 15, 1864, *JDC*, 6:419.

and the Confederacy were both attempting to uphold throughout the Americas in one form or another. The British were already fuming by late 1861 that Napoleon III had double-crossed them once again by invading Mexico rather than merely collecting debts from Juárez as they had expected, and they came to fear that France was seeking to destroy their entire abolitionist empire in the Gulf of Mexico. In 1864, after all, Napoleon III sent French warships on the same debt collection pretext to Venezuela, which quickly agreed to cede 10% of its customs revenue to avert an invasion.[328] And he moved to destroy a famous British client by supporting Maximilian I's campaign to destroy the Cruzob, a campaign which delighted Davis even as he feared that it would delay a French-Confederate junction in northern Mexico, where the Kansas Republican Union senator James H. Lane was hoping to project U.S. power at the expense of France's anti-slavery but white supremacist empire by turning Texas into a black-dominated state, for he had called in January 1864 for the U.S.C.T. "Anglo-African" soldiers to be given free land there.[329]

José María Gutiérrez de Estrada escaped the Yucatan caste war by moving to Europe, and he was the first Yucatecan to hail Maximilian as emperor of Mexico, doing so at Trieste's Miramar Palace in October 1863.[330] He accompanied Maximilian to Rome, where the Austrian's new empire received Pius IX's blessing, but he remained behind in France as one of Maximilian's representatives. He also informed the departing Austrian that Yucatecans would prove especially receptive to the Bonapartist nation-building model, and the Yucatan did in fact become a model state under the Mexican mathematician and engineer José Salazar Ilarregui. Working with Maximilian's *aide-de-camps* Count Boleslawski and Captain Kaptistynski, Governor Illarregui placed all of the fractious local militias there under Imperial control, conscripted Yucatecan whites of all social classes, encouraged white immigration, and

[328] See Schoultz, *Beneath the United States*, 177.
[329] See Jordan, *Black Confederates and Afro-Yankees in Civil War Virginia*, 305-06.
[330] See Reed, *The Caste War of Yucatan*, 185-86, 198.

established public schools for poor whites. Refusing to revive the trade in Mayan slaves to Cuba, which Juárez had abolished but was already in decline thanks to the rise of Yucatan henequen plantations, he also impressed thousands of *peons* from adverse henequen planters and *hacendados* to build a military road through the jungle into the heart of Cruzob territory. Cutting the Cruzob off from British Honduras by land and sea, Ilarregui intercepted thousands of pounds of Cruzob-bound British gunpowder, and he so thoroughly shattered Cruzob power that L'Abbé Domenech was able to study the Mayan language in safety.[331] Maximilian's famously charming wife Carlota toured the Yucatan in 1865 as well to celebrate the Cruzob collapse. She graced military parades, cathedrals, factories, and balls in both Mérida and Campeche, holding separate and lesser balls for loyal non-whites as well. And so the celebrated poetess Gertrudis Tenorio Zavala hailed the advent of a new Yucatan order dedicated to equality among whites and post-peonage forms of white supremacy even as Anglo-French relations reached a new low, for Maximilian not only crushed Britain's Cruzob clients but laid claim to British Honduras itself.[332]

Britain had drawn closer in response to Juárez, whom the French came to suspect was being secretly supplied by the British. When the British ships *Caroline Goodyear* and *Love Bird* arrived at Matamoros in October 1863 with thousands of Enfield rifles purchased for an immense sum by a Confederate agent in Europe, patrolling French warships mistakenly assumed that the weapons were being smuggled to Juárez and impounded the cargo. Having recently bribed his way out of a Liberal prison, the C.S. diplomat A. Supervièle explained the situation to the French authorities, who agreed to release the arms were Napoleon III to approve. Supervièle proceeded to Paris in late 1863 on a French steamer as a result, raising Confederate hopes that French

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[331] See Emmanuel H. D. Domenech, *L'écriture syllabique (Maya) dans le Yucatan d'après les decouvertes de l'Abbé Brasseur de Bourboug* (n.p., 1883).
[332] For the fall of the Cruzob, see Reed, *The Caste War of Yucatan*, 180, 187-94.

recognition was impending.[333] Slidell meanwhile received assurances from France's minister of marine le Comte de Chasseloup-Laubat in a "long and satisfactory meeting" that the French navy was seeking to interdict weapons bound for Juàrez, not the Confederates. The C.S. ambassador also reported that the French minister had averred that future "mistakes might be prevented by my furnishing the names of vessels carrying supplies destined for my Government, he giving orders to his officers not to molest them."[334] The French soon dutifully released the rifles, prompting a happy Slidell to remark "that no future trouble of that sort need be apprehended."[335]

Highlighting outrages committed by Juárez's Liberals and the Cruzob alongside barbarities allegedly committed by pro-Union Indians and the U.S.C.T. while ignoring or shrugging off Confederate and French abuses in the Americas as justified retaliation, the Davis administration insisted that France and the C.S.A. were humane powers whose imperial rule over non-whites in the Americas would ultimately conduce toward order, civilization, and progress. British abolitionism, in contrast, harmed whites and non-whites alike as it would only ever lead to chaos, societal decline, and atrocities verging upon exterminatory race war. Davis indicated as a result that the C.S.A. would like to become a party to Napoleon III's new Geneva Convention, to which Anglo-Protestant abolitionists on both sides of the Atlantic objected as, from Davis's perspective, blood-thirsty race-traitors *à la* John Brown. The French emperor had been appalled to witness the Battle of Solferino's grisly aftermath in 1859. He therefore supported the efforts of the Swiss reformer Henri Dunant to lobby the world's "civilized powers" to attend a summit in Geneva scheduled for August 1864 at which they would agree to reduce suffering among wounded and captured soldiers in the future by creating the International Committee of the Red Cross and signing the Geneva Convention for the Amelioration of the

[333] See Richmond *Examiner*, January 12, 1864.
[334] "John Slidell to Judah P. Benjamin," Paris, November 19, 1863, *ORN*, series II, 3:959–60.
[335] "John Slidell to Judah P. Benjamin," Paris, December 15, 1863, *ORN*, series II, 3:977.

Condition of the Wounded and Sick in Armed Forces in the Field.[336] Davis hoped from 1861 onward that the C.S.A. would be invited to the impending Geneva summit as "a great and powerful nation" recognized in "the eyes of civilized man."[337] At the same time, he insisted that the Union had no right to attend because it was waging "a savage war" against C.S. soldiers and civilians alike in the name of British abolitionism, flouting what was "recognized to be lawful by civilized men in modern times" by instigating slave rebellions "in which no quarter is to be given and no sex to be spared…."[338] "Humanity shudders at the appalling atrocities which are being daily multiplied under the sanction of those who have obtained temporary possession of power in the United States," he declared in the wake of the Emancipation Proclamation, "and who are fast making its once fair name a byword of reproach among civilized men."[339] Davis also told a prominent French citizen in New Orleans that the Union was deliberately mistreating captive C.S. soldiers "in violation of the usages of civilized warfare."[340] And Charles Girard, for his part, claimed that most of the Confederacy's captured U.S. military personnel were being treated well even though the British-backed Republican abolitionists had "put themselves beyond the law by their inhuman conduct, having no further right to the benefits of prisoners of war...."[341]

Hoping that Napoleon III would recognize and help the Confederacy as a likeminded power dedicated to "progressive" white rule and "civilized" warfare, Davis was optimistic given that abolitionist Britain had acquired a reputation for mass murder thanks to its policies in Haiti, Ireland, the Yucatan, India, and China, and now the Republican-controlled Union was also

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[336] See Henry Dunant, *The Origin of the Red Cross:* 'Un Souvenir de Solferino,'" trans. Mrs. David H. Wright (Philadelphia: The John C. Winston Co., 1911).
[337] "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, July 20, 1861, *JDC*, 5:113, 114.
[338] "Jefferson Davis to Genl. R. E. Lee, Commanding etc.," Richmond, July 31, 1862, *JDC*, 5:306. See "Letter of President Davis to President Lincoln," Headquarters, Richmond, July 2, 1863, *JDC*, 5:518; "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, August 18, 1862, *JDC*, 5:321; and "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, December 7, 1863, *JDC*, 6:127.
[339] "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, January 12, 1863, *JDC*, 5:408-09.
[340] "Jefferson Davis to Lt. Col. Laffon de Labitat, Richmond, Va.," Richmond, November 8, 1862, *JDC*, 5:367.
[341] Girard, *A Visit to the Confederate States of America in 1863*, 46.

outraging the French-led "civilized world, and sooner or later Christendom must mete out to them the condemnation which such brutality deserves."[342] Confederates, he emphasized with the French in mind, shared "that regard to humanity which has made such conspicuous progress in the conduct of modern warfare."[343] The well-being of captured C.S. soldiers was hence "a constant subject of solicitude to this Government," the relatively limited resources of which were also being used to humanely care for non-abolitionist U.S. prisoners of war.[344] Davis sought to open negotiations with the Lincoln administration in a July 1863 public letter to secure better conditions for C.S. prisoners of war as well, beseeching the U.S. to wage a "civilized" war between whites rather than a John Brown-style abolitionist crusade. "My whole purpose," he insisted, "is… to place this war on the footing of such as are waged by civilized people in modern times, and to divest it of the savage character which has been impressed on it by our enemies, in spite of all our efforts and protests."[345] When he was rebuffed, his hopes *vis-à-vis* France rose, and they soared in the wake of the Geneva summit even though the unrecognized C.S.A. had not been invited to attend, for while France and many of its actual or seeming allies such as Belgium, Piedmont-Sardinia, Spain, and several Catholic southern German kingdoms signed the Geneva Convention, Britain spurned the treaty, which the U.S. refused to ratify until 1882.[346] British and Republican abolitionists, after all, were, according to Bonapartists and Davis Democrats *cum* Confederates alike, atavistic champions of aristocratic regimes opposed to equality among whites, which principle the C.S.A. and Napoleonic France both upheld even though the latter was not quite a republic. Davis accordingly noted in an 1865 letter that Queen

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[342] "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, May 2, 1864, *JDC*, 6:240.
[343] "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, July 20, 1861, *JDC*, 5:115.
[344] "Jefferson Davis to Lt. Col. Laffon de Labitat, Richmond, Va.," Richmond, November 8, 1862, *JDC*, 5:367.
[345] "Jefferson Davis to Alexander H. Stephens," Richmond, July 2, 1863, *JDC*, 5:516.
[346] See Richmond *Examiner*, March 2, 1864; ibid., March 9, 1864; and *International Documents: A Collection of International Conventions and Declarations of a Law-making Kind*, ed. E. A. Whittuck (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1909), 5-6.

Victoria was not just a "hereditary" ruler but also "irresponsible" to the people, unlike the French emperor.[347] And he had insisted in May 1860 that the Union was meant to have a strong executive elected by the people as opposed to an oligarchical and dominant legislature like the British Parliament, lamenting that "[o]ur practice has followed the theory of the British Government, as we have followed it in many other things; but our theory is the reverse of that of the British Government."[348] Charles Girard would accordingly maintain that while Anglophile abolitionist Republicans were turning the Union into an adjunct of the British Empire that would be irrevocably committed to inequality among whites, the Davis administration was, like Napoleon III's government, not a "military dictatorship" but "the expression of popular will."[349]

Napoleon III's France Disappoints the pro-Davis Confederates, 1864-1865

Davis's optimism, however, was tempered by the fact that troubling and unexpected developments pertaining to Napoleon III's France had been occurring ever since the Left-leaning "Plon-Plon" visited Fort Sumter in August 1861, shortly after which Mary Chesnut noted that he was "not our friend," for William H. "Russell writes how disappointed Prince Jérôme Napoleon was with the appearance of our troops. And that he did not like Beauregard at all."[350] As a result, she and other Davis Democrats *cum* Confederates decided that the rumors about the corpulent "Plon-Plon" were true – that "[t]he sight of the battlefield had made the prince seasick, and he received gratefully a draft of fiery whiskey…." A French naval officer who had accompanied him to Charleston, however, "praised our doughty deeds to the sky," and Chesnut

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[347] "Jefferson Davis to Hon. James A. Seddon," Richmond, February 1, 1865, *JDC*, 6:460.
[348] "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Fort Snelling resolution of inquiry. May 23, 1860," *JDC*, 4:343. In contrast to the Confederate and Imperial French constitutions, moreover, members of the British Parliament could "call on a minister to communicate information; give a minister notice that questions will be put to him on the floor of the House...." See "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on the Fort Snelling resolution of inquiry. May 23, 1860," *JDC*, 4:344.
[349] Girard, *A Visit to the Confederate States of America in 1863*, 62-63. See ibid., 65. Girard also likened Davis to Napoleon III in that the C.S. president "directs all the branches of Government – the Army and Navy, as well as the civil administration." Ibid., 48. See the Richmond *Dispatch*, May 30, 1861.
[350] Entry for August 5, 1861, in *Mary Chesnut's Civil War*, 130; and entry for September 9, 1861, in ibid., 192.

was still confident as a result that Napoleon III would come through for the Confederacy.[351] France, she thought, was much stronger than either the Union or Confederacy because Napoleon III had "soldiers who understand war, Frenchmen, with all the élan we boast of," and she believed that he was taking his time recognizing the Confederates because he was organizing a major military intervention on their behalf: "Louis Napoleon does not stop at trifles. He never botches his work; he is thorough. The coup d'état, par example. Se we hope [he] will not help us with a half-hand."[352] She unsurprisingly disliked the well-to-do resident Englishwomen of Charleston whose husbands brokered cotton for ex-Whig Anglophiles in South Carolina who deplored the French emperor and opposed the Davis administration as champions of Radical state's rights and slavery-in-the-abstract. When "Mrs. M, who is English," scorned Napoleon III as a usurper in May 1862, Chesnut therefore retorted, "[w]hat's the matter with the emperor Louis Napoleon[?]" The Englishwoman then flew "in a rage," insisting that "he is a jailbird, a slayer of men, women, and children. Surely you have read an account of the coup d'état."[353] Indeed, after Chesnut and her pro-Davis friend Mary Preston paid a visit to the Columbia Ursuline convent, she recorded that "[w]hen we came away it was commented on that she called the lady superior 'mother.' 'Certainly,' said Mary, 'as I would call Napoleon 'emperor' – and not 'Mr.,' as the New York shoemaker did when he sent him a specimen of New York shoes."[354]

Pro-Davis Confederates like Chesnut were further disappointed by the course of the French Legion. Davis "remember[ed] how much has been done for the defense of New Orleans since 1815, both in the construction of works and facilities for transportation...," but a paltry C.S. force was defending New Orleans when the U.S. took the city primarily due to the French

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[351] Entry for August 5, 1861, in *Mary Chesnut's Civil War*, 136-37.
[352] Entries for August 3, 1861 and June 14, 1862, in ibid., 128, 387.
[353] Entry for May 12, 1862, in ibid., 339.
[354] Entry for January 11, 1862, in ibid., 276-77.

Legion's presence there.[355] Tens of thousands of French citizens resided in the Gulf South, and they often joined such predominantly C.S. outfits as the French Guards (Company H, 21st Alabama Infantry) under captains de Vaux and Maréchal, Captain Augustus Poitevin's Mobile French Guard Volunteers, and Memphis's *Garde française*.[356] Yet many of New Orleans's French citizens did not volunteer as C.S. soldiers because they joined the French Legion instead. Organized in April 1861, the French Legion was composed entirely of French citizens and established with Napoleon III's blessing. It boasted close to 4,000 soldiers by 1862, most of whom wore the famous red pantaloons and blue jackets of the Zouaves, including Captain Fournier's French Veterans independent company.[357] The French Legion formed the core of the New Orleans European Brigade, which included several regiments of Spaniards and white "Latin" Americans, an Italian battalion, and an Austrian company. The brigade was led by Brigadier General Pierre B. Buisson, a loyal first French empire officer who had been educated at the École polytechnique. He moved to New Orleans after Waterloo, beoming an architect, scientist, editor, state surveyor, militia officer, and civil engineer who designed such New Orleans landmarks as Napoleon Avenue. Having built additional fortifications to protect New Orleans as a Louisiana militia brigadier general during the war's initial months, he also wrote *Instruction pour le service et manoeuvre de l'infanterie légère* to help improve the C.S. army.[358]

The European Brigade was officially neutral because its ostensible purpose was to maintain order in New Orleans as a Louisiana militia affiliate. But that entailed suppressing Know-Nothings, German '48ers, blacks, and other pro-U.S. groups in the city. Buisson,

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[355] "Jefferson Davis to Gov. Thos. A. Moore, of La.," Richmond, September 26, 1861, *JDC*, 5:137.
[356] See the Memphis *Daily Appeal*, January 9, 1862; and Lonn, *Foreigners in the Confederacy*, 97, 485, 490-92.
[357] The French Legion also boasted an elite company of sharpshooters called the Tirailleurs française in honor of Napoleon I's Imperial Guard. See Lonn, *op. cit.*, 113.
[358] See Deléry, *Napoleon's Soldiers in America*, 184-87. For the organization of the French Legion and the European Brigade, see New Orleans *Bee*, February 24, 1862; Parton, *General Butler in New Orleans*, 461; Lonn, *op. cit.*, 112-14; and Mahin, *The Blessed Place of Freedom*, 99.

moreover, secretly swore fealty to the C.S.A. alongside such other leading French Legion officers as the French immigrant Brigadier General Paul Juge. Mobile's British Consular Guards company, in contrast, was formed in May 1863 as a way for British subjects to evade C.S. service, and its officers certainly did not pledge to support the Confederacy.[359] Juge also applied to have his French citizenship restored while Buisson resisted the desire of many of his troops to offer the brigade directly to the Confederate army because the French Legion was far more valuable to the C.S.A. in the service of France, which it would have ideally brought into direct combat against the Union by repelling a seaborne U.S. attack just like "Genl. Jackson at New Orleans."[360] Yet unfortunately for Davis, the brigade blanched at the prospect of instigating a French-U.S. war by fighting a far more powerful Union force, although many French Legion troops gave their weapons to retreating Confederates or resigned to volunteer for C.S. service.[361]

The French Legion redeemed itself to some degree in Davis's eyes by incurring "Beast" Butler's wrath. Upon learning that its supposedly neutral officers had covertly pledged allegiance to the Confederacy, Butler commanded them to take U.S. loyalty oaths. Napoleon III disbanded the French Legion in protest, prompting an alarmed Lincoln to order Butler to cease coercing New Orleans's French citizens in May 1862.[362] Yet when Count Méjan requested a few months later that former French Legion members be allowed to bear arms so as to deter the city's blacks, whom he deemed "internal enemies whose unrestrained language and manners are constantly increasing," Butler reminded him that "all the officers of the French Legion had, with your knowledge and assent, taken the oath to support the Constitution of the Confederate States.

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[359] See Lonn, *Foreigners in the Confederacy*, 99.
[360] "Jefferson Davis to W. M. Brooks," Richmond, March 13, 1862, *JDC*, 5:218.
[361] See "Règlements de la Légion Française, formée à la Nouvelle Orléans, le 26 d'avril, 1861 [Extraits du Code Civil.], *OR*, series I, 15:480. When faced with the possibility of fighting U.S. troops in late February 1862, two companies of the French Legion had even called for the creation of a new French brigade which would be truly neutral rather than not-so-secretly pro-Confederate. See Lonn, *op. cit.*, 113.
[362] See Mahin, *The Blessed Place of Freedom*, 99.

Thus, you see, I have no guarantee for the good faith of bad men." The Union, after all, "gave every immunity to Monsieur BONNEGRASS, who claimed to be the French Consul at Baton Rouge; allowed him to keep his arms, and relied upon his neutrality; but his son was taken prisoner on the battle-field, in arms against us." And deliberately misconstruing Méjan's effort to maintain white rule in New Orleans as a bid to uphold slavery, Butler wryly stated that "surely the representative of the Emperor, who does not tolerate Slavery in France, does not desire his countrymen to be armed for the purpose of preventing the negroes from breaking their bonds."[363]

The French Legion, however, let Davis down once more when Pierre Soulé's liberation became a *cause célèbre* for its former members. The Jesuit-educated and French-born Soulé was one of the few French-American Confederates who disliked Napoleon III. He had initially earned Davis's admiration as a republican critic of Charles X, who had exiled him from France.[364] Settling in New Orleans as a lawyer, Soulé rose to become a Louisiana Democratic U.S. senator in 1847, and Senator Davis endorsed his efforts to extend the Missouri Compromise line to the Pacific.[365] Secretary of War Davis, moreover, used his influence within the Pierce administration to make Soulé the U.S. minister to Spain, in which capacity he promulgated the 1854 Ostend Manifesto. Meeting with the U.S. minister to Britain James Buchanan and the U.S. minister to France John Y. Mason at Ostend, Belgium, Soulé declared that the U.S. would invade Cuba if the Spanish refused to sell the island to the U.S. for $100 million. His gambit, however, backfired on the Pierce administration, for Spain called his bluff and the northern Democrats were devastated by the fledgling Republicans in the 1854 mid-term elections thanks in part to the

[363] New York *Times*, August 26, 1862.
[364] See "Speech of Jefferson Davis in the City of New York, Palace Garden Meeting, Oct. 19, 1858," *JDC*, 3:336.
[365] See "Remarks of Jefferson Davis on Compromise Bill of June 28, 1850," *JDC*, 1:391.

Manifesto.[366] Napoleon III, moreover, declined to endorse the Manifesto primarily as a result of British pressure, but he had also come to dislike Soulé, who refused to cease his denunciations of Louis-Napoleon for effacing the second French republic. Davis continued to praise Soulé's "gifted mind" and quietly backed his efforts to extend U.S. influence into the Gulf *via* filibusters and the Louisiana Tehuantepec Company, but he gradually distanced himself from Soulé in favor of Slidell.[367] An alarmed Soulé thus wrote to Davis in February 1856 re-affirming his loyalty to Pierce, reproving Slidell's so-called Regular Democrats at the same time as a corrupt "*clique*."[368]

Rebuffed, Soulé supported Douglas in 1860 to spite Davis and Slidell, but he became an ardent Confederate like the vast majority of his fellow French-American southern Democrats. He was arrested by Butler as a result and imprisoned in Fort Lafayette, New York, where his plight drew the sympathy of Colonel Charles Laffon de Ladibat. A descendant of wealthy French Caribbean sugar planters, Ladibat was a French citizen and French Legion officer who resigned to enter C.S. service after the fall of New Orleans. He unwittingly placed Davis in a bind by conveying "the petition of the French Legion of New Orleans," which urged the C.S. president to secure Soulé's release.[369] Reluctant to offend either Napoleon III or the French Legion, Davis equivocated as follows: "I know of no method… in which I can assist you in the mission you have assumed. I hope it will be successful, but if not, please convey to the officers

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[366] See "From William H. Sparke," Vicksburg, June 15, 1854, *PJD*, 5:70. Also see Amos Aschbach Ettinger, *The Mission to Spain of Pierre Soulé, 1853-1855: A study in the Cuban Diplomacy of the United States* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1932). Soulé resigned his ambassadorship in 1855, but he did extract over $50,000 in compensation from the Spanish by threatening war during the 1854-55 *Black Warrior* affair, in which Spain had seized the cargo of a U.S. merchant ship which had docked in Havana without proper documentation. Pierce's warning to Spain during that affair was, Davis proudly declared, "more warlike than that of Madison upon which the Congress of 1812 declared war…." New York *Herald*, June 23, 1855.

[367] "Speech in Jackson, Mississippi" May 29, 1857," in *Jefferson Davis: the Essential Writings*, 127. See "Speech of Jefferson Davis before the Mississippi Legislature. November 16, 1858," *JDC*, 3:355; John Preston Moore, "Correspondence of Pierre Soule: The Louisiana Tehuantepec Company," *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, vol. 32, no. 1 (February 1952), 59-72; and John Preston Moore, "Pierre Soule: Southern Expansionist and Promoter," *The Journal of Southern History*, vol. 21, no. 2 (May 1955), 203-23.

[368] "From Pierre Soulé," February 11, 1856, *PJD*, 6:416.

[369] "Jefferson Davis to Lt. Col. Laffon de Labitat, Richmond, Va.," Richmond, November 8, 1862, *JDC*, 5:367.

of the Legion the assurance that Mr. Soule's captivity… is a constant subject of solicitude to this Government, and that no proper efforts will be spared to secure his release."[370] The U.S. released Soulé in late 1862 anyway, and he would soon worsen relations between Davis and the Little Napoleon by taking an honorary position on the "useless and superb staff" of his old friend Beauregard.[371] Having dragged his feet in a November 1863 "procession from the [Charleston] depot" to welcome Davis as well, he resigned only to jeopardize William Gwin's colonization scheme in Mexico by commending the venture and thereby raising Napoleon III's suspicions.[372]

Such pro-Davis and pro-Bonaparte Confederates as Charleston's David F. Jamison and Richmond's John Fentonhill were able to shrug off such let-downs as "Plon-Plon" and the French Legion, but a mounting number of disappointments culminated in mid-to-late 1864 to shake their faith in Napoleonic France to the core. Jamison and Fentonhill both wrote books in 1864 likening the Confederate cause to France's Hundred Years War against Anglo invaders. Jamison's *Life and Times of Bertrand Du Guesclin* glorified the 14th century French military hero who fought against England's notorious Black Prince, celebrating equality among whites as well because Guesclin came from a relatively humble background yet rose to command all French forces as the Constable of France, a rank hitherto reserved for aristocrats.[373] Fentonhill, for his part, sought to use his Joan of Arc biography to inspire C.S. women to bolster the war effort by assuming previously unconventional roles in society.[374] Yet they and Davis himself were shocked by Napoleon III's "devious and offensive course" when France's representatives in the U.S. opened negotiations with General Butler in June 1864 to permit the extraction of the

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[370] "Jefferson Davis to Lt. Col. Laffon de Labitat, Richmond, Va.," Richmond, November 8, 1862, *JDC*, 5:367.
[371] Entry for May 27, 1864, in *Mary Chesnut's Civil War*, 609.
[372] "Speech of President Davis in Charleston," from the Charleston *Daily Courier*, November 3, 1863, *JDC*, 6:74. See Lonn, *Foreigners in the Confederacy*, 140-41.
[373] See David F. Jamison, *The Life and Times of Bertrand Du Guesclin: A History of the Fourteenth Century*, 2 vols. (Charleston: John Russell, 1864).
[374] See John Fentonhill, *Joan of Arc: an opinion of her life and character, from ancient chronicles* (Richmond: J. W. Davies, 1864).

French-owned tobacco from Richmond."[375] And the C.S. president's disappointment was compounded when he sent William Preston to Mexico to negotiate a deal whereby the C.S.A. would promise to help protect Maximilian's throne in exchange for France guaranteeing the Confederacy's independence.[376] Kentucky's Preston, for his part, was educated at the French Jesuit-run St. Joseph's College in Bardstown, Kentucky. A Mexican War veteran and Cotton Whig convert to the Democracy, he also failed to purchase Cuba as President Buchanan's ambassador to Spain. His sister, too, had been married to Albert S. Johnston, a top-ranking Confederate general from Kentucky who had been the C.S. president's friend since their cadet days at West Point as well as one of Secretary of War Davis's favorite U.S. army officers.[377] Johnston died in the arms of his *aide-de-camp* brother-in-law at Shiloh and Beauregard assumed command of his army, within which Preston would adeptly command a brigade from 1862-64.[378]

The C.S. president, to be sure was grateful that the French supplied the Confederacy with cutting-edge weaponry *via* Matamoros, particularly since they seemed to be in an "active state of military preparation" for war in Europe.[379] The tens of thousands of French-supplied Austrian rifles were also useful even though they were obsolete, for they helped C.S. reserves keep order behind the lines and freed up newer weapons for service at the front. The Union, in contrast, had no need to import outmoded rifles, but France disappointed Davis by offering to sell Austrian arms to the U.S. anyway so as to maintain a pretence of genuine neutrality.[380] The C.S. president, moreover, was frustrated by the obsessive secrecy of Napoleon III's government, the ministers of which strove to keep France's friends and enemies equally in the dark as to the

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[375] "Jefferson Davis to Judah P. Benjamin," Richmond, June 2, 1864, *PJD*, 10:445.
[376] See Frank L. Owsley, Sr., *King Cotton Diplomacy: Foreign Relations of the Confederate States of America*, 2nd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1959), 508.
[377] See *PJD*, 6:487, 490, 536.
[378] See Peter J. Sehlinger, *Kentucky's Last Cavalier: General William Preston, 1816–1887* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 2004).
[379] "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, February 25, 1862, *JDC*, 5:204.
[380] See "Jefferson Davis to Govr. John Milton, Tallahassee, Florida," Richmond, September 25, 1863, *JDC*, 6:49.

French emperor's true intentions. Even though C.S. congressmen were themselves notorious for their many secret sessions, Davis hence informed them in the course of berating Britain for its anti-Confederate policies that "[i]t is not in my power to apprise you to what extent the Government of France shares the views so unreservedly avowed by that of Great Britain, no published correspondence of the French Government on the subject having been received."[381]

Davis had also been somewhat disconcerted by Napoleon III when "[o]n the 1st day of June, 1861, the British Government interdicted the use of its ports 'to armed ships and privateers, both of the United States and the so-called Confederate States,' with their prizes."[382] Doing so only hurt the Confederacy because the U.S. had no privateers, and he was disappointed when France followed suit as "[t]he Secretary of State of the United States fully appreciated the character and motive of this interdiction when he observed to Lord Lyons, who communicated it, 'that this measure and that of the same character which had been adopted by France would probably prove a deathblow to Southern privateering.'"[383] The British and French governments banned C.S. commerce raiders and privateers alike from their ports throughout the war as a result, but Davis's confidence in France was restored by the fact that Napoleon III turned a blind eye to C.S. warships docking in French ports whereas Britain sought to impound any and all Confederate warships in British waters. The famous C.S.S. *Alabama*, for instance, was bought from a Liverpool firm with Erlanger Loan money, but it never returned to a British port, putting into La Havre, Brest, Calais, and Cherbourg instead for re-provisioning, recruiting, and repairs

[381] "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, December 7, 1863, *JDC*, 6:103.
[382] Ibid., 6:97.
[383] Ibid., 6:97.

like the other C.S. commerce raiders.[384] And its captain Raphael Semmes playfully expressed his gratitude by inscribing the French motto "*Aide-toi et Dieu t'aidera*" upon the *Alabama*'s hull.

Raphael Semmes became the most famous of all C.S. naval officers, eclipsing even Catesby ap Roger Jones. He belonged to the prestigious Maryland Catholic Semmes family, members of which had migrated throughout the South by 1860.[385] His Georgetown-born cousin Thomas Jenkins Semmes was a lawyer and Democratic politician in Louisiana who lauded the Napoleonic Code, blasted Know-Nothings, and defended Catholicism in a famous 1855 New Orleans speech which catapulted him to the House of Representatives.[386] Thomas Jenkins Semmes went on to become a staunchly pro-Davis C.S. senator, in which capacity he pushed impressment and tax-in-kind legislation on Davis's behalf, selecting *Deo Vindice* ("God vindicates") as the official Confederate motto as well. The C.S. citizenry also appreciated his sacrifices on their behalf, for "Beast" Butler famously confiscated his New Orleans residence for U.S. army use. His brother Alexander Ignatius Jenkins Semmes, moreover, studied medicine at both Georgetown and Paris, where he imbibed "scientific" French racial theories. Dr. Semmes entered Confederate service as the regimental surgeon for the Zouaves of the 8th Louisiana Infantry, and he rose to become the chief inspector of all Virginia C.S. hospitals by 1864, in which role his protégé the French-speaking Spring Hill graduate Dr. John Duffel continued to assist him. He also fell in love with a "low church" Episcopalian named Sarah Berrien, whose father John McPherson Berrien was a defector from the Democrats to the Whigs, an original

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[384] See "S. Barron to S. R. Mallory," Paris, November 10, 1863, *ORN*, series II, 2:519; and "A. W. Crawford to Captain Winslow," Consulate of the United States, Antwerp, April 16, 1864, *ORN*, series I, 3:13.

[385] See Harry Wright Newman, *The Maryland Semmes and Kindred Families* (1956; reprint, Westminster, MD: Heritage Books, 2007); and Thomas W. Spalding, "The Maryland Catholic Diaspora," *U.S. Catholic Historian*, vol. 8, no. 3 (Summer 1989), 162-72.

[386] See *Representative Men of the South*, 529-551; and Newman, *op. cit.*, 82-83. Also see Thomas J. Semmes, *History of the Laws of Louisiana and of the Civil Law* (New Orleans: Melvin M. Cohen and Joseph A. Quintero, 1873); and Thomas J. Semmes, *The Civil Law as Transplanted in Louisiana: A Paper Read before the American Bar Association* (Philadelphia: George S. Harris & Sons, 1883).

founder of the Georgia Know-Nothings, and had been President Jackson's anti-Calhoun attorney general. Unsurprisingly, their 1864 marriage proved to be an unhappy one due to religious and political differences. Having become estranged from his wife, Dr. Semmes devoted himself to medical research after the war, and he became a Catholic priest in 1873 after she passed away.[387]

Dr. Semmes had also befriended Father Gache at Spring Hill when visiting his nephew S. Spencer Semmes, who was Raphael Semmes's son, graduated from Spring Hill in 1855, entered C.S. service as a 1st Louisiana Infantry lieutenant, and distinguished himself as an Army of Tennessee captain.[388] S. Spencer Semmes, moreover, was instructed at Spring Hill by Father Gache and Thomas Gwynn Rapier, whose wife was sister to a C.S. agent in Europe named Felix Senac.[389] Rapier's Catholic son John Lawrence Rapier was born at Spring Hill in 1842, educated by Father Gache, and became one of the Confederacy's greatest heroes.[390] Entering C.S. service in April 1861 as a Zouave in Captain Henri Saint-Paul Léchard's 7th Louisiana Infantry company, Rapier rose to the rank of lieutenant after fighting in all of the Army of Northern Virginia's major battles up until the end of 1862. Pining for more combat during the ensuing period of quiescence, he was able to transfer to the Confederate marines with the same rank thanks to Secretary of the Navy Mallory, and he used Brooke Rifles to defend Richmond from U.S. ironclads at the crucial Drewry's Bluff artillery emplacements on several occasions. Performing the same service at Dauphin Island near Mobile in August 1864, Rapier refused to surrender when Fort Gaines fell but was captured all the same. Escaping from prison a few

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[387] See the New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, September 21, 1898; Newman, *The Maryland Semmes and Kindred Families*, 84; and *A Frenchman, A Chaplain, and A Rebel*, 113, 167.
[388] See *A Frenchman, A Chaplain, and A Rebel*, 25, 110, 239; and Kenny, *Catholic Culture in Alabama*, 250.
[389] See Regina Rapier, *Felix Senac: Saga of Felix Senac: Being the Legend and Biography of a Confederate agent in Europe* (n.p., 1972).
[390] See *A Frenchman, A Chaplain, and A Rebel*, 37.

months later, he kept fighting as a gunner onboard the Confederate gunboat *Morgan* until May 1865, by which point he had slain so many Union soldiers that he could no longer keep count.[391]

S. Spencer Semmes was married to Pauline Semmes, and their son M. O. Semmes would teach at Spring Hill after becoming a Jesuit in 1887.[392] Pauline Semmes, in turn, was daughter to Georgia's Paul Jones Semmes, who was a Democratic banker, state militia officer, and planter. Starting off as the 2nd Georgia Infantry's colonel, Semmes was promoted to brigadier general in March 1862. Having served with distinction at Antietam and Chancellorsville, Brigadier General Semmes was mortally wounded at the Battle of Gettysburg.[393] His distant cousin the former U.S. navy captain Raphael Semmes had departed from Louisiana's Pass à l'Outre in June 1861 as the commander of the C.S.S. *Sumter*, which captured eighteen U.S. ships before it was auctioned off in early 1862 because the British refused repairs at Gibraltar.[394] Taking command of the *Alabama*, Raphael Semmes was in constant violation of the British Foreign Enlistment Prohibition Act because his crew was full of Royal Navy deserters.[395] He would also fly the British flag when approaching Union targets, for he knew that U.S. merchantmen did not feel threatened by British vessels.[396] Indeed, one of the more than sixty prizes which the *Alabama* took was the British merchant ship *Martaban*, which had not been furnished with proper documents of sale by its previous U.S. owner. Britain, too, was fully aware of the *Alabama*'s

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[391] See "D. G. Farragut to Hon. Gideon Welles," Flagship Hartford, Mobile Bay, August 22, 1864, *ORN*, series I, 21:610; *Notable Men of Alabama: Personal and Genealogical, with Portraits*, ed. Joel C. DuBose, 2 vols. (Atlanta, GA: Southern Historical Association, 1904), 1:122-24; *A Frenchman, A Chaplain, and A Rebel*, 37; and *Biographical Sketches of the Commissioned Officers of the Confederate States Marine Corps*, ed. Ralph E. Donnelly and David M. Sullivan (Shippensburg, PA: White Mane Publishing Co., 2001), 162-63.
[392] See *The American Catholic Who's Who*, ed. Georgina Pell Curtis (St. Louis, MO: B. Herder, 1911), 590.
[393] See Warner, *Generals in Gray*, 272-73.
[394] See Raphael Semmes, *Service Afloat and Ashore During the Mexican War* (Cincinnati: Wm. H. Moore & Co., 1851).
[395] Semmes also violated the neutrality laws of pro-Union Prussia by recruiting two shipwrecked Prussian naval officers at Cape Town. See Mahin, *The Blessed Place of Freedom*, 158.
[396] See George T. Fullam, *The Journal of George Townley Fullam*: *Boarding Officer of the Confederate Sea Raider Alabama*, ed. Charles G. Summersell (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1973), xiii, 138, 171. Also see Lonn, *Foreigners in the Confederacy*, 279.

transgressions, for when Semmes's British assistant paymaster Clarence R. Yonge ran afoul of Davis's brother-in-law the C.S. captain of marines and *Alabama* disciplinarian Becket Kempe Howell, he was dismissed and quietly put ashore at Jamaica. Returning to England, he sought clemency from his government by disclosing the *Alabama*'s flagrant abuse of the British flag.[397]

Yet when Semmes was finally cornered at Cherbourg in June 1864 by the U.S.S. *Kearsarge*, which outgunned the *Alabama* and had several iron plates bolted to its hull, Napoleon III's government failed to protect Semmes, much to the consternation of the French *Gloire*-class ironclad *Couronne*, which escorted the *Alabama* out of Cherbourg harbor in hopes that the *Kearsarge* might stray into French territorial waters or strike the all-but-impervious *Couronne* with an errant shot.[398] The *Kearsarge*, however, sank the *Alabama* with precision, inducing the Paris *Constitutionnel* to aver that the news would cause "profound regret from one end of France to the other."[399] The *Constitutionnel*, however, was relieved to learn that Semmes had survived the battle, and when he made his way to Richmond by way of Matamoros in February 1865, Davis promoted him to admiral and placed him in charge of the James River Squadron, which was a small fleet of gunboats and ironclads guarding the C.S. capital. Admiral Semmes was forced to scuttle his vessels when Richmond fell, but Davis had so much faith in the famous Catholic Confederate's command skills, loyalty, ideological purity, and popularity in both the C.S.A. and France that he commissioned him as a brigadier general, making Semmes the only officer in either the Union or Confederacy to hold such high dual army and navy ranks.

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[397] See Montague Bernard, *A Historical Account of the Neutrality of Great Britain during the American Civil War* (London: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer, 1870), 349; and *PJD*, 5:42.
[398] See Raphael Semmes, *The Cruise of the Alabama and the Sumter: From the Private Journals and Other Papers of Commander R. Semmes, C. S. N., and other officers* (1864; reprint, Scituate, MA: Digital Scanning, Inc., 2001), 233; and Frégate Cuirassée *La Couronne*, "Recit du Combat entre le Kerseage et L'Alabama," Cherbourg le 19 juin, 1864, *The American Historical Review*, vol. 23, no. 1 (October 1917), 119-23. Also see Raphael Semmes, *Memoirs of Service Afloat, During the War Between the States* (Baltimore: Kelly, Piet, & Co., 1869), 744-61.
[399] Quoted in McCullogh, *The Greater Journey*, 245.

With such Confederates as the West Point Napoleon Seminar graduate Brigadier General Stephen D. Ramseur beginning to "fear" in 1864 that "Louis Nap'n. will not care to entangle himself in our affairs," Davis, who knew that Napoleon III's reluctance to overtly aid the C.S.A. did not stem from a lack of sympathy, upbraided the French emperor for what seemed to be timidity before the British-led mutual enemies of France and the Confederacy.[400] He thus reproached him with regard to the U.S. blockade for "tak[ing] no measure without previous concert" with Britain, which he ought to have been challenging rather than consulting given that France had 610,000 military personnel and even more conscripts in reserve to Britain's 347,000 widely-dispersed soldiers and sailors.[401] "No public protest nor opposition," Davis complained, "has been made by His Imperial Majesty against the prohibition to trade with us imposed on French citizens by the paper blockade of the United States, although I have reason to believe that an unsuccessful attempt was made on his part to secure the assent of the British Government to a course of action more consonant with the dictates of public law and the demands of justice…."[402]

Having become thoroughly disgusted with his own country, moreover, John W. Cowell moved to France in 1863, declaring that "I am a devoted friend to the cause of the South, and… my sole object in this writing is to assist in bringing about such an understanding between France and the South as shall prevent further injury to the South and enable it to establish its independence." "To whatever odium this resolution may expose me" in Britain, he explained, "I must be content to submit. I now address the French and the Confederate publics alone, and in nowise the British public." He thus argued from Cannes that while an alliance with the C.S.A.

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[400] Quoted in *Bravest of the Brave: The Correspondence of Stephen Dodson Ramseur*, ed. George G. Kundahl (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 17. According to Wolfgang Schivelbusch, it was common knowledge that "Napoleon III supported the Confederacy not only for economic and political reasons but also for sentimental ones." See Schivelbusch, *The Culture of Defeat*, 316.

[401] "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, December 7, 1863, *JDC*, 6:96; and Kennedy, *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers*, 154.

[402] "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," *op. cit.*, 6:103.

would "render [the] Second Empire so much more glorious and powerful than the First," the French would lose everything if they were intimidated by Britain into letting the Republicans defeat the Confederates. Appealing to "the wisdom of the Emperor, the humanity of France, and the enterprise of its merchants and shipowners," he warned that a C.S. defeat would guarantee that the French would lose Mexico and become "commercially subordinate to England," for they would, despite their control over Egypt, be driven out of the world cotton trade by a trading bloc comprising a Republican-ruled South and Britain "owing to the immense efforts which England is making to push the cultivation of cotton in India." And a trans-Atlantic Anglo-abolitionist naval alliance might well endanger French independence itself. The British Crown, after all, claimed the "title of King of Great Britain, *France*, and Ireland." It was therefore crucial that the French see that the C.S.A. and not the "Yankee Government" was the true heir of the original American nationality, which was "essentially hostile to England," and that the Republicans had already violated the treaty with Napoleon I for the transfer of Louisiana: "France will remember that the Louisianians are French; that she herself possesses dormant rights to claim observance of the conditions on which she ceded Louisiana to the late Union of the United States...."[403]

Louisiana's Governor Allen, however, had warned shortly before the war commenced that Napoleon III would always be inhibited by a belief that "he can never whip the English," and Calhoun's old friend Duff Green had been cautioning Davis ever since the Crimean War that "the coalition between England and Napoleon the Third" was unlikely to ever truly rupture due to the latter's fear of the former, and so Democrats should not count on the French emperor's assistance against the political heirs of the "Boston Federalists," who had always been a "British

[403] Cowell, *France and the Confederate States*, 10, 11, 28, 21, 9, 30, 35, 20, 27-28. See ibid., 3.

Disunion Party."[404] A Kentuckian War of 1812 veteran, Green was one of Calhoun's earliest as well as most valuable allies, and his daughter Margaret Maria would marry Calhoun's son Andrew. A Missouri congressman and U.S. senator in the early-to-mid 1820s, Green and his Washington, D.C. *United States Telegraph* helped propel Andrew Jackson to the presidency in 1828.[405] Green, however, defied Jackson – or, rather, Van Buren – during the Nullification Crisis, and he served President Tyler as a diplomatic agent for Secretary of State Calhoun in Europe and Texas. Re-joining the Democracy when Polk ousted Van Buren in 1844, he championed Manifest Destiny, the Mexican War, and scientific racialism in his newspapers, echoing Calhoun and such Calhoun stalwarts as James Gadsden and George McDuffie by rejecting slavery-in-the-abstract in favor of white rule as the South's ultimate non-negotiable.[406] His son Benjamin , in fact, sent Davis a clipping from the New Orleans *Delta* in 1854 to help the Secretary of War prove that Britain was helping Haiti and seeking not just to destroy the institution of slavery in the Caribbean, Central America, and the South but also to bring about the "Africanization" of those regions as well.[407] Green moved to Dalton, Georgia in 1851 after Calhoun passed away to promote railroad construction, for which purpose he went to New York City in 1856 to solicit investments from wealthy Democratic merchants.[408] He also asked Davis to elaborate upon the War Department's trans-continental railroad reports, urged him to use his influence to counteract the influence of Douglas's allies among Buchanan's cabinet members, and even asked him to submit a recommendation to the Coast Survey on his wife's behalf.[409]

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[404] Allen, *The Travels of a Sugar Planter*, 62; and Duff Green, *Facts and Suggestions, Biographical, Historical, Financial and Political, Addressed to the People of the United States* (New York: Richardson & Co., 1866), 199, 42. See ibid., 55, 191.
[405] See Ewing, "Duff Green, John C. Calhoun, and the Election of 1828," *The South Carolina Historical Magazine*, 126-37.
[406] See "From James Gadsden," [Private] Mexico, July 19, 1854; and *PJD*, 5:79
[407] See *PJD*, 5:339.
[408] "From Duff Green," November 7, 1856, *PJD*, 6:514.
[409] See ibid., 6:514; and "To Alexander D. Bache," November 6, 1856, *PJD*, 6:513.

Davis, in turn, affectionately referred to the former brigadier general of Missouri militia as "General Duff Green," and the "General" served him as an informal advisor throughout the Civil War, during which Green founded three iron manufactories and the Dalton Arms Company to save the Confederacy without any expectation of overt assistance from Napoleon III's France.[410]

Davis usually heeded Green's advice, but he came to suspect that Napoleon III's reticence actually stemmed from a cynical desire on the emperor's part to wait until a desperate C.S.A. would consent to client status. Quite a few Davis Democrats *cum* Confederates, after all, were entirely willing to live under French as opposed to abolitionist rule, for the visiting Jewish French banker Baron Salomon de Rothschild had advised his father to inform Napoleon III that in New Orleans "some very distinguished men... told me that they would prefer to live under the *liberal* government of Louis Napoleon rather than to endure the unbearable oppression of the North."[411] The C.S. clerk John B. Jones, moreover, observed soon after the 1863 Confederate calamities at Vicksburg and Gettysburg that "[t[he news from Mexico… is refreshing to our people. The 'notables' of the new government, under the auspices of the French General, Forey, have proclaimed the States an Empire, and offered the throne to Maximilian of Austria…. Our people, very many of them, just at this time, would not object to being included in the same Empire."[412] Davis, however, was more determined to see the Confederacy become a near-equal ally of France than many of his own C.S. supporters. And so Slidell reminded Napoleon III of "the importance of securing the lasting gratitude and attachment of a people already so well

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[410] See, for instance, "To Randolph B. Marcy," War Department, Washington, D.C., May 16, 1853, *PJD*, 5:16; and "Jefferson Davis to General Duff Green," Richmond, January 9, 1864, *JDC*, 6:148. Also see Duff Green, *Facts and Suggestions Relative to Finance & Currency, addressed to the President of the Confederate States* (Augusta, GA: J. T. Paterson & Co., 1864); Fletcher M. Green, "Duff Green: Industrial Promoter," *The Journal of Southern History*, vol. 2, no. 1 (February 1936), 29-42; and W. Stephen Belko's misleadingly titled but otherwise useful *The Invincible Duff Green: Whig of the West* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2006).
[411] Quoted in Mahin, *The Blessed Place of Freedom*, 100.
[412] Entry for July 31, 1863, in *A Rebel War Clerk's Diary*, 250.

disposed…," explaining that "our alliance was worth cultivating" due to the fact "there could be no doubt that our Confederacy was to be the strongest power of the American Continent…."[413]

Wondering in 1864 "why France is so slow" to intervene on the Confederacy's behalf, Charles Girard also asserted that, if facing utter defeat, "the people would prefer French protection pure and simple, but the country is still confident in its own power and sure of its cause."[414] Yet if France delayed intervention until a battered C.S.A. had nearly been overrun by the Republican "Anglo-Saxon element," he warned, "the States of the Northwest" would not be able to "break away from those of the East," which "split will set up a barrier between the New England States and the States that remain," nor would pro-Confederate northern Democrats be able to flock to the banners of liberating C.S. armies, fleeing instead from Republican "terrorism" in "the direction of the South."[415] The Confederacy, Girard accordingly insisted, would be far more valuable to France as a strong ally rather than as "a province in the Mexican empire under French protection," for the French-backed armies of a powerful C.S.A. would be able to win Napoleonic victories and sweep into the North, where they would, just like Napoleon III "as soon as the Battles of Magenta and Solferino were over," hold plebiscites in which "[t]hat part of the Northern people that has not been driven to fanaticism" would vote to secede and perhaps even join the Confederacy.[416] He had been prophesizing since 1861 that an immediate French intervention would greatly hasten the day "when the Confederacy will contain more States than will the Union...," and so he beseeched Napoleon III to put forth all of France's energy to "revitalize" the New World "as Napoleon I revitalized the old one," "draw[ing] even closer the bonds destined to unite in a single sheaf all the branches of the Latin race in the Old

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[413] John Slidell, "Memorandum of an Interview with the Emperor at the Tuileries on Thursday, 18th June 1863," *ORN*, series II, 3:813.
[414] Girard, *A Visit to the Confederate States of America in 1863*, 100, 92-93.
[415] Ibid., 100, 71, 69.
[416] Ibid., 92 ,100, 70.

and New Worlds" by treating the C.S.A. as a true "friend and ally" that would happily teach France how to make Brooke Rifles so that *Gloire*-class warships would be able to destroy U.S. and British ironclads in the future.[417] The inventor of the Brooke Rifle knew that France had no equivalent to his weapon because he read French ordnance reports.[418] Brooke, "whose great abilities, I well know," also befriended Girard at Tredegar, where the Frenchman personally witnessed the "manufacture of the Brooke cannon." Yet Girard could only hope in the end that Napoleon III had been intrigued by the crude Brooke Rifle diagrams given to him by C.S. agents, for "[y]our Imperial Majesty has already had occasion to judge them from simple sketches."[419]

President Davis's Last Hope to Reconstitute the C.S.A. in Texas as a French Pseudo-client

Calculating that the offer of Brooke Rifle schematics might convince Napoleon III that the Confederacy would be a valuable ally rather than a burden for France, Davis also declined additional credit from Erlanger, who had sent three agents to Richmond to offer even more money after extending his loan, due to the fact that he wanted the C.S.A. to be a near-equal partner rather than a client of the French if possible.[420] He sent weaponry to the trans-Mississippi as well so that Confederates there would look primarily to Richmond rather than to the French in Mexico for war *matériel* even though he could have relied wholly upon the Matamoros trade to supply that region.[421] And when the Union's capture of Vicksburg in July

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[417] Charles Girard, "The American Conflict," Paris *Pays*, August 31, 1861, in ibid., 113; and ibid., 95, 101, 93.
[418] See "John M. Brooke to Commodore S. Barron," Confederate States Navy Department, Office of Ordnance and Hydrography, Richmond, January 11, 1864, *ORN*, series II, 2:572; and Brooke, Jr., *John M. Brooke*, 261.
[419] Girard, *A Visit to the Confederate States of America in 1863*, 57-58, 60. See ibid., 61.
[420] For Davis's desire to keep the C.S.A. from becoming a client state, see "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, November 18, 1861, *JDC*, 5:167, 172; "Inaugural Address," Richmond, February 22, 1862, *JDC*, 5:201-02; "Jefferson Davis to Mrs. Davis," Richmond, July 6, 1862, *JDC*, 5:291; "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, January 12, 1863, *JDC*, 5:406; "Jefferson Davis to the People of the Confederate States," Executive Office, Richmond, April 10, 1863, *JDC*, 5:470; and "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, November 7, 1864, *JDC*, 6:388.
[421] As Davis informed a group of trans-Mississippi C.S. congressmen in March 1863, "within the last eight months there have been sent to the Trans-Mississippi Dept. over 34,000 stands of small arms, over 2,000,000 rounds of ammunition for small arms, 27 field guns with ammunition, and one ten inch Columbiad." "Jefferson Davis to Senators and Representatives from Arkansas," Richmond, March 30, 1863, *JDC*, 5:461.

1863 significantly curtailed his ability to send supplies to the trans-Mississippi, Davis continued to send war *matériel* there even though large quantities were intercepted by the U.S. on the Mississippi or in the Gulf.[422] Indeed, he even sent machinery and "skilled workmen" from the eastern Confederacy after Vicksburg fell to keep the Trans-Mississippi Department somewhat independent of the French to the south by rendering it "self-sustaining" to "a great extent."[423]

Yet while Davis was more averse to the Confederacy becoming a French client state than quite a few of his supporters, his belief that Napoleon III's France would certainly intervene if the C.S.A. were on the brink of defeat did not falter, unlike a few of his closest allies. Mary Chesnut, for instance, was already despairing in March 1862 that the French emperor had been "silent in our hour of direst need," and while she declared that she would proudly support Davis even when "the cause is failing" as had many a Bonapartist *vis-à-vis* "Napoleon the Great," she glumly predicted that the C.S. president would likely be captured and imprisoned in exile by Anglo-abolitionists in the end much like "Napoleon died at St. Helena."[424] Davis, however, was still confident that the Confederacy could be saved without accepting outright French clientage even as U. S. Grant pressed upon the trenches of a beleaguered Army of the Northern Virginia in

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[422] See "Jefferson Davis to General E. K. Smith," Richmond, July 14, 1863, *JDC*, 5:553; "Jefferson Davis to Lt. Genl. T. H. Holmes," Richmond, July 15, 1863, *JDC*, 5:555; and "Jefferson Davis to Genl. J. E. Johnston, Meridian, Missi., "Telegram (In cipher)," Richmond, November 14, 1863, *JDC*, 6:80-81. It was in fact safer for the Davis administration to send transports or contracted blockade runners to Matamoros rather than to blockaded C.S. ports in the trans-Mississippi. See "Jefferson Davis to Govr. F. R. Lubbock of Texas, Govr. C. F. Jackson of Mo., Govr. T. O. Moore of La., and to Govr. H. M. Rector of Ark.," Richmond, September 12, 1861, *JDC*, 5:343.

[423] "Jefferson Davis to Hon. R. W. Johnson, Senator, &c.," Richmond, July 14, 1863, *JDC*, 5:549; and "Jefferson Davis to General E. K. Smith," Richmond, July 14, 1863, *JDC*, 5:552. "I have long seen the importance of establishing manufactures of all munitions of war in the trans-Missi. Dept," Davis claimed, adding that "every inducement should be offered to develop the mines of the country. A foundry and rolling mill should be located where iron is cheapest and best…." The trans-Mississippi would also need "a powder mill," "[t]anneries and shoemaking establishments," increased "production of food," cotton cards for "the manufacture of cloth," "arsenals for the repair and manufacture of small arms," and foundries "to cast heavy guns." "Jefferson Davis to Hon. R. W. Johnson, Senator, &c.," Richmond, July 14, 1863, *JDC*, 5:549; "Jefferson Davis to General E. K. Smith," Richmond, July 14, 1863, *JDC*, 5:552-53; "Jefferson Davis to Lt. Genl. T. H. Holmes," Richmond, July 15, 1863, *JDC*, 5:555; and "Jefferson Davis to General E. K. Smith, Comdg., &c.," Richmond, November 19, 1863, *JDC*, 6:85. He was hence pleased to announce in November 1863 that "the Treasury agency in the Trans-Mississippi Department has been fully organized and is now in operation, with promise of efficiency and success." "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, November 7, 1864, *JDC*, 6:391.

[424] Entries for March 5, 1862, July 26, 1864, and March 10, 1865, in *Mary Chesnut's Civil War*, 298, 627, 753.

early 1865. Beauregard, he hoped, would be able to combine troops from General Taylor's army in Louisiana with William J. Hardee's forces to achieve a "rapid concentration" and destroy a U.S. army under William T. Sherman moving through the C.S. southeast into North Carolina, at which point the Little Napoleon would head north to relieve the Army of Northern Virginia.[425]

Hardee, for his part, was born into a wealthy Georgia Episcopalian planter family, but he was so proud of his Irish heritage that he converted to Catholicism.[426] He was sent to study *Chasseur* tactics in France shortly after graduating from West Point in 1838, and he fought alongside Davis at Monterey as a U.S. army captain.[427] Secretary of War Davis promoted him to major and appointed him a tactics instructor at West Point, where he served as the cadet commandant from 1856-60 due in large part to the Mississippian, whose reforms there he heartily endorsed.[428] At Davis's behest, he also translated a French tactics book in 1854 to produce his famous *Rifle and Light Infantry Tactics for the Exercise and Manoeuvres of Troops When Acting as Light Infantry or Riflemen*.[429] "Hardee's Tactics" soon became the standard reference for state militias and the U.S. army alike thanks to Davis, who requested $30,000 from Congress to print it *en masse* in early 1855, ordered all U.S. army officers to use it rather than Winfield Scott's old drill manual in 1856, and distributed copies of it as gifts to his friends and relatives.[430] Hardee, in turn, told Varina Davis from Camp Jefferson Davis at West Point in 1858 that "[t]he Colo [*i.e.* Davis] has many warm friends here who would be glad to see him...."

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[425] "Jefferson Davis to General G. T. Beauregard, Augusta, Ga.," "Telegram (in cipher)," Richmond, February 4, 1865, *JDC*, 6:464. See "Jefferson Davis to General R. Taylor, Meridian, Miss.," "Telegram (in cipher)," Richmond, January 17, 1865, *JDC*, 6:451; and "Jefferson Davis to General R. E. Lee, Petersburg, Va.," "Telegram (in cipher)," Richmond, February 2, 1865, *JDC*, 6:463.
[426] See Hennesey, *American Catholics*, 155.
[427] See Davis, *Rebels and Yankees*, 40.
[428] See *PJD*, 6:362, 475.
[429] See *PJD*, 5:341; and Michael A. Bonura, *Under the Shadow of Napoleon: French Influence on the American Way of Warfare from the War of 1812 to the Outbreak of WWII* (New York: New York University Press, 2012), 97, 102.
[430] See *PJD*, 5:341; and "To Joseph E. Davis," Washington D.C., August 25, 1855, *PJD*, 5:118.

"I named our encampment in honor of your husband," he added, and "[p]lease thank him for his great kindness in having a law passed giving me additional rank and pay."[431] Lieutenant Colonel Hardee also honored Davis in 1858 by designing the standard issue U.S. cavalry hat, which was known as the "Hardee hat" or simply as the "Jeff Davis."[432] Entering C.S. service as a colonel in March 1861, he became a major general by October, commanding an Army of Tennessee corps together with his subordinate officer and friend the Louisiana planter St. John Richardson Liddell, who was an old schoolmate of Davis, a Napoleon enthusiast, and one of the most vocal Confederate advocates of anti-racial equality C.S. manumissions.[433] And it was Hardee who instructed the lieutenant colonel of the Confederacy's First Foreign Battalion to "take only men of Irish and French nationality" when "recruit[ing] his command from the prisoners of war."[434]

Unfortunately for Davis, the Little Napoleon's reports were "more discouraging than I had anticipated," for Beauregard could not concentrate nearly enough troops to fight a Napoleonic battle by which to bring about "the defeat of Sherman."[435] "Such full preparations had been made," Davis complained to him, "that I had hoped for other and better results; and the disappointment is to me extremely bitter."[436] He was further disappointed to learn that the Army of Northern Virginia could not hope to defend Richmond if it sent Beauregard reinforcements "sufficient to enable you to defeat the enemy."[437] And the C.S. capital fell anyway, but he drew

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[431] "William Joseph Hardee to Mrs. Davis," Camp Jeff'n Davis, West Point, N.Y., August 15, 1858, *JDC*, 3:282-83.
[432] See Davis, *Rebels and Yankees*, 11. See Nathaniel C. Hughes, Jr., *General William J. Hardee: Old Reliable* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1965).
[433] See Fox-Genovese and Genovese, *Mind of the Master Class*, 693.
[434] "H. W. Fielden, Assistant Adjutant-General, Special Orders No. 38," Hdqrs. Dept. of S.C., Ga., and Fla., Charleston, S.C., February 14, 1865, *OR*, series IV, 3:1083.
[435] "Jefferson Davis to General G. T. Beauregard, Augusta, Ga.," "Telegram (in cipher)," Richmond, February 4, 1865, *JDC* 6:463, 464.
[436] "Jefferson Davis to General G. T. Beauregard, Columbia, S. C.," "Telegram (in cipher)," Richmond, February 6, 1865, *JDC*, 6:464-65.
[437] "Jefferson Davis to General G. T. Beauregard, Augusta, Ga.," *op. cit.* Davis hence advised Beauregard that, "[t]o give time for such concentration and for the arrival of reinforcements, every available means must be employed to delay the advance of the enemy, and by operation on his lines of communication to interfere with his supplies." Ibid., 6:464. See "Jefferson Davis to General R. E. Lee, Petersburg, Va.," "Telegram (in cipher)," Richmond,

comfort in the belief that the Army of Northern Virginia, having been relieved of its duty to protect Richmond, could now head southward and unite with Beauregard against Sherman's army, after the annihilation of which U. S. Grant's army could be defeated or at least repelled.[438]

Davis, though, concluded that the C.S. government had no choice but to re-locate across the Mississippi River upon learning that the Army of Northern Virginia had lost a Napoleonic battle of annihilation at Appomattox. Historians have usually assumed that after the Battle of Appomattox Davis "*had become delusional*," for as one Confederate observed, the "[p]oor President… is unwilling to see what all around him see. He cannot bring himself to believe that after four years of glorious struggle we are to be crushed."[439] Yet while Davis had expelled the French consul at Galveston in the autumn of 1863 for suggesting to the governor of Texas that his state might do well to secede from the C.S.A. and join Maximilian's Mexico, he had not yet lost all hope of French soldiers entering Confederate Texas from Mexico *en masse* to turn the war's tide.[440] Thanks to France's army and navy, after all, the Patriots had recovered from similarly dire circumstances in the American Revolution, during which British abolitionist soldiers had rampaged across the South after taking many of the fledgling Union's largest cities.

February 18, 1865, *JDC*, 6:481; and "Jefferson Davis to General R. E. Lee, Comdg. &c.," Richmond, March 22, 1865, *JDC*, 6:520.

[438] See "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, November 7, 1864, *JDC*, 6:386; "Jefferson Davis to Hon. Alexander H. Stephens, Vice-President," Richmond, January 6, 1865, *JDC*, 6:440; "Jefferson Davis to the People of the Confederate States of America," Danville, Va., April 4, 1865, *JDC*, 6:529-31; "Jefferson Davis to Mrs. Davis," Danville, Va., April 5, 1865, *JDC*, 6:533; "Jefferson Davis to Mrs. Davis," "I.," Danville, Va., April 6, 1865, *JDC*, 6:534; "Jefferson Davis to General R. E. Lee, Hd. Qrs. via Clover Depot.," "Telegram (in cipher)," Danville, Va., April 9, 1865, *JDC*, 6:54; "Jefferson Davis to Mrs. Davis," Charlotte, N.C., April 23, 1865, *JDC*, 6:559-60; Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 2:634-35; and Beringer and Hattaway, *Jefferson Davis, Confederate President*, 397.

[439] Beringer and Hattaway, *Jefferson Davis, Confederate President*, 396. Quoted in ibid., 417.

[440] See "Oration of Edward Everett at the Consecration of the National Cemetery," November 9, 1863, in *Report of the Joint Special Committee on the Burial of the Massachusetts Dead at Gettysburg* (Boston: J. E. Farwell & Company, 1863), 39.

And rumors were in fact rife throughout the unconquered parts of the C.S.A. in April 1865 that "the French fleet had attacked the Yankee gun-boats at New Orleans, and had taken the city."[441]

The Confederate president also believed that even if the entire eastern Confederacy fell, a C.S. government based in the trans-Mississippi would not be a complete French client as a result of his efforts to industrialize the region. After all, thanks in no small part to his "deep solicitude" for the area and his belief in its "importance" as the connection to the French in Mexico, the Trans-Mississippi Department had already "inflicted repeated defeats on the invading armies in Louisiana and on the coast of Texas."[442] Musing in early April 1865 that "[t]he way things look now the trans Miss seems our ultimate destination…," Varina Davis hence advised her husband not to "try to make a stand on this side – *it is not in the people*…."[443] The C.S. president, for his part, had already sent Lewis Guion, Paul Octave Hébert, and other French-American officers to the trans-Mississippi, where he hoped Richard Taylor and his ten thousand or so soldiers would join the 43,000 Confederate troops already there together with the tens of thousands of soldiers in North Carolina under the French-inflected C.S. generals Beauregard, Hardee, and Joseph E. Johnston. Claiming that "[i]f Texas will hold out or seek the protectorate of Maximilian we can still make head against the Enemy," Mary Chesnut's friend the Confederate cavalry general Wade Hampton accordingly informed Davis in North Carolina that "[t]here are now not less than 40 to 50 thousand men in arms on *this* side of the Mississippi. On the other there are as many more – Now the question presents itself, shall we disband these men at once, or shall we

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[441] "Major A. A. Franklin Hill to Varina Davis," Cokesbury Depot, April 22, 1865, in Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 2:614.

[442] "Jefferson Davis to Govr. F. R. Lubbock of Texas, Govr. C. F. Jackson of Mo., Govr. T. O. Moore of La., and to Govr. H. M. Rector of Ark.," Richmond, September 12, 1861, *JDC*, 5:342; and "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, December 7, 1863, *JDC*, 6:94. See "Jefferson Davis to Senators and Representatives from Arkansas," Richmond, March 30, 1863, *JDC*, 5:462; "Jefferson Davis to Lt. Genl. T. H. Holmes," Richmond, July 15, 1863, *JDC*, 5:555-56; Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 2:620; and Cooper, Jr., *Jefferson Davis, American*, 533.

[443] "Mrs. Jefferson Davis to Jefferson Davis," [Charlotte, NC], April 7, 1865, *JDC*, 6:538; and "Mrs. Jefferson Davis to Jefferson Davis," ("Copy" 'L') April 3[?], 1865, *JDC*, 6:528.

endeavor to concentrate them?"[444] Pleased to hear from Hampton that "[i]f you will allow me to do so, I can bring to your support many strong arms and brave hearts – Men who will fight to Texas, & will seek refuge in Mexico, rather than in the Union," Davis answered in the affirmative, and he even sought to induce parolees and escapees from the Army of Northern Virginia to make their way toward the trans-Mississippi by distributing specie among them, having already ordered his Treasury Department to send the bulk of its remaining funds there.[445]

Yet Davis's hopes were soon dashed. The C.S. president thought that France would be inspired to act by a successful defense of French-descended Mobile under Dabney H. Maury, for "I concur with Genl. Taylor as to the importance of holding Mobile, and have considered the garrison there sufficient for its defence against any attack from the Gulf side."[446] But Maury and his subordinate Samuel G. French succumbed to a U.S. siege on April 12, 1865, a few weeks after which Taylor opted to surrender the last significant Gulf South Confederate force eastward of the Mississippi at Citronelle, Alabama. Taylor had already irked the C.S. president in early April 1865 when he removed a brigadier general without permission from Davis, who reminded him that the replacement officer "will not be removed without authority from the War Department."[447] And Lieutenant General Hardee ultimately took a similarly disappointing course for Davis. Hardee, to be sure, excoriated Radical state's rights during the war.[448] But Davis had been annoyed by his Johnston-like failures to "keep me regularly advised," and while

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[444] "Wade Hampton to Jefferson Davis," Greensboro, April 22, 1865, *JDC*, 6:554; "Wade Hampton to Jefferson Davis," Stanton Papers, Copy Z, Hillsboro, April 19, 1865, *JDC*, 6:552. When recuperating back home in South Carolina, an exuberant Hampton had mistakenly informed Chesnut in 1862 that "'France has recognized us. Now, that is a sure thing.'" Entry for June 14, 1862, in *Mary Chesnut's Civil War*, 387.

[445] "Wade Hampton to Jefferson Davis," Stanton Papers, Copy Z, Hillsboro, April 19, 1865, *JDC*, 6:553. See "Jefferson Davis to Mayor J. M. Walker," Danville, Va., April 10, 1865, *JDC*, 6:543; Davis, *An Honorable Defeat*, 263-64; Beringer and Hattaway, *Jefferson Davis, Confederate President*, 424, 528; and Cooper, Jr., *Jefferson Davis, American*, 528.

[446] "Jefferson Davis to General R. E. Lee, Comdg. &c.," Richmond, March 22, 1865, *JDC*, 6:519.

[447] "Jefferson Davis to Lt. Genl. Taylor, Meridian, Miss.," "Telegram," Danville, Va., April 6, 1865, *JDC*, 6:535.

[448] See, for instance, "Jefferson Davis to Maj. Genl. Wm. J. Hardee, Chattanooga, Tenn.," "Telegram," Richmond, August 27, 1862, *JDC*, 5:332; and "Jefferson Davis to General W. J. Hardee, Charleston, S.C.," "Telegram," Richmond, January 7, 1865, *JDC*, 6:445.

Hardee fought bravely at Shiloh, he also seemed to shy away from Napoleonic battles.[449] Davis hence upbraided him during Sherman's February 1864 Meridian campaign for delaying a planned junction of C.S. forces against Sherman, for "[i]t is all important to crush the enemy in Mississippi with the least delay."[450] As a result, the Confederate president promoted an aggressive general who was Hardee's junior in both age and seniority to lead the Army of Tennessee in August 1864, namely, Texas's John Bell Hood. Hardee had begun to lose lustre in Davis's eyes when he joined other senior Army of Tennessee officers in an autumn 1863 bid to oust their commander Braxton Bragg, whom the C.S. president had begun to fear would have to be relieved by October because "an officer who loses the confidence of his troops should have his position changed, whatever may be his ability…."[451] Davis, however, made his friend Bragg a personal military advisor, in which capacity Bragg convinced him in July 1864 to replace Johnston with Hood rather than Hardee as the commander of the Army of Tennessee, which Sherman had begun to besiege at Atlanta.[452] Hardee initially displayed "what I regard as the

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[449] "Jefferson Davis to General W. J. Hardee," Dalton, Ga.," "Telegram," Richmond, December 10, 1863, *JDC*, 6:130. For a particular blunt demand from Davis for an update, see "Jefferson Davis to Genl. T. H. Holmes, or Commanding Officer, Goldsboro, N.C.," "Telegram," Richmond, June 3, 1862, *JDC*, 5:265.

[450] "Jefferson Davis to Lt. General W. J. Hardee, via Demopolis, Ala.," "Telegram," Richmond, February 21, 1864, *JDC*, 6:183. See "Jefferson Davis to Lt. General W. J. Hardee, Dalton, GA.," "Telegram (In cipher)," Richmond, February 17, 1864, *JDC*, 6:181.

[451] "Jefferson Davis to Genl. R. E. Lee, Comdg. Army of No. Va.," Richmond, August 11, 1863, *JDC*, 5:589. Davis thus chastised Hardee as follows: "I now ask is this a time to weigh professional or personal pride against the needs of the country, or for an old soldier to withdraw the support he can give to the public defence…. Let your patriotic instincts answer, rejecting all other advice." "Jefferson Davis to W. J. Hardee, Atlanta, Ga.," "Telegram (in cipher)," Richmond, August 7, 1864, *JDC*, 6:307. Yet such was his respect for him that he also told Bragg that "[i]n this hour of our country's great need, where so much depends upon the harmonious co-operation of all its agents, I feel that I may confidently ask of those who have so often illustrated their patriotism by gallant deeds upon the field, that they will not allow personal antipathies or personal ambition to impair their usefulness to the public service." "Jefferson Davis to General B. Bragg, Comdg. near Chattanooga, Tenn.," Atlanta, October 29, 1863, *JDC*, 6:69.

[452] Davis accordingly ordered Bragg to "proceed to Georgia, confer with General Johnston in relation to military affairs there, and then, as circumstances may indicate, visit the country West or East of Atlanta with a view to such dispositions and preparations as may best promote the ends and objects which have been discussed between us," reminding him as well that "your services here are daily needed, and your return desired at as early a day as public duties elsewhere will permit." "Jefferson Davis to General B. Bragg, Comdg. Armies &c.," Richmond, July 9, 1864, *JDC*, 6:286. See Herman Hattaway, "The General Whom the President Elevated Too High: Davis and John Bell Hood," in *Jefferson Davis's Generals*, 95. Also see "Jefferson Davis to General R. E. Lee, Comdg. &c.," Richmond, March 22, 1865, *JDC*, 6:521.

proper sentiment of a soldier and the true rule of conduct of a patriot" by agreeing to serve under Hood, but the Georgian deemed Davis's decision so "personally humiliating" and complained so often that he was soon relieved "from duty with the Army of Tennessee and direct[ed]… to proceed at once to… assume command of the Department of So. Carolina, Georgia, and Florida."[453] And he would utterly shock an aghast C.S. president in the end by surrendering his forces alongside Johnston's Army of Tennessee to Sherman in North Carolina on April 26, 1865.

Hood was just as eager to fight Napoleonic battles as Bragg but even less proficient at doing so. Johnston was restored to command of the Army of Tennessee in February 1865 as a result, and Davis's flickering faith in him was re-kindled a month later when he won a minor engagement against Sherman at the cost of Hardee's son Willie's life, for "I have been very much gratified by the success of General Johnston at Bentonville, and hope this is only the first of the good tidings we may receive from that quarter."[454] Having ordered the remaining C.S. forces in Virginia to join Johnston after Appomattox, Davis was still musing well into April that "[t]he important question first to be solved is at what point shall concentration be made, in view of the present position of the two columns of the enemy, and the routes which they may adopt to engage your forces before a prompt junction with General Walker and others."[455] Johnston, however, had been insisting that Sherman could not be defeated in any case, asking permission to seek an armistice instead.[456] Unable to "see you to confer as to future action," Davis granted his request calculating that Confederate resolve would be steeled when Johnston was offered no

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[453] "Jefferson Davis to Lt. General W. J. Hardee, Army of Tennessee," Richmond, September 16, 1864, *JDC*, 6:334; quoted in Beringer and Hattaway, *Jefferson Davis, Confederate President*, 324; and "Jefferson Davis to Genl. John B. Hood, Hdqtrs. Army of Tenn.," "Telegram," West Point, Alabama, September 28, 1864, *JDC*, 6:344. See "Jefferson Davis to General J. B. Hood, Atlanta, Ga.," "Telegram (in cipher)," Richmond, August 5, 1864, *JDC*, 6:305.

[454] "Jefferson Davis to General R. E. Lee, Comdg. &c.," Richmond, March 22, 1865, *JDC*, 6:520.

[455] "Jefferson Davis to Genl. J. E. Johnston, Hd. Qrs. via Raleigh, N. C.," Greensboro, N.C., April 11, 1865, *JDC*, 6:544.

[456] See "Jefferson Davis to General R. E. Lee, Comdg. Armies &c.," "(Private)," Richmond, April 1, 1865, *JDC*, 6:527.

terms but abject submission, and that the negotiations would buy time for him to begin extricating his army toward the trans-Mississippi.[457] Yet Johnston took it upon himself to surrender even though the Lincoln administration did indeed insist upon unconditional surrender, and a bitter Davis was still insisting in 1889 that while the Army of Northern Virginia had been "forced" to surrender, Johnston had "consented" to do so, at which point Davis had "started, with a very few of the men who volunteered to accompany me, for the trans-Mississippi."[458]

The C.S. president, however, was captured *en route* at Irwinville, Georgia on May 10, 1865, shortly after changing course to protect his wife from marauding Union cavalry even though she had written to him as follows: "Do not try to meet me, I dread the Yankees getting news of you so much, you are the countrys only hope, and the very best intentioned do not calculate upon a stand this side of the river [*i.e.* the Mississippi]."[459] Davis sent his wife to the south shortly after Richmond's evacuation, and on "[t]he day before our departure," she recalled, "Mr. Davis gave me a pistol and showed me how to load, aim, and fire it."[460] Heading for the Gulf South, she was given refuge along the way by such pro-Davis Confederates as "the Jewish man Wiele" of Charlotte, North Carolina.[461] At Abbeville, South Carolina, moreover, she was taken in Armistead Burt, a former Democratic congressman who had married Calhoun's niece.[462] She hence praised Burt and his wife as veritable "relatives" in a missive to her husband, who was

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[457] "Jefferson Davis to Genl. J. E. Johnston, Hd. Qrs. via Raleigh, N.C.," "Telegram (in cipher)," Danville, Va., April 10, 1865, *JDC*, 6:543. See Mark Grimsley, "Learning to Say 'Enough': Southern Generals and the Final Weeks of the Confederacy," in *The Collapse of the Confederacy*, ed. Mark Grimsley and Brooks D. Simpson (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2001), 40; and Davis, *An Honorable Defeat*, 139.

[458] "Autobiography of Jefferson Davis," [Beauvoir, Mississippi, November, 1889], *PJD*, 1:lxiii. See Symonds, "A Fatal Relationship," in *Jefferson Davis's Generals*, 23; and Davis, *op. cit.*, 192-93.

[459] "Mrs. Jefferson Davis to Jefferson Davis," [April-May, 1865], *JDC*, 6:590.

[460] Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 2:577.

[461] "Mrs. Jefferson Davis to Jefferson Davis," [Charlotte, NC], April 7, 1865, *JDC*, 6:539. The "Israelite" Wiele, Varina Davis would later recall, "gave us every assistance in his power," "refusing, with many cordial words, any offer to reimburse him for the expense incurred...." Varina Davis, *op. cit.*, 2:578.

[462] For the close personal and political relations between Burt and Calhoun, see, for instance, "To A[rmistead] Burt, Abbeville, S.C." Colu[mbia, S.C.], 27th Nov[embe]r 1831, *PJCC*, 11:510; "To A[rmistead] Burt, [Abbeville, S.C.]," Fort Hill, 2d Nov[embe]r 1840, *PJCC*, 15:372; and "To A[rmistead] Burt, [Representative from S.C.], Washington," Fort Hill, 23d Dec[embe]r 1843, *PJCC*, 17:639.

sheltered in turn by Burt a few days later, thus cementing Davis's belief that Calhoun's spirit was watching over the C.S.A. with a "guardian angel's care."[463] And in Georgia she found pro-Davis Confederates even in Robert Toombs's hometown of Washington, wherefrom she informed her husband of her "intense grief at the treacherous surrender of this Department" by Hardee and Johnston, the latter of whom had, she insisted, merely been authorized to negotiate a "truce."[464]

Varina Davis held that Johnston had "disobeyed" Davis for the rest of her life as a result, but she and her husband were even more disappointed in the end by Beauregard, who surrendered alongside his nominal subordinates Hardee and Johnston.[465] The C.S. president's relations with the Little Napoleon had actually been on the mend.[466] He had even promised to cease overseeing and critiquing Beauregard, acknowledging "the impropriety of my countermanding his orders."[467] Besides, British reporters were still mocking the Little Napoleon in terms which they usually reserved for Napoleon III, such as when an anonymous British observer in Charleston characterized Beauregard as "a small man with a sallow complexion."[468] But their relations deteriorated once more when the Little Napoleon failed to organize an effective field army against Sherman.[469] Davis therefore complained in an April 1865 letter to his wife that "J. E. Johnston and Beauregard were hopeless as to recruiting their forces from the

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[463] "Mrs. Davis to Jefferson Davis," Abbeville, S.C., April 28, 1865, *JDC*, 6:566; "Speech of President Davis in Charleston," from the Charleston *Daily Courier*, November 3, 1863, *JDC*, 6:76. Also see "Jefferson Davis to Mrs. Davis," Charlotte, N.C., April 23, 1865, *JDC*, 6:561.
[464] Quoted in Beringer and Hattaway, *Jefferson Davis, Confederate President*, 421; and "Mrs. Jefferson Davis to Jefferson Davis," Stanton Papers, Copy K, Abbeville, April 19, 1865, *JDC*, 6:551.
[465] Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 2:626.
[466] "Jefferson Davis to General R. E. Lee, Petersburg, Va.," "Telegram (in cipher)," Richmond, September 20, 1864, *JDC*, 6:340. See "Jefferson Davis to General G. T. Beauregard, Greensboro, N.C.," "Telegram (in cipher)," Danville, Va., April 4, 1865, *JDC*, 6:529; and "Jefferson Davis to Genl. G. T. Beauregard, Greensboro, N.C.," "Telegram (in cipher)," Danville, Va., April 9, 1865, *JDC*, 6:541.
[467] "Jefferson Davis to Maj. W. T. Sutherlin, Danville, Va.," "Telegram," Greensboro, N.C., April 15, 1865, *JDC*, 6:546. See "Jefferson Davis to General G. T. Beauregard, Augusta, Ga.," "Telegram (in cipher)," Richmond, February 4, 1865, *JDC*, 6:464; and "Jefferson Davis to General G. T. Beauregard, Columbia, S.C.," "Telegram (in cipher)," Richmond, February 6, 1865, *JDC*, 6:465.
[468] "Books on the American War," *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, December 1863, 766.
[469] See "Jefferson Davis to General W. J. Hardee, Charleston, S.C.," "Telegram (in cipher)," Richmond, January 11, 1865, *JDC*, 6:447.

dispersed men" of the Army of Northern Virginia, "and equally so as to their ability to check Sherman with the forces they had, Their only idea was to retreat…"[470] And so he was disgusted but hardly surprised when Beauregard, who was "amazed at this evidence of visionary hope on the part of the President," surrendered instead of heading for the trans-Mississippi, where, in Patrick J. Kelly's words, "pro-French feeling was especially apparent…."[471] Davis had hoped that Beauregard might work alongside French forces there to save such conquered Confederate towns as Napoleon, Arkansas. Napoleon's U.S. marine hospital was completed in 1854 thanks to Davis and his ally the C.S. officer Solon Borland, a former Democratic U.S. senator for Arkansas who had a French Creole mistress and been struck in the face as the U.S. minister to Nicaragua by a bottle thrown by a pro-British mob there, shortly after which President Pierce authorized the U.S. navy to bombard Greytown.[472] Many of Napoleon's Confederate denizens fled before advancing U.S. troops in September 1862, and their hopes of seeing their town taken back by the C.S.A. were dashed when the French emperor decided to begin scaling back rather than reinforcing his forces in Mexico shortly after Davis was captured by the U.S. cavalry. And so Emma Le Conte lamented that "[w]e heard of the capture of President Davis! This is dreadful, not only because we love him, but because it gives the final blow to our cause. If he could have reached the West he might have rallied the army out there and continued the resistance."[473]

Pro-Davis Confederates who Cast their Lot with Napoleon III's France, 1865-1871

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[470] "Jefferson Davis to Mrs. Davis," Charlotte, N.C., April 23, 1865, *JDC*, 6:560.

[471] Quoted in Beringer and Hattaway, *Jefferson Davis, Confederate President*, 402; Kelly, "The North American Crisis of the 1860s," *Journal of the Civil War Era*, 349.

[472] See James M. Woods, "Expansionism as Diplomacy: The Career of Solon Borland in Central America 1853-1854," *The Americas*, vol. 40, no. 3 (January 1984), 399-415. Secretary of War Davis had also used Napoleon as a rendezvous for U.S. army explorations from "Canadian river to the Rio Grande near Albuquerque." "To Elias Conway," War Department, Washington, D.C., June 28, 1853, *PJD*, 5:25.

[473] Entry for May 18, 1865 in Le Conte, *A Journal*, 73. See Janney, "The Right to Love and Mourn," in *Crucible of the Civil War*, 170.

Napoleon's infrastructure was wrecked beyond repair by Union soldiers who detested the town's predominantly Davis Democrat *cum* Confederate population as well as its namesake Napoleon I, in whose nephew pro-Davis Confederates had vested so many unfulfilled hopes.[474] Napoleon's ruins were swallowed up by the Mississippi in 1868 as a result, shortly after Benito Juárez executed Maximilian I, whose regime such pro-Davis ex-Confederates in Mexico as John B. Magruder had been unable to save.[475] A Virginian U.S. army officer who ultimately became a major general in Maximilian's Imperial Mexican army, Magruder had been Davis's friend ever since the West Point Eggnog Riot. He was also close to such French-American U.S. officers as John J. Abert, acquiring the nickname "Prince John" because he was so fond of Bonapartist sartorial trappings.[476] Yet he liked Napoleon III's France for more serious reasons as well, requesting during an 1854 Paris vacation to be given an assignment observing French military tactics and technology while seconding Secretary of War Davis's prediction that France would soon eclipse an unwarrantedly arrogant Britain.[477] Confederate Major General Magruder accordingly invited Father Gache to see not just to "the needs of the Catholic troops" near Williamsburg in September 1861 but to minister to all C.S. soldiers in the area, prompting the Jesuit priest to remark that "[t]his is a great privilege, one which would never have been accorded to any Protestant Minister...."[478] The Catholic-friendly Virginian, after all, detested Protestant Radicals who resisted C.S. impressment. Receiving after-the-fact permission from

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[474] See Richard G. Wood, "The Marine Hospital at Napoleon." *Arkansas Historical Quarterly*, vol. 14, no. 1 (Spring 1955), 38–42.
[475] See Michael D. Hammond, "Arkansas Atlantis: The Lost Town of Napoleon," *Arkansas Historical Quarterly*, vol. 65, no. 3 (Autumn 2006), 201-23.
[476] See "From Archibald Campbell," War Department, Washington, D.C., August 20, 1853, *PJD*, 5:39.
[477] "From John B. Magruder," Paris, March 30, 1854, *PJD*, 5:209.
[478] "Louis-Hippolyte Gache to Philip de Carrière," Camp Magruder near Williamsburg, September 11, 1861, 50. See ibid., 48. "'Tis curious," Father Gache added, "how much more esteem educated and intelligent men have for Catholicism than they seem to have for the Protestant sects." And "[t]his is particularly evident where there are two chaplains, one Catholic and the other Protestant in the same camp – the Catholic receives all the attention and respect and the poor Protestant is forgotten." "This in my opinion," he concluded, "is a sign that a great harvest is ripening in America...." Ibid., 51.

Adjutant General Samuel Cooper, Magruder forced wealthy planters near Williamsburg to hire-out six hundred slaves at below-market prices to construct fortifications in late 1861, and Davis never forgave Joseph E. Johnston for abandoning the "defensive works to resist an advance up the Peninsula" that "General Magruder had for many months been actively constructing…."[479]

Magruder was also one of the few officers whom the unruly Louisiana Zouaves respected sufficiently to obey without question, and he rose to fame as the brigade commander of several such regiments in the Peninsular and Seven Days campaigns, during which he exerted his influence to raise Captain Paul François de Gournay to lieutenant colonel and Colonel Paul Jones Semmes to brigadier general. When John M. Brooke mounted a powerful piece of rifled artillery upon an armored railcar at the behest of Josiah Gorgas, moreover, "Prince John" put the "Dry Land Merrimack" to good use at the June 1862 Battle of Savages Station.[480] Yet Magruder's outsized personality irritated many a superior officer as in antebellum days, nor did it entirely obscure the fact that he was not actually an adept field officer.[481] He was transferred to the Trans-Mississippi Department as a result, and Brigadier General Semmes was re-assigned to the Georgian C.S. major general Lafayette McLaws, who had graduated from West Point in the early 1840s, fought in the Mexican War, and married Zachary Taylor's niece Emily Allison Taylor.[482]

Upon arriving, Magruder proved to be nearly as harsh toward the anti-Confederate '48ers and Britons of the trans-Mississippi as his predecessor Paul Octave Hébert. In late 1862, for instance, he conscripted a Briton in Houston who had invoked his British subject status to avoid C.S. military service by insisting that the individual in question was domiciled. And when Davis

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[479] "Jefferson Davis to Col. James Phelan, Meridian, Mississippi," Richmond, March 1, 1865, *JDC*, 6:494. See "John B. Magruder to Samuel Cooper," December 28, 1861, *OR*, series I, 4:716; and Jordan, *Black Confederates and Afro-Yankees in Civil War Virginia*, 58.
[480] See Dew, *Ironmaker to the Confederacy*, 183; and Brooke, Jr., *John M. Brooke*, 259.
[481] The headstrong Magruder had even clashed at times with Secretary of War Davis himself. See *PJD*, 5:209, 366.
[482] See *A Soldier's General: The Civil War Letters of Major General Lafayette McLaws*, ed. John C. Oeffinger (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002).

ignored the ensuing complaints of the British consul at Galveston, Magruder followed through in February 1863 by demanding that all white non-citizens in the trans-Mississippi swear allegiance to the C.S.A. and enter Confederate service.[483] The German immigrants who had displaced the original settlers of La Grange and Belleville in Texas, however, responded by forming local militias to resist C.S. conscription. As a result, the Davis Democrat *cum* Confederate governor of Texas Francis R. Lubbock accompanied "Prince John" to those towns, where Magruder's soldiers imposed martial law in Davis's name, arrested the leading '48ers, and forcibly conscripted the hostile denizens, who quietly vowed to surrender at the first opportune chance.[484]

"Prince John" had also recently re-taken Galveston, which he sought to safeguard by building a new "Dry Land Merrimack" even though he only had cotton bales for armor. Yet a predominantly Irish Catholic company of dockworkers called the Jefferson Davis Guard proved far more valuable to that end. Led by the orphaned Irish Catholic immigrant, Houston saloon-keeper, and gas-lighting entrepreneur Richard William "Dick" Dowling, the Davis Guard singlehandedly thwarted a U.S. invasion of Texas by holding a rudimentary fort at the mouth of the Sabine River against a five thousand-strong Union invasion force in September 1863. Dowling became a national hero in the Confederacy who led recruiting drives, and his men were personally praised by Davis and thanked by the Confederate Congress, which gave them special medals of commendation.[485] Even more fame, however, redounded to Magruder, who drew attention to the Guard throughout the Confederacy and had already been commended by its namesake for "your brilliant exploit in the capture of Galveston and the vessels in the harbor."[486]

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[483] See Bonham, Jr., *The British Consuls in the Confederacy*, 184.
[484] See Lonn, *Foreigners in the Confederacy*, 432-36.
[485] See Timothy Collins and Ann Caraway Ivins, "Dick Dowling, Galway's Hero of Confederate Texas," *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society*, vol. 57 (2005), 113-38.
[486] "Jefferson Davis to General J. B. Magruder, Galveston, Texas," Richmond, January 28, 1863, *JDC*, 5:424. "The boldness of the conception and the daring and skill of its execution were," Davis added, "crowned by results

Davis was confident that Magruder would always "be able to repel the enemy from his Department" as a result.[487] But "Prince John" had long since concluded that a direct French military intervention would be needed to save not just the trans-Mississippi but the C.S.A. as a whole. Magruder, after all, had been transferred to the trans-Mississippi partly to facilitate future cooperation with the French in Mexico together with the Trans-Mississippi Department's Floridian commander Edmund K. Smith, a Catholic convert who had been promoted to captain under Secretary of War Davis in 1855 and admonished his Connecticut-born mother for her "sectarian prejudices" in March 1860, after which she wrote the following: "I acknowledge the injustice of My Sons reproof for want of charity to the Roman Catholics. Am sorry to have been so uncharitable."[488] Smith's brother-in-law, moreover, was a C.S. officer named Lucien Bonaparte Webster, and he unsurprisingly had Magruder dispatch A. Supervièle as an envoy to the French in Mexico. "Prince John" had also selected Lieutenant Colonel Aristide Gérard of the 13th Louisiana Zouaves to accompany him to the trans-Mississippi. Gérard was the French-born

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substantial as well as splendid. Your success has been a heavy blow to the enemy's hopes, and I trust will be vigorously and effectively followed up." Ibid., 5:424.

[487] "Jefferson Davis to Mrs. A. H. Mohl, Houston, Texas," Richmond, September 25, 1863, *JDC*, 6:49.

[488] Quoted in Joseph Howard Parks, *General Edmund Kirby Smith, C.S.A.* (1954; reprint, Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1982), 105. President Davis deemed Smith "one of our ablest and purest officers," gave him, "[a]s far as the constitution permits, full authority… to administer to the wants of your Dept., civil as well as military," and ultimately bestowed more credit upon him for the 1861 C.S. victory at Bull Run than either Beauregard or Johnston. "Jefferson Davis to General Braxton Bragg," Richmond, August 5, 1862, *JDC*, 5:313; and "Jefferson Davis to General E. Kirby Smith, Comdg. Trans-Miss. Dept.," Richmond, April 28, 1864, *JDC*, 6:237. See "Jefferson Davis to Col. James Phelan, Meridian, Missi.," Richmond, March 1, 1865, *JDC*, 6:493. Also see "Jefferson Davis to Genl. Braxton Bragg, care of Genl. J. P. McCown, Knoxville, Tenn.," "Telegram," Richmond, September 4, 1862, *JDC*, 5:337; "Jefferson Davis to E. Sparrow," Richmond, January 20, 1863, *JDC*, 5:419; "Jefferson Davis to General E. K. Smith," Richmond, July 14, 1863, *JDC*, 5:554; "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, December 7, 1863, *JDC*, 6:124; "Jefferson Davis to General E. K. Smith, Comdg. Trans-Missi. Dept.," Richmond, June 14, 1864, *JDC*, 6:273; "Jefferson Davis to General E. K. Smith, Comdg. Trans-Missi. Dept.," Richmond, December 24, 1864, *JDC*, 6:428. Smith, in turn, assured Davis that "[t]he various promotions conferred upon me by yourself and the confidence which you have always reposed in my abilities have more than done me justice. I have always endeavored to merit this confidence and I earnestly desire to promote the common welfare, and would willingly sacrifice every personal consideration to that end." "E. K. Smith to Jefferson Davis," Headq'rs Trans-Miss. Departm't., Shreveport, La., March 11, 1865, *JDC*, 6:511. Yet unfortunately for Davis, Taylor blamed his failure to win a Napoleonic victory in the 1864 Red River Campaign on Smith's troop transfer decisions, and the two pro-Davis C.S. generals became bitter personal enemies. See ibid., 6:510-11; "Jefferson Davis to General R. E. Lee, Comdg. &c.," Richmond, March 22, 1865, *JDC*, 6:521; and Jeffery S. Prushankin, *A Crisis in Confederate Command: Edmund Kirby Smith, Richard Taylor and the Army of the Trans-Mississippi* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2005).

editor of a New Orleans French-language newspaper. He had become mostly useless in a military sense by 1862 due to a severe wound suffered in Virginia, but he could appeal to the French because, as one paper put it, a "more able, energetic and gallant officer cannot be found in the Confederacy.... [H]is martial air betrays the French trained soldier."[489] He was transferred to Taylor's command in 1863 and subjected to a court martial for failing to destroy immovable artillery at Fort DeRussy, but Magruder helped exonerate him, and Gérard was even promoted to colonel in early 1864, although a C.S. review board would later deem him incompetent.[490] "Prince John" helped clear up the *Love Bird* imbroglio as well, writing letters to both Slidell and French commanders in Mexico.[491] And Charles Girard predicted that Napoleon III would find Confederate Texas to be a strong, industrializing, and ideologically-congruent ally which would accept emancipation *sans* racial equality due in no small part to the pro-Bonaparte Virginian.[492]

Like the pro-Davis C.S. congressman James Lyons, who remarked in an 1875 letter to Magruder's brother the former C.S. colonel Allen B. Magruder that "I had no doubt of our acknowledgment by the French Government, and was very much suprised [*sic*] that it did not come," "Prince John" was shocked when France failed to intervene in the end.[493] He had, after all, urged Slidell in October 1863 to reiterate to Napoleon III that "the sentiments… of all the Confederate States, are most friendly to France, and the occupation of Mexico has given the greatest satisfaction to all," adding that the "people of the Confederate states, and particularly those of Louisiana and Texas, entertaining the most profound respect for the wisdom and enlightened policy of His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of the French," believed "that the

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[489] Marksville, Louisiana *Pelican*, March 21, 1863.
[490] See Stuart Salling, *Louisianans in the Western Confederacy: The Adams-Gibson Brigade in the Civil War* (New York: McFarland, 2010), 50.
[491] See "John B. Magruder to John Slidell," October 14, 1863, *OR*, series I, 26/2:314; and "John B. Magruder to the Commanding Officer of the French Forces in Vera Cruz," January 29, 1864, *OR*, series I, 53:959.
[492] See Girard, *A Visit to the Confederate States of America in 1863*, 79-80.
[493] "James Lyons to Allen B. Magruder, Baltimore," White Sulphur Springs, Greenbrier County, West Virginia, August 21, 1875, *Southern Historical Society Papers*, 358.

interest of France in Mexico is closely connected, if not, indeed, identified, with the welfare of the Southern Confederacy."[494] He was crestfallen to seek refuge in Maximilian I's Mexico as opposed to fighting alongside Napoleons III's troops in Texas as a result. But at least he actually liked the French and their allies within Mexico. Governor Lubbock's successor Pendleton Murrah also made his way to Mexico even though he was not being secretly notified of U.S. troop movements by such Catholic ecclesiastics as Bishop Jean Marie Odin, unlike "Prince John" and E. K. Smith.[495] A Radical-leaning antebellum Democrat and wealthy planter whom Davis would inadvertently insult by addressing as "Governor Murray," Murrah feared Republican wrath even more than he disliked Napoleon III and pro-Bonaparte Davis Democrat Confederates like Magruder, whom he had enraged alongside Smith and Davis after being narrowly elected in the chaotic 1863 Texas gubernatorial race. Murrah objected to the C.S. government calling Texas militia into Confederate service, obstructed the impressment of planter-owned cotton for C.S. governmental sale to Matamoros (three Cotton Bureau agents were even lynched in Lavaca County in 1864), wanted overseers to accompany impressed slaves in order to safeguard planter property, and advocated guerilla as opposed to Napoleonic warfare.[496]

Murrah, though, died of tuberculosis soon after reaching Mexico, where he would have been a rare anti-Davis ex-Confederate.[497] Magruder, after all, was joined there by a thousand men under the Transylvania graduate and Missouri C.S. cavalry general Joseph O. "Jo" Shelby, as well as by the likes of Baltimore's Richard Snowden Andrews, whose father Timothy Patrick Andrews was an Irish immigrant, War of 1812 veteran, U.S. voltigeurs commander during the

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[494] "John B. Magruder to John Slidell," October 14, 1863, *OR*, series I, 26/2:315.
[495] See Parks, *General Edmund Kirby Smith*, 454.
[496] "Unity in the direction and control of troops," Davis reminded Governor Murrah, "is essential to efficiency, and hence the importance of placing all the force under one head." "Jefferson Davis to Govr. P. Murray, Governor of Texas," Richmond, April 26, 1864, *JDC*, 6:235. See "Jefferson Davis to Govr. P. Murrah, Govr. of State of Texas," Richmond, February 26, 1865, *JDC*, 6:487-88.
[497] See Andrew F. Rolle, *The Lost Cause: The Confederate Exodus to Mexico* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1965).

Mexican War, and C.S. army paymaster-general. The younger Andrews helped Secretary of War Davis renovate the U.S. capital as an architect. He also was a Confederate procurement agent in Europe from 1864-65, before which he served as a famously brave C.S. artillery officer. An avid student of Napoleon I's gunnery who was familiar with Louis-Napoleon's artillery treatise, Andrews smuggled upgraded U.S. "Napoleon gun" prints to Richmond in 1861 as well. And while he reported with both chagrin and alarm in late 1864 that Napoleon III's France was not only still refusing to openly sell armaments to the C.S.A. but also falling behind Prussia and Britain in terms of ordnance technology, he would still fight pro-Juárez guerillas in Mexico at the head of a company of ex-Confederates in the service of Maximilian I, whom he would also assist until the bitter end in 1867 as a railroad engineer together with Davis's old friend Emile La Sére, who became the president of the Tehuantepec Railroad Company under the Imperial regime.[498]

Davis himself had begun to worry by April 1865 that Napoleon III might not intervene even if the C.S.A. were to accept client status, writing to his wife that, "[f]or myself, it may be that, a devoted band of Cavalry will cling to me, and that I can force my way across the Mississippi, and if nothing can be done there which it will be proper to do, then I can go to Mexico, and have the world from which to choose a location."[499] The location he chose upon his release from Fort Monroe in May 1867 was Quebec, for "the Bishop of Montreal [had] sent green chartreuse from his own stores" to comfort him during his imprisonment, throughout which his wife had likened him to Napoleon I at St. Helena, comparing Fort Monroe's

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[498] See *PJD*, 2:637-38. Andrews returned to Baltimore after Maximilian's downfall. See *Richard Snowden Andrews: Lieutenant-Colonel Commanding the First Maryland Artillery (Andrews' Battalion) Confederate States Army; A Memoir*, ed. Tunstall Smith (Baltimore: Press of the Sun job printing press, 1910), 27-28, 126, 134, 139, 141; and Edward H. Moseley and Paul C. Clark, Jr., *The A to Z of the United States-Mexican War* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2009), 37. Also see Anthony Arthur, *General Jo. Shelby's March* (New York: Random House, 2010).

[499] "Jefferson Davis to Mrs. Davis," Charlotte, N. C., April 23, 1865, *JDC*, 6:560-61, *JDC*, 6:561. See "Extract: Jefferson Davis, Ex-President of the Confederate States of America: A Memoir," [Beauvoir, Mississippi, November, 1889], *PJD*, 1:lxiii.

commandant as well to Bonaparte's jailor Sir Hudson Lowe, who "in the years that have elapsed since Napoleon's death" had received "the execration of all brave men for the severities practiced on him in St. Helena...."[500] Varina Davis had also sent their children to be educated by French-Canadian nuns in Montreal soon after the war ended when "a negro [U.S.] sentinel levelled his gun at my little son to shoot him, for calling him 'uncle…'"[501] And an ailing James Brown Clay died there in 1864.[502] A famous convert to the 1850s Democracy as a son of Henry Clay, he had befriended Davis as a fellow Transylvania graduate during his term as a Democratic congressman for Kentucky in the late 1850s. He ostensibly went to Montreal to recuperate after poor health forced him to abandon C.S. field service, but in 1864 Davis sent Clay's distant Alabaman relative Clement Claiborne Clay there to run Confederate secret service operations alongside Jacob Thompson.[503] An Alabama Democratic U.S. senator from 1853-61, Clay was a generally pro-Davis C.S. senator until late 1863, when the Alabama legislature replaced him with a Radical rival.[504] He was also sufficiently close to Davis that the C.S. president would tell him details of his "[i]ll health," and he would be able to observe the state of Davis's health in person as a prisoner from 1865-66 in Fort Monroe, from which he informed Mary Chesnut that "the [French] emperor would have moved up to us" had his hands not been tied by Queen Victoria, who would, on the eve of the Franco-Prussian War, tell the daughter whom she had married to a

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[500] Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 2:775, 765. See "To Varina Davis," Fortress Monroe, January 28, 1866, in ibid., 2:745. Varina Davis also delineated the members of the Confederacy's "roll of honor" by comparing her favorite C.S. officers to Napoleon I's generals, calling the Connecticut-raised Confederate cavalry general Joseph Wheeler, for instance, the "young Murat" of the C.S.A.while claiming that at Appomattox Brigadier General John R. Cooke fought "like Marshal Ney" had for Napoleon. Ibid., 2:599-600, 603.

[501] Ibid., 2:716. See "Varina Davis to Jefferson Davis," Montreal, December 14, 1865, in *Jefferson Davis: Private Letters*, 215.

[502] See Wallace, "Confederate Exiles in Canada: Last Letters of James Brown Clay, 1864, Montreal," *The Register of the Kentucky Historical Society*, vol. 50, no. 170 (January 1952), 41-56.

[503] See "Jefferson Davis to Hon. R. M. T. Hunter, Lloyds P. O., Essex Co., Va.," Richmond, April 14, 1864, *JDC*, 6:226; and "Jefferson Davis to Hon. C. C. Clay, Jr.," Richmond, April 29, 1864, *JDC*, 6:237.

[504] See *Biographical Register of the Confederate Congress*, ed. Warner and Yearns, 52-53.

Prussian prince that "[w]e must be neutral as long as we can, but no one here conceals their opinion as to the extreme iniquity of the war and the unjustifiable conduct of the French!"[505]

The Quebec winter, however, was much too harsh for Davis, and he left for Havana, where he "received many visits from Spanish gentlemen and ladies, who dumbly testified their goodwill...."[506] He ultimately settled in Beauvoir, Mississippi near New Orleans, but he also considered moving to Napoleon III's France, which he would visit at last in 1869. Even anti-Davis Confederates such as the C.S. deserter Mark Twain still regarded Bonapartist France as "representative of the highest modern civilization, progress, and refinement…."[507] Quite a few pro-Davis Confederates had accordingly settled there after the war, including John Slidell and A. Dudley Mann, both of whom urged Davis to join them as they cultivated yet more ties among leading Bonapartists.[508] And their entreaties were buttressed by the fact that "the Emperor was attentive" in Paris to the visiting former C.S. president, for, as Varina Davis recalled, Napoleon III "sent one of his staff to offer an audience to Mr. Davis" and held "reviews... in his honor" while "the Empress kindly expressed her willingness to receive me."[509] "[E]very attention was shown to him by the government," she added, and she also accompanied "the Empress with the Emperor at mass," after which her husband visited the tomb of Napoleon I to venerate the first French emperor along lines similar to those of the Francophile University of Virginia student and Confederate veteran Randolph H. McKim, who recounted in 1910 that "I have stood under the

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[505] "Jefferson Davis to Hon. C. C. Clay, Chairman, &c. &c.," Richmond, March 10, 1863, *JDC*, 5:446; entry for February 8, 1865, in *Mary Chesnut's Civil War*, 711; and quoted in Bierman, *Napoleon III and his Carnival Empire*, 330. Clay was also godfather to one of Davis's sons. See *PJD*, 6:174.
[506] Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 2:803, 804.
[507] Mark Twain, *The Innocents Abroad, or the New Pilgrims' Progress* (1869; reprint; New York: Literary Classics of the United States, Inc., 1984), 92. Twain had been in the C.S. company of the famous Missouri steamboat pilot and Confederate mail smuggler Captain Absalom C. Grimes, who was captured by the U.S. and sentenced to death for attempting to escape. The future Catholic archbishop of Philadelphia, however, successfully interceded for him at St. Louis and thereby spared him the noose. See New London, Missouri, *Ralls County Record*, March 31, 1911.
[508] See "A. Dudley Mann to Jefferson Davis," Brussels, May 9, 1864, in *Jefferson Davis: Private Letters*, 138; and "To Varina Davis," Paris, March 29, 1874, in ibid., 393. Also see Paris *Journal des débats*, November 16, 1889.
[509] Varina Davis, *op. cit.*, 2:809.

dome of the *Hôtel des Invalides,* in Paris, on the spot upon which France lavished has lavished… her wealth and her art to shed glory upon the name to her greatest soldier – his sarcophagus reposes upon a pavement of costly marbles... so arranged as to represent a Sun of Glory irradiating the name of the hero of Marengo, and of the Pyramids, of Jena, and of Austerlitz."[510]

French Bonapartists and Pro-Davis Confederates Re-Assess the Republican Party

An embittered Davis, though, did not treat Napoleon III "with the cordiality his Majesty's kindness warranted," for he still believed that the French emperor "had not been sincere with our government."[511] Yet by that point even he had realized that the Republicans were not as hostile to equality among whites as his C.S. supporters and many a French Bonapartist had initially assumed. Ohio's William T. Sherman, for instance, became infamous among ex-Confederates for destroying vast amounts of property in the C.S. southeast, but French Bonapartists and Confederates both noticed that his forces were not murdering C.S. civilians in the process.[512] Sherman's foster father was a leading Whig, and his brother John Sherman was an influential Republican in Congress. But his wife was a devout Catholic of Irish descent, and he took care during the war to spare Catholic property within the Confederacy, as when he ordered the evacuation and burning of Atlanta in 1864 yet spared the city's Catholic churches at the behest of Atlanta's Irish missionary priest Thomas O'Reilly, who had been planning to encourage Irish Catholic U.S. soldiers to desert if the churches were destroyed but was pleasantly surprised by Sherman's Catholic-friendly attitude.[513] A few of Sherman's many Republican soldiers,

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[510] Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 2:809; and McKim, *A Soldier's Recollections*, 331.
[511] Varina Davis, *op. cit.*, 2:809.
[512] See Carol Reardon, "William T. Sherman in Postwar Georgia's Collective Memory, 1864-1914," in *Wars within a War*, 223-48.
[513] See Lonn, *Foreigners in the Confederacy*, 442; Robert R. Otis, "In Memoriam: Father Thomas O'Reilly," *The Atlanta Historical Bulletin*, vol. 8, no. 30 (October 1945), 4-58; and Hsieh, "I Owe Virginia Little, My Country Much," in *Crucible of the Civil War*, 40. Sherman's son Thomas Ewing Sherman, in fact, would go on to become a Jesuit priest, and while his father disapproved of his son's decision to do so, Father Sherman ultimately presided

however, looted and razed the Ursuline convent near Columbia, South Carolina, but the Ohioan general issued a special order to house the nuns at the Methodist Female College, and his Irish Catholic troops restored as much of the stolen property as possible.[514] Indeed, Sherman had even rifled through Davis's letters at Brierfield in 1862 to remove potentially incriminating missives from his friend and fellow Union officer Edward O. C. Ord, a Maryland Catholic Democrat whom many Republicans suspected of treason as an old favorite of Secretary of War Davis.[515]

Having followed several Sisters of Charity to Richmond for hospital work, Father Gache was pleasantly surprised when Ord was put in charge of the conquered C.S. capital, remarking that "the citizens of Richmond were in no time convinced that they had fallen into the hands of the *best* of enemies."[516] Ord, moreover, appointed a French-born tailor *cum* merchant named Henry Miller to the Richmond City Council even though Henry Miller, Jr. was a Georgetown graduate and Confederate artillerist.[517] The C.S. president, for his part, was similarly surprised by the lenient terms which Sherman, who had left the U.S. army during Secretary of War Davis's tenure, soon offered to Joseph E. Johnston. "[T]hey are hard enough," he told his wife, but "freed from wanton humiliation, and expressly recognizing the State Governments, and the rights of person and property as secured by the Constitutions of the United States and the several States."[518] But he would be even more surprised when Sherman denounced him as an enemy to equality among whites in an 1884 address to an audience of U.S. veterans. Justifying his feats of

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over his father's 1891 funeral mass at a Catholic church in St. Louis. See Jack J. Detzler, "The Religion of William Tecumseh Sherman," *Ohio History*, vol. 75, no. 1 (Winter 1966), 26–34.

[514] See William Gilmore Simms, "From *Sack and Destruction of the City of Columbia, S.C.*," (1865), in *The Simms Reader: Selections from the Writings of William Gilmore Simms*, ed. John Caldwell Guilds (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2001), 348-49. Also see David T. Gleeson, *The Irish in the South, 1815-1877* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 167.

[515] See "Recommendations for Brevets," War Department, Washington, D.C., March 3, 1857, *PJD*, 6:112. See ibid., 6:113. Also see *PJD*, 5:435.

[516] "Louis-Hippolyte Gache to Philip de Carrière," Charleston, July 18, 1865, in *A Frenchman, A Chaplain, A Rebel*, 221. See ibid., 222.

[517] See ibid., 56. Also see "Louis-Hippolyte Gache to Philip de Carrière," Camp Magruder near Williamsburg, September 11, 1861, in ibid., 45; and Warner, *Generals in Blue*, 349-50.

[518] "Jefferson Davis to Mrs. Davis," Charlotte, N.C., April 23, 1865, *JDC*, 6:560.

property-destruction as self-defence, Sherman claimed that Davis had seized dictatorial powers in the C.S.A. to subjugate all non-Democratic northerners and even most northern Democrats, for "Jeff Davis never was a secessionist.... He did not care for division from the United States, his object was to get a fulcrum from which to operate against the Northern States, and if he had succeeded, he would to-day be the master spirit of the continent, and you would be slaves."[519]

French Bonapartists and Pro-Davis Confederates were also surprised by the fact that the Lincoln administration proved willing to elevate non-Protestant ethnic white U.S. officers who subscribed to Democratic ideology but kept their political distance from the Democracy. The Irish-born filibuster Thomas A. Smyth, for instance, had endeavored to introduce black slavery in Nicaragua and subjugate non-black non-whites there, but he rose in U.S. service from captain in 1861 to brigadier general in 1864 as a result of his command proficiency in the Army of the Potomac's Gibraltar Brigade and willingness to obey Grant without question.[520] Sherman's friend the U.S. brigadier general and Irish Catholic Democratic immigrant Robert Nugent of Irish Brigade fame, moreover, helped suppress the draft riots in New York City, where the Lincoln administration had sent him to conduct conscription in a bid to mollify hostile local Democrats. He went on to crush western Indians with still less mercy, but that did not prevent him from becoming a prominent figure in the Republican-dominated Grand Army of the Republic.[521] Philip Sheridan was an Irish-American Catholic as well, and he became one of the Union's top cavalry generals by 1864 because he was just as willing to implement "hard war" policies against the Confederate citizenry as Sherman. He even imprisoned the captured Irish-

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[519] Quoted in "To the Editor of the St. Louis *Republican*," Beauvoir, Mississippi, November 6, 1884, in Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 2:834.
[520] Smyth was also the last U.S. general to die during the war, having been shot in the face by a C.S. sniper in April 1865. See Mahin, *The Blessed Place of Freedom*, 237; and Larry Tagg, *Generals of Gettysburg: The Leaders of America's Greatest Battle* (Boston, MA: De Capo Press, 2003), 57-58.
[521] See New York *Times*, June 21, 1901.

born C.S. chaplain Father James B. Sheeran of the 14th Louisiana Infantry in September 1864 to retaliate against Father Bixio's espionage activities, for captured Catholic Confederate chaplains such as the French-born Francis X. le Ray, who was a prisoner-of-war multiple times, were often left unconfined or quickly exchanged to placate Catholic Democrat U.S. soldiers.[522] And while Sheridan limited himself to the destruction of property in the Confederacy, he showed far less restraint after the war against Indian non-combatants under Commanding General of the Army Sherman, whose Civil War soldiers had often been unfriendly or even harsh toward the enslaved blacks whom they freed in the Confederacy.[523] Quite a few U.S. troops in Anglo-Protestant Republican regiments, after all, harbored racial views which were more typically associated with northern Democrats or pro-Davis Confederates. William Todd of the 79th Cameron Highlanders hence recalled that he had had some "hotheaded pro-slavery comrades" in his regiment, and when those soldiers first saw black U.S. troops, "vile epithets [were] hurled at the poor darkies, and overt acts against their persons were only prevented by the interference of our officers."[524]

Taking note of these developments, such leading figures in Napoleon III's government as the foreign minister Edouard Thouvenel surmised that the surest way to secure France's Mexican conquests in light of Prussia's growing power was to cultivate Republican goodwill by abandoning the faltering Confederacy.[525] Thouvenel had concluded by July 1862 that Napoleon III's "haste in starting a conflict with the United States is unwise and dangerous," and he suggested to his emperor that the Lincoln administration might accept French dominance in Mexico if France were to forsake the C.S.A. because the Republicans were not in fact implacably

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[522] See Lonn, *Foreigners in the Confederacy*, 263, 321; and *A Frenchman, A Chaplain, and A Rebel*, 97.
[523] See Toby Joyce, "'The Only Good Indian Is a Dead Indian': Sheridan, Irish-America and the Indians," *History Ireland*, vol. 13, no. 6 (November-December, 2005), 26-29.
[524] Todd, *The Seventy-Ninth Highlanders*, 70.
[525] According to one of Slidell's friends, leading French officials had begun to doubt the Confederacy's viability after the fall of New Orleans, for "nothing that has occurred since the commencement of the war has made such an impression on the French as the fall of New Orleans." Quoted in Lynn Marshall Case and Warren F. Spencer, *The United States and France: Civil War Diplomacy* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1970), 275.

hostile ideological enemies.[526] The Congressional Republicans, after all, were tolerating such figures as the Kentucky U.S. major general Napoleon Bonaparte Buford, who belonged to a powerful Democratic clan of bankers, industrialists, and planters extending from southern Illinois into Kentucky. And his celebrated half-brother U.S. Major General John Buford, Jr. made up for the fact that his cousin Abraham Buford became a C.S. cavalry brigadier general by serving on the court martial which convicted the flagrantly partisan Democratic U.S. major general Fitz John Porter.[527] Quite a few Republicans, moreover, liked Philip Kearny even though he had gravitated toward the Democracy in the late 1850s. Kearny was heir to a very wealthy New York "Yankee" family but had insisted upon a military rather than mercantile career. "*Kearny le Magnifique*" studied French cavalry tactics at the Saumur in 1839, and he fought alongside the French in Algeria even though he was technically a military observer. Resigning from the U.S. army in 1851 as a result of boredom, he paid an 1854 visit to France, where he fell in love with New York City's Agnes Maxwell. Republican social elites shunned him after he left his wife to live with Maxwell in New Jersey, and he married her at Paris in 1858 as an officer in French service when his wife granted him a divorce. Kearny also played a signal role in the Battle of Solferino, becoming the first American to receive the Légion d'honneur as a result. He re-joined the U.S. army in 1861 at the request of Winfield Scott, under whom he had served in the Mexican War. And when Major General Kearny was slain in September 1862, he had become the U.S. army's foremost War Democrat *cum* Republican, and he did not hesitate to publicly condemn the Young Napoleon's character, command decisions, and political views.[528]

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[526] Quoted in Kelly, "The North American Crisis of the 1860s," *Journal of the Civil War Era*, 351.
[527] See Edward G. Longacre, *General John Buford: A Military Biography* (Conshohocken, PA: Combined Publishing, 1995).
[528] See Irving Werstein, *Kearny the Magnificent: The Story of General Philip Kearny 1815-1862* (New York: The John Day Company, 1962). Also see *PJD*, 6:92.

Napoleon III, however, was not entirely swayed by Thouvenel's advice because he, in the words of Wolfgang Schivelbusch, "supported the Confederacy not only for economic and political reasons but also for sentimental ones."[529] Thouvenel was replaced as a result, but his successor Edouard Drouyn de Lhuys privately informed John Slidell in June 1863 that he would pursue the same basic course as his predecessor because he feared that overt French support for the C.S.A. would see the Lincoln administration "encourage the departure of bands of volunteers for Mexico, thus aggravat[ing] the difficulties already very serious, with which General Forey has to contend," and that "would probably… compel the Emperor to declare war."[530] Drouyn de Lhuys favored the moderate or "Liberal" republicans on the French Left associated with the *Revue des deux Monde*, a group which had grudgingly endorsed the racial notions and imperial projects of Napoleon III's regime in exchange for the emperor promising to grant more power to the national legislature and civil liberties in general.[531] They also preferred the Republicans to both the all-too-Bonapartist northern Democrats and the Confederates, whom they thought were, as the French journalist August Laugel put it, ruled by "an arrogant oligarchy" of would-be aristocrats.[532] And they were encouraged by Republican contacts to think that a geopolitical and even ideological understanding between a Republican-ruled Union and a rather less Bonapartist France could be reached in the near future.[533] Laugel thus warned with regard to Napoleon III's pro-Confederate position that "[t]he grand policy which governs us... is quite capable eventually of converting traditional sympathy" within the Union "into sentiments of genuine hostility...."[534]

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[529] Schivelbusch, *The Culture of Defeat*, 316.
[530] "John Slidell to Judah P. Benjamin," Paris, June 21, 1863, *ORN*, series III, 2:812.
[531] See Pierre Guiral, *Prévost-Paradol: Pensée et action d'un liberal sous le Second Empire* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1955); and Serge Gavronsky, *The French Liberal Opposition and the American Civil War* (New York: Humanities Press, 1968).
[532] Quoted in Mahin, *The Blessed Place of Freedom*, 209.
[533] See Warren F. Spencer, "The Jewett-Greeley Affair: A Private Scheme for French Mediation in the American Civil War," *New York History*, vol. 51, no. 3 (April 1970), 238-68.
[534] Quoted in Mahin, *op. cit.*, 209.

Warning that the French would be hard-pressed to counter Prussia's growing power if they were distracted by a war with the Union in which they would only have weak Mexican and C.S. clients for allies, Drouyn de Lhuys convinced Napoleon III to ignore persisting U.S. offenses against French citizens fueled by Republican anti-Bonaparte sentiment. To Slidell's chagrin, France was quiescent when a troupe of French actors visiting New York City were imprisoned for singing the Marseillaise, as well as when the ardent Confederate and a slave-owning French citizen Pierre Pickney of Norfolk was thrown in prison after the U.S. navy intercepted him *en route* to Florida, where he was taking his slaves for safekeeping.[535] But Slidell was even more disconcerted in 1864 when Drouyn de Lhuys began to follow the British example by protesting when the Davis administration finally began conscripting the few French citizens in the C.S.A. who were seeking to avoid Confederate service.[536] He promised that exemptions would be granted if possible, but he also warned that if France were to abandon the Confederates in naïve hope of a *rapprochement* with the British abolitionists of the Republican Party, the C.S.A. might well approach a McClellan-ruled Union to forge an "offensive and defensive alliance" against not just the British Empire but also the French in Mexico.[537] James Wilson, after all, was a Confederate agent in Europe who settled in Austria after the war, and he notified James M. Mason in March 1864 of a "probable agreement and understanding between the French and United States Governments by which the latter would agree to recognise the Mexican Empire in consideration of certain guarantees in regard to American affairs by the Emperor of the French." Admitting that he had "no *positive* knowledge" of "a change in the policy hitherto in the ascendant," Wilson still urged Mason to tell Davis to expect not French

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[535] See Faust, *The Creation of Confederate Nationalism*, 313; and Jordan, *Black Confederates and Afro-Yankees in Civil War Virginia*, 148-49.
[536] See Lonn, *Foreigners in the Confederacy*, 410, 415-16.
[537] Quoted in Kelly, "The North American Crisis of the 1860s," *Journal of the Civil War Era*, 353.

client status *à la* Maximilian I's Mexico but rather complete abandonment by Napoleon III, "who certainly has not in this respect exhibited his usual farseeing sagacity," for "the indications are that those who were before regarded as unappeasable enemies will be accepted as friends, while the cold shoulder will be turned upon those who were regarded before as natural allies."[538]

Davis, though, had already been warned by the Confederate diplomatic agent Rose O'Neal Greenhow in early 1864 that "Napoleon III is a profound politician who seems unduly sympathetic to the United States."[539] Greenhow's Irish Catholic father was a small-scale and un-paternalistic Maryland tobacco planter who owned a handful of slaves, and when one of them ("Negro Jacob") was executed for murdering him in 1817, she came to dislike the institution of slavery together with the entire black race. Plunged into penury by her father's demise, the young Rose O'Neal went to live with her aunt, who operated a fashionable Washington, D.C. boarding house in which one of the regular guests was none other than John C. Calhoun, who became a kind of substitute father for O'Neal. Unsurprisingly, O'Neal's politics mirrored those of Calhoun, who valued her advice and behind-the-scenes capital connections. She could inform him, for instance, precisely when Narciso López was planning leave Washington, D.C. for New York City to organize a thousand-strong filibuster force because she had just had a "parting breakfast" with López himself.[540] In 1835, moreover, she wed the State Department linguist and Virginian Calhoun acolyte Robert Greenhow, who told the South Carolinian that she had visited the new Whig president Zachary Taylor and was "very unfavorably impressed as to the capacity and character of the head of our govern[me]nt, whom she found far more *rough* than *ready*."[541]

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[538] "James Wilson to (J. M.) Mason," 43 Sackville St., London, March 16, 1864, *JDC*, 6:207-08. "That the policy of the new Mexican Emperor would be dictated by France," Wilson observed, "might naturally be supposed from the relations in which they stand towards each other." Ibid., 6:207. See ibid., 6:206.
[539] "Rose Greenhow to Jefferson Davis," January 2, 1864, *PJD*, 10:143.
[540] "From Rose [O'Neal] Greenhow," Washington, August 29th 1849, *PJCC*, 27:40.
[541] "From Robert Greenhow," Washington, August 12th 1849, *PJCC*, 27:26. See ibid., 27:25.

Greenhow tended to Calhoun on his deathbed in 1850, after which her husband was sent to Mexico City and then transferred to San Francisco, where he died in 1854. Resolving at that point to return to the capital, she sent a letter to Secretary of War Davis imploring him to secure her a Washington, D.C. residence, and Calhoun's protégé happily complied.[542] She and her eponymous daughter "Little Rose" soon became very close personal friends of Davis and his wife.[543] She also endeavored to cultivate behind-the-scenes support for the Pierce and Buchanan administrations, having informed Calhoun in 1849 that "Buchanan has stood by the South most effectively…."[544] Having been disgusted by a well-to-do "Yankee" lady who delivered "a panegyric on John Brown" at Washington, D.C. in 1860, Greenhow sided with the Confederacy to overthrow what she called "Abolition Rule."[545] She served the Davis administration as a spy in the U.S. capital, and many Confederates believed that their 1861 victory at Bull Run was made possible by her surreptitious warnings as to an impending U.S. advance towards Manassas.

The Union's British immigrant spy Timothy Webster, however, ferreted out Greenhow, who was placed under house arrest in August 1861.[546] She was saddened and perplexed to be monitored by an Irish immigrant U.S. soldier "professing the religion of my ancestors, that of the Holy Catholic faith," but an Irish servant named Lizzie Fitz-Gerald also smuggled messages out for her.[547] After the unrepentant Greenhow was imprisoned for a number of months from January 1862 onward, she was expelled to the Confederacy. Greeting her and her daughter at Richmond in June, Davis was delighted once more by "Little Rose," who had been a playmate of

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[542] See *PJD*, 5:358.
[543] See "To Rose O'Neal Greenhow," December 27, 1855, *PJD*, 12:522. Davis also promised to make time to see Greenhow even though "[[m]y days belong to every one more than to my self." "To Rose O'Neal Greenhow," January 26, 1857, *PJD*, 6:406.
[544] "From Rose [O'Neal] Greenhow," Washington, August 29th 1849, *PJCC*, 27:39.
[545] Rose O'Neal Greenhow, *My Imprisonment and the First Year of Abolition Rule at Washington* (London: Richard Bentley, 1863), 190.
[546] See Varon, *Southern Lady, Yankee Spy*, 74.
[547] Quoted in Ann Blackman, *Wild Rose: The True Story of a Civil War Spy* (New York: Random House, 2005), 70. See ibid., 71.

his eldest daughter Margaret, regarding whom she "inquired very affectionately."[548] The C.S. president, however, was enraged by what he took to be the Union's mistreatment of Greenhow, who "looks much changed and has the air of one whose nerves were shaken, by mental torture."[549] Hoping to utilize her talents and undo the damage caused by "the bitter trials to which your free spirit was subjected while your person was in the power of a vulgar despotism," Davis once again implemented equality among whites to a hitherto unprecedented degree by sending her to Europe in 1863 as an official C.S. State Department dispatch courier and *de facto* diplomat.[550] Delayed in Wilmington by passage price negotiations with avaricious British blockade runners, Greenhow and "Little Rose" befriended the former U.S. senator William M. Gwin and his daughter Lucy, both of whom were similarly stalled and, like Greenhow, seeking to reach France.[551] Finally arriving there at the end of the summer of 1863, she was granted an audience with Napoleon III and assured him that the C.S.A. would respond to a French intervention against the U.S. by instituting an anti-racial equality emancipation of some kind. Greenhow, after all, had witnessed the black troops of the 54th Massachusetts Infantry assault Fort Wagner from a Charleston church steeple in July 1863. Exulting that "the slaughter of the Yankees was terrific," she also informed Davis that "the negro regiment" had "fought with desperate valor," a fact which suggested that black slaves in Confederate military service would fight well enough for manumission even though they had no chance at all for C.S. citizenship.[552]

Greenhow, however, would be far less ebullient when reporting to Davis that while the French "applaud the magninimity [*sic*] and grandeur of your messages…," the increasingly

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[548] "To Varina Howell Davis," June 13, 1862, *PJD*, 9:244.
[549] Ibid., 9:244.
[550] "To Rose O'Neal Greenhow," May 26, 1863, *PJD*, 10:191.
[551] See "From Rose O'Neal Greenhow," August 4, 1863, *PJD*, 10:320. Greenhow would also report later from Paris that Gwin was "living very handsomely here he is busy with some scheme connected with Mexico." "Rose [O'Neal] Greenhow to Jefferson Davis," January 2, 1864, *PJD*, 10:143.
[552] See "From Rose O'Neal Greenhow," July 19, 1863, *PJD*, 9:289.

influential Drouyn de Lhuys was "seiz[ing] with avidity every passage in a letter from the Confederacy which points to our incapacity to continue the struggle," and so even the Erlanger loan was now being "denounced here" as a foolish waste of money.[553] Sadly informing the C.S. president that "we have nothing to hope from this side of the Channel," she left "Little Rose" to be educated in a Paris convent and headed for Britain in the autumn of 1863 to deliver dispatches to James M. Mason, who praised "the valuable services she had rendered to the cause of the Confederacy, before she was released from Washington."[554] She also impressed the C.S. agent John L. O'Sullivan by building upon Henry Hotze's accomplishments in Britain, reinforcing Davis's message that the ancestors of the Republicans had "persecute[d] Catholics in England" by asserting in a memoir aimed at disgruntled British Catholics that when she had been imprisoned "[s]everal members of the Holy Catholic clergy applied to see me, and were repulsed with great rudeness at the Provost-Marshal's, as being '*emissaries of Satan and Secesh.*'"[555] Greenhow befriended leading lights of the Oxford Movement as well and received the sacrament of confirmation in June 1864 from the Anglo-Irish Catholic cardinal Nicholas Wiseman, who urged Pius IX to recognize the Confederacy and pressure Napoleon III's France to do likewise at her behest.[556] Returning to the Confederacy in August with dispatches from C.S. agents and diplomats as well as a gold cache, Greenhow drowned off Wilmington when the British blockade runner upon which she had purchased passage ran aground thanks to a pursuing U.S. warship.[557]

Greenhow's death fostered yet more pro-Confederate sympathy among the French Bonapartists and their friends in Britain, but Drouyn de Lhuys remained unconvinced by her

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[553] "Rose [O'Neal] Greenhow to Jefferson Davis," January 2, 1864, *PJD*, 10:143.
[554] Ibid., 10:143; and "From James M. Mason," August 6, 1864, *PJD*, 10:588. See *PJD*, 9:245.
[555] "Speech at Jackson," December 26, 1862, *PJD*, 8:567; and Greenhow, *My Imprisonment and the First Year of Abolition Rule at Washington*, 113. See "From John L. O'Sullivan," February 19, 1864, *PJD*, 10:246-47.
[556] See Giemza, *Irish Catholic Writers and the Invention of the American South*, 62.
[557] For Greenhow's career, see Blackman, *Wild Rose*; and Sheila R. Phipps, "Rose O'Neal Greenhow: Bearer of Dispatches to the Confederate Government," in *North Carolina Women: Their Lives and Times*, ed. Michele Gillespie and Sally G. McMillen (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2014), 73-94.

claim that Confederates were fighting for their very lives against the sanguinary forces of British abolitionism. And his doubts had clearly swayed Napoleon III by 1865, in which year France became the last major European power to send military observers to the Union. André Deloffre, moreover, was famously humiliated but physically unharmed by U.S. forces that year. He was one of the many immigrants from France in the Gulf South teaching fencing, dancing, etiquette, and French.[558] As a librarian, professor of French and Spanish, and unofficial fencing instructor at the University of Alabama from 1855 onward, Deloffre enthusiastically prepared cadets there for C.S. service until Union cavalrymen arrived in April 1865. The troops ignored his entreaties to spare the university library from the torch. And when his wife sought to save their home by hanging the flag of the French Empire in the entrance and angrily dared the U.S. soldiers to defy it, they stood by and laughed as the flames from the library spread and consumed the residence, but they did not directly burn down her home themselves, let alone assault her or her husband.[559]

Having persuaded Napoleon III that a Republican victory would not lead to a mass slaughter of whites in the South, Drouyn de Lhuys and his allies convinced him that sacrificing the C.S.A. to placate the Republicans would see the U.S. accede to French dominance in Mexico and white rule in the South alike. Antagonizing the Lincoln administration by aiding the all-but-doomed Confederacy, in contrast, would empower the most pro-abolitionist and anti-Bonaparte of Republicans. Pro-Davis Confederates were arriving at similar conclusions by early 1865 as well, and foremost among them was the Army of Northern Virginia's commander Robert E. Lee, who had once told the C.S. president that the Confederacy would be able to "carry on the war for twenty years" even if Richmond fell.[560] Davis had informed the C.S. Congress with reference to

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[558] See Lonn, *Foreigners in the Confederacy*, 322, 327.
[559] See Clark E. Center, Jr., "The Burning of the University of Alabama," *Alabama Heritage*, vol. 16 (Spring 1990), 30-45. Also see Lonn, *op. cit*., 322-23.
[560] Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 2:590.

Lincoln in February 1865 that it would be naïve to think that "individuals subject to pains and penalties under the laws of the United States might rely upon a very liberal use of the power confided to him to remit those pains and penalties if peace be restored."[561] But when Grant offered surprisingly lenient terms of surrender at Appomattox, Lee surmised that while encouraging his soldiers to wage guerilla warfare or make their way toward Davis might prolong the Confederacy's existence, agreeing to a speedy dissolution of both slavery and the C.S. government might well induce the Lincoln administration to let white supremacy survive in the South, for in that case the pro-abolitionist Republican minority would not be able to advocate racial equality – let alone black rule – as a method by which to punish intransigent Confederates.

Deeming Lee one of the most promising Cotton Whig officers gravitating toward the Democracy, Secretary of War Davis had urged Narciso López to invite Lee to invade Cuba at the head of a filibuster invasion force. The Virginian declined López's offer, but Davis had him promoted to colonel all the same in 1855, when Lee began serving under Albert Sidney Johnston in a new dragoon regiment known as "Jeff Davis's Pets."[562] Lee would go on to vote for Buchanan in 1856, lead the U.S. marines who foiled John Brown at Harpers Ferry, and bitterly disappoint his old Mexican War commander Winfield Scott by siding with the Confederacy, in the service of which Davis hoped the Virginian would be a Napoleonic general *par excellence.*

Lee, however, was humiliated in western Virginia by McClellan in 1861, after which Davis assigned him to defend coastal Carolina and then made him a personal military advisor.[563] Yet when Joseph E. Johnston was wounded at the Battle of Seven Pines, Davis gave what had come to be called the Army of Northern Virginia to Lee, whom he knew was, unlike Johnston,

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[561] "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Executive Office, Richmond, February 6, 1865, *JDC*, 6:467.
[562] See *PJD*, 4:59; and McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, 105.
[563] See "Jefferson Davis to Genl. J. E. Johnston, Manassas, Va.," Richmond, Va., Augt. 1, 1861, *JDC*, 5:120; and entry for June 29, 1861, in *Mary Chesnut's Civil War*, 84.

eager to fight Napoleonic battles on either the strategic defensive or offensive.[564] Davis believed thereafter that Lee had not only saved the C.S.A. by repulsing McClellan but also come tantalizingly close to winning a Napoleonic victory against the Army of the Potomac during the Seven Days Battles by hitting "the enemy in flank and rear, achieving the series of glorious victories in the summer of 1862, which made our history illustrious."[565] Thus, only "General Lee rises to the occasion... and seems equal to the conception."[566] When conducting defensive campaigns in 1862 and '63, the Virginian came very close on several more occasions to winning Napoleonic victories against the Army of the Potomac.[567] His triumph at Chancellorsville, for instance, was most "certainly a great victory" but not a Napoleonic one, and so "[i]f the forces ordered up to join Genl. Lee" arrived in time, "I hope he will destroy Hooker's army [*i.e.* the Army of the Potomac] and then perform the same operation on the army sent to sustain him."[568]

Yet Davis was even more enthused by Lee's plans to invade Pennsylvania and win a Napoleonic battle on the offensive there, at which point the Army of Northern Virginia could sweep across the North much like Napoleon I in Prussia after the Battle of Jena.[569] Davis accordingly informed a correspondent in July 1862 that "I have silently borne criticism on the

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[564] See "Jefferson Davis to Govr. F. W. Pickens, Columbia, S.C.," Richmond, August 5, 1862, *JDC*, 5:311. James M. McPherson points out that Lee's desire to fight and win battles of annihilation when fighting on either offense or defense was "Napoleonic" in nature. James M. McPherson, "Was the Best Defense a Good Offense? Jefferson Davis and Confederate Strategies," in *Jefferson Davis's Generals*, 31.

[565] Jefferson Davis to Col. James Phelan, Meridian, Missi.," Richmond, March 1, 1865, *JDC*, 6:496. See "Jefferson Davis to Genl. R. E. Lee, Comdg. &c., Genl. B. Bragg, Comdg. &c., Genl. E. K. Smith, Comdg. &c.," (probable date September 7, 1862), *JDC*, 5:339; and Allen, *Jefferson Davis, Unconquerable Heart*, 43.

[566] "To Varina Davis," Richmond, May 31, 1862, in Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 2:280.

[567] See "Robert E. Lee to Jefferson Davis," Head quarters A. N. Va., June 9, 1863, *JDC*, 5:509; "Jefferson Davis to General R. E. Lee, Comdg. Army N. Va.," Richmond, September 21, 1863, *JDC*, 6:46-47; Varina Davis, *op. cit.*, 2:489; McPherson, *op. cit.*, 37. "In the name of the people," Davis therefore told Lee, "I offer my cordial thanks to yourself and the troops under your command for this addition to the unprecedented series of great victories which your army has achieved." "Jefferson Davis to Genl. R. E. Lee, Commanding Army of Nor. Va.," "Telegram," Richmond, May 4, 1863, *JDC*, 5:480.

[568] "To Joseph E. Davis," May 7, 1863, *PJD*, 9:166-67.

[569] See "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, December 7, 1863, *JDC*, 6:94; McPherson, *op. cit.*, 38; and Joseph L. Harsch, *Confederate Tide Rising: Robert E. Lee and the Making of Southern Strategy, 1861-1862* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1998). "Implicitly, or possibly explicitly," Richard Beringer and Herman Hattaway have explained, Lee "chose as his model Napoleon's Jena and Auerstadt campaign against the Prussians in 1806." Beringer and Hattaway, *Jefferson Davis, Confederate President*, 157.

supposition that I was opposed to offensive war, because to correct the error would have required the disclosure of facts which the public interest demanded should not be revealed," adding that "[t]he General is fully alive to the advantage of the present opportunity, and will, I am sure, cordially sustain and boldly execute my wishes to the full extent of his power."[570] Lee, however, did not achieve a Napoleonic victory in Maryland *en route* to Pennsylvania in 1862, failing once more at Gettysburg in July 1863. But Davis was still confident that he could win a Napoleonic battle against Grant's aggressive Army of the Potomac in 1864 by counterattacking on the defensive.[571] "I hope we can cut his now extended line," he notified the Virginian with regard to Grant, "and prevent him from getting back to his base…." "If this hope be fulfilled," he added, "we can then reinforce you and enable you to close your brilliant campaign with a complete victory."[572] Davis and Lee, after all, agreed that a war of attrition and siege lines would favor the Union.[573] The Army of Northern Virginia, however, would rather ironically survive the famous siege at Petersburg only to be destroyed by Grant's Army of the Potomac at Appomattox on April 9, 1865, making Lee the only general of the Civil War to actually lose an entire field army.

Despite the fact that Lee, in James McPherson's words, "never won a victory so complete as to achieve annihilation," he thoroughly eclipsed the C.S. president in terms of popularity among Confederates.[574] That was a hard pill for Davis to swallow, but at least Lee believed in

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[570] "Jefferson Davis to Col. J. F. Marshall, S. Car. Voltrs.," Richmond, July 11, 1862, *JDC*, 5:293.
[571] See "Jefferson Davis to Col. James Phelan, Meridian, Missi.," Richmond, March 1, 1865, *JDC*, 6:497; and Gallagher, *The Confederate War*, 152.
[572] "Jefferson Davis to General R. E. Lee, Comdg. &c.," Richmond, May 15, 1864, *JDC*, 6:253. See "Robert E. Lee to Jefferson Davis," Head Quarters Army No. Va., Bunker Hill, Va., July 16, 1863 *JDC*, 5:567; and "Jefferson Davis to General R. E. Lee, Comdg. Petersburg, Va.," Richmond, August 23, 1864, *JDC*, 6:321.
[573] See "Jefferson Davis to Mrs. Davis," Richmond, May 28, 1862, *JDC*, 5:253; "Jefferson Davis to Genl. R. E. Lee, Comdg. &c. near Fredericksburg, Va.," Richmond, May 31, 1863, *JDC*, 5:502; "Robert E. Lee to Jefferson Davis," Head Quarters Army No. Va., Bunker Hill, Va., July 16, 1863, *JDC*, 5:567; "Robert E. Lee to Jefferson Davis," Head Quarters Army No. Va., Petersburg, Va., August 4, 1864, *JDC*, 6:304; "Robert E. Lee to Jefferson Davis," Hd. Qrs., August 12, 1864, *JDC*, 6:314; "Robert E. Lee to Jefferson Davis," Hd. Qrs. A. N. Va.," September 2, 1864, *JDC*, 6:327-29; "Speech of Jefferson Davis at Montgomery," from the Charleston *Daily Courier*, October 3, 1864, *JDC*, 6:34; and McPherson, "Was the Best Defense a Good Offense?" in *Jefferson Davis's Generals*, 168.
[574] McPherson, "Was the Best Defense a Good Offense?" in *Jefferson Davis's Generals*, 45.

military subordination to presidential authority.[575] Unlike other C.S. generals, he also made sure to send regular updates to Davis, whom he would humor as well by visiting Richmond when requested to discuss "army matters," profusely apologizing to Varina Davis on one such occasion for wearing muddy army boots in the executive mansion after complimenting her silverware.[576] Unlike, say, Beauregard or Joseph E. Johnston, moreover, Lee would defer to the "better judgment of your Excy." even when he disagreed with the C.S. president, whose advice he made sure to solicit when Davis's opinions were mostly likely to coincide with his own, pleasing the Mississippian as well by proffering his advice as to troop movements, promotions, and army organization only upon being asked to do so.[577] When Davis expressed reservations about Lee's plan for a mere skeleton force to be left guarding Richmond on the eve of the Army of Northern Virginia's 1863 Pennsylvania invasion, Lee accordingly informed him that "[t]his course does

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[575] See Davis, *Jefferson Davis: The Man and His Hour*, 426-27.

[576] See Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 2:206-07. See "Jefferson Davis to General R. E. Lee, Comdg. Army of N. Va.," "Telegram," Richmond, August 24, 1863, *JDC*, 5:598; "Jefferson Davis to General R. E. Lee, Orange C. H., Va.," "Telegram," Richmond, December 8, 1863, *JDC*, 6:128; "Jefferson Davis to General R. E. Lee, Staunton, Va.," "Telegram," Richmond, November 9, 1864, *JDC*, 6:401; "Jefferson Davis to General R. E. Lee, Petersburg, Va.," "Telegram," Richmond, November 21, 1864, *JDC*, 6:408; "Jefferson Davis to General R. E. Lee, Petersburg, Va.," "Telegram (in cipher)," Richmond, December 30, 1864, *JDC*, 6:433; "Jefferson Davis to General R. E. Lee, Petersburg, Va.," "Telegram," Richmond, January 2, 1865, *JDC*, 6:434; "Jefferson Davis to General R. E. Lee, Comdg. Armies C.S.A.," (Private), Richmond, February 10, 1865, *JDC*, 6:479; and "Jefferson Davis to General R. E. Lee, Petersburg, Va.," "Telegram (in cipher)," Richmond, February 25, 1865, *JDC*, 6:488. Even Lee, however, was reprimanded a few times by Davis for failing to appear in person or send sufficient updates. See, for instance, "Jefferson Davis to General R. E. Lee, Comdg. Army N. Va.," Richmond, July 28, 1863, *JDC*, 5:579; and "Jefferson Davis to General R. E. Lee, Petersburg, VA," "Telegram," Richmond, January 16, 1865, *JDC*, 6:450.

[577] "Robert E. Lee to Jefferson Davis," Head Quarters Army No. Va., Petersburg, Va., August 4, 1864, *JDC*, 6:304. See ibid., 6:303; "Jefferson Davis to Genl. R. E. Lee," Richmond, September 28, 1862, *JDC*, 5:345; "Jefferson Davis to Genl. R. E. Lee, Comdg. &c. near Fredericksburg, Va.," Richmond, May 31, 1863, *JDC*, 5:501-02; "Jefferson Davis to R. E. Lee, Culpeper C. H., Va.," "Telegram," Richmond, June 12, 1863, *JDC*, 5:512; "Jefferson Davis to General R. E. Lee, Comdg. Army N. Va.," Richmond, July 28, 1863, *JDC*, 5:578; "Jefferson Davis to Genl. R. E. Lee, Comdg. Army of N. V., Culpepper C. House, Va.," Richmond, August 2, 1863, *JDC*, 5:583-84; "Jefferson Davis to General R. E. Lee, Orange C. H., Va.," Richmond, October 5, 1863, *JDC*, 6:57; "Jefferson Davis to General R. E. Lee, Hd. Qtrs. Army of No. Virginia," "Telegram," Richmond, November 14, 1863, *JDC*, 6:80; "Jefferson Davis to General R. E. Lee, via Guinea's Station, Va.," "Telegram," Richmond, May 13, 1864, *JDC*, 6:251; "Robert E. Lee to Jefferson Davis, Richmond, Va.," "Telegram," Richmond, August 9, 1864, *JDC*, 6:310; "Jefferson Davis to Genl. R. E. Lee, Hd. qrs. Army of N. Va.," "Telegram," August 13, 1864, *JDC*, 6:315; and Joseph T. Glatthaar, "Profiles in Leadership: Generalship and Resistance in Robert E. Lee's First Month in Command of the Army of Northern Virginia," in *Wars within A War*, 78.

not appear to me the most advantageous for us. But if you think differently I will pursue it."[578] Lee soon got what he wanted from him anyway, and he would even manage to convince Davis on several occasions to retain or restore Beauregard and Joseph E. Johnston to prominent commands under his own purview, if only because he quietly harbored even graver doubts as to such Davis-proposed replacements as John B. Hood.[579] Lee, however, lavished nearly as much praise on the C.S. president as did Hood, having distinguished himself from Johnston and Beauregard after Bull Run by crediting Davis's decisions and orders for making the "glorious victory" possible.[580] After the Battle of Gettysburg, too, Lee thanked Davis for "the pontoon bridge, so thoughtfully forwarded by you" to facilitate the Army of Northern Virginia's retreat, stating as well upon offering to resign that "[t]o your excellency, I am specially indebted for uniform kindness and consideration. You have done everything in your power to aid me in the work committed to my charge…."[581] Unsurprisingly, the Confederate president refused the offer

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[578] "Robert E. Lee to Jefferson Davis," Head quarters A. N. Va., June 9, 1863, *JDC*, 5:509. Similarly, when Lee had decided in 1862 that Magruder ought to be transferred away on grounds of military incompetence, he notified one of "Prince John's" rivals within the Army of Northern Virginia that he "w[ould] not act unless directly asked by the President." Quoted in Peter S. Carmichael, "The Great Paragon of Virtue and Sobriety: John Bankhead Magruder and the Seven Days," in *The Richmond Campaign of 1862: The Peninsula and the Seven Days*, ed. Gary W. Gallagher (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000), 105.

[579] See "Jefferson Davis to Genl. R. E. Lee, Jefferson, via Rapidan, Va.," "Telegram," Richmond, August 26, 1862, *JDC*, 5:330; "Jefferson Davis to Genl. R. E. Lee, Comdg. Army of N. Va.," Richmond, June 19, 1863, *JDC*, 5:527; "Robert E. Lee to Jefferson Davis," Head Qrs. Army No. Va., near Hagerstown, MD, July 8, 1863, *JDC*, 5:538; "Jefferson Davis to General R. E. Lee, Petersburg, Va.," "Telegram (in cipher)," Richmond, February 18, 1865, *JDC*, 6:481; "Jefferson Davis to General R. E. Lee, Petersburg, Va.," "Telegram," Richmond, February 21, 1865, *JDC*, 6:483; "Jefferson Davis to Col. James Phelan, Meridian, Missi.," Richmond, March 1, 1865, *JDC*, 6:491, 500; "Jefferson Davis to General R. E. Lee, Petersburg, Va.," "Telegram (in cipher)," Richmond, March 13, 1865, *JDC*, 6:512; and "Jefferson Davis to General R. E. Lee, Hd. Qrs. via Clover Depot.," "Telegram (in cipher)," Danville, Va., April 9, 1865, *JDC*, 6:541. "*Genl. Johnston*," Davis told Lee in July 1864, "has *failed* and there are strong indications that he will *abandon Atlanta*." "It seems necessary to *relieve him* at once. Who should *succeed* him? What think you of Hood for the position?" "Jefferson Davis to R. E. Lee," "Telegram," [Richmond], July 12, 1864, *JDC*, 6:291-92.

[580] "To His Excellency, the President of the Confederate States," Coosawhatchie, South Carolina, November 24, 1861, in Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 2:172.

[581] "Robert E. Lee to Jefferson Davis," Head Qrs. Army No. Va., Culpeper Court House, July 24, 1863, *JDC*, 5:576; and "From Robert E. Lee," Camp Orange, August 8, 1863, in Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 2:393. See "Robert E. Lee to Jefferson Davis," Hagerstown, MD, July 7, 1863, *JDC*, 5:536; and "Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress," Richmond, December 7, 1863, *JDC*, 6:94.

from his "dear friend," to whom he had frequently emphasized "the propriety of avoiding all unnecessary exposure to danger because I felt our country could not bear to lose you."[582]

By discouraging Davis from visiting him at the front for consultations – let alone leading a column into Maryland in 1862 – Lee inadvertenly dashed Davis's hopes of winning a Napoleonic battle alongside the Virginian, for as Varina Davis recalled, her husband had confessed a yearning in 1863 that his health might improve such that he could assume command of the Army of Northern Virginia together with Lee at some auspicious point.[583] "If I could take one wing and Lee the other," he had thus mused, "I think we could between us wrest a victory from those people."[584] Confederates such as the C.S. clerk John B. Jones noticed that Davis began to hang well back from the frontlines when visiting the troops or taking counsel with Lee in the field soon after "the President's life was saved by Lee," who had warned him about an impending U.S. artillery barrage during the Seven Days. As a result, the C.S. president's military reputation declined even as Lee's soared, for Jones and other Confederates saw that Davis "was on the field, but did not interfere with Lee."[585] "Every day," Jones observed, Davis "rides out near the battle-field, in citizen's dress, marking the fluctuations of the conflict, but assuming no direction of affairs of the field," "praying fervently for abundant success" instead.

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[582] "Jefferson Davis to Genl. R. E. Lee, Comdg. Army of No. Va.," Richmond, August 11, 1863, *JDC*, 5:590. See "Jefferson Davis to Genl. R. E. Lee," Richmond, July 5, 1862, *JDC*, 5:290; and "Jefferson Davis to Genl. R. E. Lee, Comdg. Army of No. Va.," Richmond, August 11, *JDC*, 5:590.

[583] See Longstreet, *From Manassas to Appomattox*, 285; and Thomas, "Ambivalent Visions of Victory," in *Jefferson Davis's Generals*, 39.

[584] Quoted in Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 2:392. Varina Davis also recollected that in 1864 her husband had told her that "[a]fter the army fell back to Petersburg, he looked forward to personally taking command in the West, and co-operating with General Lee in one great battle which he hoped would be decisive." Varina Davis, *op. cit.*, 2:494. "Would to God," Varina Davis accordingly wrote to her husband in April 1865, "I could know the truth of the horrible rumors I hear of you – One is that you have started for Genl Lee but have not been heard of…." "Mrs. Jefferson Davis to Jefferson Davis," Stanton Papers, Copy T, Chester, N.C., April 13, 1865, *JDC*, 6:544.

[585] Entry for June 26, 1862, in Jones, *A Rebel War Clerk's Diary*, 86. See entry for July 10, 1862, in *Mary Chesnut's Civil War*, 411; "Jefferson Davis to Genl. R. E. Lee, Comdg. Army of N. V., Culpepper C. House, Va.," Richmond, August 2, 1863, *JDC*, 5:584; "Jefferson Davis to General R. E. Lee, Comdg. Army of N. Va.," "Telegram," Richmond, August 24, 1863, *JDC*, 5:59; "Jefferson Davis to General R. E. Lee, Comdg. Armies &c.," "(Private)," Richmond, April 1, 1865, *JDC*, 6:526; and Holzer, "The Image of Jefferson Davis as Commander in Chief," in *Jefferson Davis's Generals*, 145.

"Some of the people," he sneered, "still think that their military President is on the field directing every important movement in person," but he was no longer among them.[586] Yet whereas Johnston came to believe that his fellow Virginian had schemed to rob him of martial glory after Davis tasked him with coordinating western field armies in the wake of the Seven Days rather than reassigning him to command the principal C.S. field army, Davis entertained no such suspicions *vis-à-vis* Lee.[587] And he did not resent the Virginian even in early 1865 when congressional Radicals seeking to personally humiliate him gathered sufficient political support to diminish his *de jure* power as commander-in-chief by making Lee the Confederate general-in-chief, for the Virginian would promptly rebuff a request from Alexander Stephens to bypass the C.S. president entirely so as to immediately restore Johnston's Army of Tennessee command.[588]

Davis had actually wanted Lee to retain and assume command responsibilities beyond the Army of Northern Virginia since May 1863, when he responded to Lee's "request to be relieved of the command of the troops between the James river and the Cape Fear" as follows: "This is one of the few instances in which I have found my thoughts running in the opposite direction from your own. It has several times occurred to me that it would be better for you to control all the operations of the Atlantic slope, and I must ask you to reconsider the matter."[589] Lee wanted to focus entirely upon winning a Napoleonic victory with the Army of Northern Virginia, but he dutifully declared upon hearing rumors in late 1862 that he would soon be sent to retrieve

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[586] Entry for June 28, 1862, in Jones, *A Rebel War Clerk's Diary*, 86-87.
[587] See Thomas, *The Confederate Nation*, 194.
[588] See "Jefferson Davis to Messrs. James F. Johnson, President (pro tem.) of Va. Senate, and Hugh W. Sheffey, Speaker of Va. House of Delegates," Richmond, January 18, 1865, *JDC*, 6:454.
[589] "Jefferson Davis to Genl. R. E. Lee, Comdg. &c. near Fredericksburg, Va.," Richmond, May 31, 1863, *JDC*, 5:502. See "Jefferson Davis to General R. E. Lee, via Orange C.H., Va.," "Telegram," Richmond, May 4, 1864, *JDC*, 6:246; "Jefferson Davis to General R. E. Lee, near Petersburg, Va.," Richmond, January 18, 1865, *JDC*, 6:453; and McPherson, "Was the Best Defense a Good Offense?" in *Jefferson Davis's Generals*, 172. Davis even wanted Lee to take charge of a built-building project on the Neuse and Roanoke rivers: "You could give it form which would ensure success, but without your personal attention I fear such failures as have elsewhere been suffered." Otherwise "I will go myself, though it could only be for a very few days, Congress being in session." "Jefferson Davis to General R. E. Lee, Comdg. Army. No. Va.," Richmond, January 4, 1864, *JDC*, 6:143.

Confederate fortunes in the western theater that "I am called to Richmond this morning by the President. I presume the rest will follow. My heart will always be with the army [of Northern Virginia]."[590] Predicting as a result that Lee would not seek to take advantage of his new general-in-chief position to aggrandize himself at the presidency's expense, Davis salved his wounded pride by claiming that Lee had already been "in command of all the armies of the Confederate States by my order of assignment" before taking over the Army of Northern Virginia.[591] And so he was willing in the end to see his administration strengthened at his own expense, for he believed that Lee's ascension would not only enhance C.S. military prospects in all theaters but also popularize his home-front policies, with which Lee almost always concurred.

Davis allowed Lee to fully step forth as the George Washington of the Confederate American Revolution because he had long since acknowledged that the Virginian was more naturally suited than himself to fill that role as a son of the famous Revolutionary War general Richard H. "Lighthorse Harry" Lee. "Our glorious Lee," he had accordingly exulted in early 1863, "the valued son, emulating the virtues of the heroic Light-horse Harry, his father, has… driven the enemy back from his last and greatest effort to get 'on to Richmond.'"[592] Lee's wife Mary Custis Lee was also an adopted granddaughter of George Washington, in whose honor she had named her son George Washington Custis Lee, a West Point graduate who spent most of the war as an *aide-de-camp* for Davis.[593] Despite her friendship with Varina Davis, moreover, she

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[590] Quoted in Thomas, *The Confederate Nation*, 259. See "Jefferson Davis to General R. E. Lee, Orange C. H., Va.," "Telegram," Richmond, September 8, 1863, *JDC*, 6:26.

[591] "Jefferson Davis to Messrs. James F. Johnson, President (pro tem.) of Va. Senate, and Hugh W. Sheffey, Speaker of Va. House of Delegates," Richmond, January 18, 1865, *JDC*, 6:454. See "Speech of Jefferson Davis in Macon, Georgia," from the Richmond *Enquirer*, September 29, 1864, *JDC*, 6:344; and "Jefferson Davis to General R. E. Lee, Comdg. Armies C.S.A.," (Private), Richmond, February 10, 1865, *JDC*, 6:479.

[592] "Speech of Jefferson Davis in Richmond," from the Richmond *Enquirer*, January 7, 1863, *JDC*, 5:391.

[593] See "Jefferson Davis to Maj. Genl. B. Huger, Norfolk, Va.," Richmond, February 26, *JDC*, 5:207; and "Jefferson Davis to [G.] W. C. Lee," Richmond, December 30, 1864, *JDC*, 6:431. Davis hence informed Lee in September 1862 that his son "Colonel Lee has no doubt joined you and communicated more fully in relation to our condition

was, as the wife of a C.S. officer remarked, "never seen at receptions," avoiding them due in part to her failing health but also because "[s]he and her daughters spend their time knitting and sewing for the soldiers, just as her great-grandmother [*sic*], Martha Washington, did in '76…."[594] Lee's direct connections to Washington helped convince many Confederates that they were indeed fighting a new War of Independence, including a Georgia woman who was thankful "that in this great struggle the head of our army is a noble son of Virginia, and worthy of the intimate relation in which he stands connected with our immortal Washington."[595] Lee himself seemed to share that conviction, as when he famously likened Anglo-Protestant and German-American Republicans to the Loyalists and Hessians of 1776 by asserting the following: "Take the Dutch out of the Union army and we could whip the Yankees easily."[596] Such views on his part were reinforced when G. W. C. Lee informed him in February 1863 that the Republicans had probably apprised their British patrons and exemplars of an impending U.S. attack on Charleston due to fact that "the British War Steamer Cadmus, has taken on onboard the English Consul and family and… Governor Bonham thinks from these indications that an attack will be made on Charleston within forty eight hours."[597] Lee therefore hoped that when the North's remaining "Americans" realized at last that the C.S.A. was not in fact a slaveholder oligarchy but rather the heir and protector of true American nationality, they would welcome invading Confederates as deliverers from British-style Republican rule. "We use Confederate money for all payments," he

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and my views than it is prudent to write." "Jefferson Davis to Genl. R. E. Lee," Richmond, September 28, 1862, *JDC*, 5:346.

[594] Quoted in Gordon, "'To Comfort, To Counsel, To Cure'; Davis, Wives, and Generals," in *Jefferson Davis's Generals*, 126. See ibid., 124; and Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 2:209.

[595] Quoted in Gary W. Gallagher, "Introduction," in *Crucible of the Civil War*, 4.

[596] Irene M. Franck, *The German American Heritage* (New York: Facts on File, 1989), 109.

[597] "G. W. C. Lee to General R. E. Lee, Comdg., &c., Fredericksburg, Va.," Richmond, February 4, 1863, *JDC*, 5:429.

accordingly informed Davis from Pennsylvania in June 1863. "I shall continue to purchase all the supplies that are furnished while north of the Potomac, impressing only when necessary."[598]

Lee, after all, was close on both personal and ideological levels to quite a few leading pro-Davis Confederates who aspired not so much to merely separate from the U.S. as to replace the Union with the Confederacy. His brother Sidney Smith Lee was married to a sister of James M. Mason, who was a brother-in-law of the Confederacy's northern Adjutant General Samuel Cooper, whom Davis lauded for striving to facilitate Lee's "plans for vigorous movements against the enemy."[599] Richard Snowden Andrews, moreover, was a brother-in-law of Lee's trusted staff officer Charles Marshall, and John M. Brooke began the war on the Virginian's staff, in which capacity he declared that "Genl Lee is a Second Washington if there ever was one."[600] And Lee's amiable working relationship with the C.S. president even developed into something of a genuine friendship during the war, for the Virginian was received on one occasion in the Confederate executive mansion by, in Varina Davis's words, "Mr. Davis lying quite ill on a divan, in a little morning-room in which we received only our intimate friends."[601]

Like Davis and his supporters both old and new, Lee had not wanted to secede from the Union, which he too had sometimes called "the Confederacy," but when he concluded like them in early 1861 that the U.S. government as established by "the patriots of the Revolution" had

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[598] "R. E. Lee to Jefferson Davis," Hd. Qrs. A. N. Va., June 23, 1863, *JDC*, 5:531.

[599] "Jefferson Davis to Generals Cooper and Lee," Richmond, November 4, 1861, *JDC*, 5:158.

[600] Quoted in Brooke, Jr., *John M. Brooke*, 228. Brooke also improved C.S. army artillery at Lee's behest. See ibid., 283.

[601] Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 2:206. Davis accordingly wrote to Lee extending "[m]any thanks for your friendly solicitude. My health is steadily improving. And if we can have good news from the West, I hope soon to be quite well again." "Jefferson Davis to General R. E. Lee, Comdg. Army of No. Va. near Fredericksburg, Va.," Richmond, May 26, 1863, *JDC*, 5:497. And he was "truly sorry to know that you still feel the effects of the illness you suffered last Spring, and can readily understand the embarrassments you experience in using the eyes of others, having been so much accustomed to make your own reconnaissances. Practice will however do much to relieve that embarrassment, and the minute knowledge of the country which you have acquired will render you less dependent for topographical information." "Jefferson Davis to Genl. R. E. Lee, Comdg. Army of No. Va.," Richmond, August 11, 1863, *JDC*, 5:589. See "Jefferson Davis to Genl. R. E. Lee, Comdg. Army of N. Virginia, Fredericksburg, Va.," Richmond, December 8, 1862, *JDC*, 5:384.

been suborned by a cabal of British-style abolitionists aiming to impose not just emancipation upon the slave states but racial equality throughout the Union, he endorsed Virginia's accession to the new American Confederacy.[602] And when his suspicions as to the Republican-controlled U.S. government's intentions were seemingly confirmed by rumors of Lincoln's impending Preliminary Emancipation Proclamation, he seconded Davis's opinion that "on that government will rest the responsibility of the retributive or retaliatory measures which we shall adopt to put an end to the merciless atrocities which now characterize the war waged against us."[603] The Lincoln administration threatened to execute his captured nephew Brigadier General Fitzhugh Lee in response to any summary Confederate executions of U.S.C.T. soldiers or their commanders.[604] But that did not deter Lee from informing the C.S. president in August 1864 that he would not hesitate to deal with a U.S. force that was "composed partly of negroes" and "cutting a canal through the Neck" to potentially threaten the Army of Northern Virginia's position by "commenc[ing] a heavy battery on the river in that vicinity as soon as possible."[605]

Lee, though, had manumitted over two hundred slaves belonging to the estate of his deceased father-in-law in 1862, delivering them over to the Davis administration as conscripted or "voluntary" free black wage laborers.[606] Accompanied hitherto by a manumitted black body servant who had witnessed John Brown's hanging named William T. Evans, Lee had also begun to call in 1864 for the enlistment and manumission of black C.S. soldiers under continuing terms of white supremacy terms several months before all but a few other pro-Davis Confederates.[607]

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[602] Quoted in Hsieh, "I Owe Virginia Little, My Country Much," in *Crucible of the Civil War*, 44.
[603] "Jefferson Davis to Genl. R. E. Lee, commanding, etc.," Richmond, August 1, 1862, *JDC*, 5:308. See "Robert E. Lee to James A. Seddon," January 10, 1863, *OR*, Series I, 21:106.
[604] See Beringer and Hattaway, *Jefferson Davis, Confederate President*, 245-46.
[605] "Robert E. Lee to Jefferson Davis," Hd. Qrs., August 12, 1864, *JDC*, 6:314.
[606] See Jordan, *Black Confederates and Afro-Yankees in Civil War Virginia*, 258.
[607] See ibid., 193; and Sheehan-Dean, *Why Confederates Fought*, 185. William Mack Lee was Lee's black personal cook during the Civil War, moreover, and he would publicly assert for the rest of his life that southern blacks would have received kindly gratitude rather than harsh retribution from the ex-Confederates if they had sought freedom but

Because the Republicans would "destroy slavery in a manner most pernicious to the welfare of our people," he explained in January 1865, "[w]hatever may be the effect of our employing negro troops… cannot be as mischievous as this."[608] Lee, in fact, had informed Davis in September 1864 that "I think measure should be taken at once to substitute negroes for whites in every place in the army or connected with it when the former can be used" by forming black labor battalions, which he also wanted to begin drilling as potential soldiers.[609] He was deeply frustrated as a result by Radicals in the C.S. Congress and Confederate state legislatures who opposed C.S. slave impressments, and he convinced Davis to circumvent them by offering bounties in early 1865 to local sheriffs in Virginia who would deliver slaves directly to the C.S. government to help meet his impressment quota of 10% of all slaves from every Virginia county.[610] But the even more stubborn Radical opposition to slave soldier manumissions irritated him to a greater degree, prompting a C.S. major recruiting in Virginia to lament that "[i]f the people of Virginia only knew and appreciated General Lee's solicitude on this subject they would no longer hold back their slaves. Their wives and daughters and the negroes are the only elements left us to recruit from."[611] Not even Lee was able to convince the Confederate Congress to manumit C.S. slave soldiers before rather than subsequent to serving, but his influence within the Confederacy had become so pronounced that Davis would congratulate him as follows in March of 1865: "I am in receipt of your favor in regard to the bill for putting

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not citizenship in support of the C.S.A. instead of siding with the Republicans in hope of racial equality. "[I]f we colored people want to get along well with the white people," he explained long after the war, "we must show our behavior to, respect and be obedient to them. These are my views to our race." Quoted in Jordan, *Black Confederates and Afro-Yankees in Civil War Virginia*, 194. See William Mack Lee, *History of the Life of Rev. William Mack Lee, Body Servant of General Robert E. Lee, through the Civil War, Cook from 1861 to 1865; Still Living under the Protection of the Southern States* (1922; reprint, Norfolk: Norfolk Public Library, 1999).

[608] Quoted in Sheehan-Dean, *Why Confederates Fought*, 186.

[609] "Robert E. Lee to Jefferson Davis," Hd. Qrs. A. N. Va.," September 2, 1864, *JDC*, 6:327.

[610] See Jordan, *op. cit.*, 63-65.

[611] Quoted in ibid., 245. See "Jefferson Davis to General R. E. Lee, Comdg. Army N. Va.," Richmond, July 28, 1863, *JDC*, 5:579; and Robert F. Durden, *The Gray and the Black: The Confederate Debate on Emancipation* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1972), 134.

negroes in the Army. The bill was received from the Congress to-day and immediately signed. I shall be pleased to receive such suggestions from you, as will aid me in carrying out the law, and I trust you will endeavor in every available mode to give promptitude to the requisite action."[612]

White supremacy, then, was Lee's *sine qua non*, not slavery-in-the-abstract; as was true for nearly all pro-Davis Confederates. But as the son of a prominent southern Federalist, Lee was not quite as committed to equality among whites for its own sake as Davis, the prestige of whose lineage paled in comparison to the Virginian's. Lee was hence urging the Catholic C.S. Commissary General Lucius Northrop by early 1864 to begin impressing, on suspicion of hoarding, foodstuffs which poor farmers had claimed as exempt subsistence supplies, but he also forced planters in Confederate service to perform manual labor tasks which they had hitherto regarded as the preserve of poor whites and slaves.[613] As a Catholic-friendly "high church" Episcopalian, moreover, Lee endorsed the religious tolerance aspect of Davis administration ideology. Indeed, his Baltimorean nephew Thomas Sim Lee spent the war studying theology in Rome, and he would later found St. Matthew's Cathedral in Washington, D.C. as a Catholic priest.[614] Father Gache accordingly informed a fellow Jesuit at Spring Hill that Lee "is an Episcopalian, but at the same time he is, as are almost all men of his class, very favorable toward Catholics and he has the greatest esteem for them." He also knew Lee's older brother Commodore Sidney Smith Lee "personally and I can assure you that he shares the same religious sentiments and sympathies towards Catholics." As the C.S. commander at Drewry's Bluff, after all, Commodore Lee had paid a friendly visit to Richmond's Daughters of Charity orphanage during the summer of 1862, and the Irish-born "Sister superior assured him that the girls did indeed pray for the army every day and that they prayed particularly for the troops at Drewry's

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[612] "Jefferson Davis to General R. E. Lee," Richmond, March 13, 1865, *JDC*, 6:513.
[613] See Cooper, *Jefferson Davis, American*, 389.
[614] See Christina Cox, *Catholics in Washington, D.C.* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2015), 50.

Bluff because they knew that at Drewry's Bluff they had some very special friends." When they returned the favor by visting Drewry's Bluff, "kindness, consideration and respect" was hence "displayed toward the nuns," who "knelt down, recited a brief prayer, then rose to chant the Litanies of the Blessed Virgin, singing, as I have frequently heard them sing, with great gusto." And so it was not due alone to Robert E. Lee's battlefield prowess that Father Gache did not "doubt at all that he'll be our second president, provided the good Lord spares his life and provided our republic lives beyond its infancy," for the Virginian would surely follow in the current president's footsteps by upholding white supremacy though not slavery-in-the-abstract, equality for non-Protestant ethnic whites, and Davis-type as opposed to Radical state's rights.[615]

Deeming Radical state's rights the principal impediment within the C.S.A. to the successful waging of Napoleonic warfare, Lee was even more determined than Davis to bring every state militia regiment into direct Confederate service.[616] He also encouraged Davis to circumvent the C.S. Congress in such matters as the confirmation of promotions by invoking military necessity, advising him too in April 1864 that on the railroads "[a]ll pleasure travel should cease and everything be devoted to necessary wants."[617] And he urged the C.S. president to eliminate all occupation-related and age-based conscription exemption categories, as well as to be even stingier with personal exemptions.[618] "The safety of the country," after all, "requires this in my judgment, and hardship to individuals must be disregarded in view of the calamity that

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[615] "Louis-Hippolyte Gache to Philip de Carrière," Lynchburg General Hospital, May 19, 1863, in *A Frenchman, A Chaplain, and a Rebel*, 177-79. See "Louis-Hippolyte Gache to Philip de Carrière," Richmond, June 11, 1862, in ibid., 110.
[616] See "Robert E. Lee to Jefferson Davis," Hd. Qrs. A. N. Va.," September 2, 1864, *JDC*, 6:329.
[617] "Robert E. Lee to Jefferson Davis," Hd. Qrs. April 12, 1864, *JDC*, 6:224. See "Jefferson Davis to Genl. R. E. Lee, Comdg. Army of N. Va.," "Telegram," Richmond, May 6, 1863, *JDC*, 5:481; and "Jefferson Davis to Genl. R. E. Lee, Comdg. Army of No. Va.," "Telegram," Richmond, May 7, 1863, *JDC*, 5:482.
[618] See "Jefferson Davis to Genl. R. E. Lee," Richmond, September 28, 1862, *JDC*, 5:346; and "Robert E. Lee to Jefferson Davis," Camp Orange, August 8, 1863, *JDC*, 5:585.

would follow to the people, if our armies met with disaster."[619] And while Lee was even more unwavering in his belief than Davis that the Confederacy ought to achieve victory with as little foreign assistance as possible by winning Napoleonic battles on its own, he too was willing to follow in George Washington's footsteps by accepting French intervention to avert a C.S. defeat.

William W. Freehling has observed that "[m]any Southerners, although not Lee, considered Englishmen their likely saviors," but he and most other historians have missed that Lee was no different than his fellow pro-Davis Confederates in looking to Napoleon III's France for salvation, a fact which Charles Girard stressed when describing Lee as a "man of iron, unshakeable in his political faith."[620] The Richmond *Sentinel*, moreover, had called Lee "the Bayard of the American Army" in 1861 because the Lee family had been associated with Napoleonic warfare and Bonapartist ideology ever since Calhoun's tenure as Secretary of War.[621] Lee's half-brother Charles Carter Lee, after all, had befriended the exiled Joseph Bonaparte.[622] Another older half-brother named Henry "Black Horse Harry" Lee also wrote several acclaimed biographies of Napoleon I during the 1830s. Henry Lee inherited his father's Federalist politics and excoriated Jefferson in an 1832 book for maligning "Light Horse Harry's" reputation.[623] But his interest in military history and friendship with Calhoun brought about a

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[619] "Robert E. Lee to Jefferson Davis," Hd. Qrs. A. N. Va., September 2, 1864, *JDC*, 6:328.

[620] William W. Freehling, *The South vs. the South: How Anti-Confederate Southerners Shaped the Course of the Civil War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 179; and Girard, *A Visit to the Confederate States of America in 1863*, 48. Florence O'Connor's novel, moreover, featured one "General Beaumont, a French gentleman of distinction, [who] had gallantly fought, side by side, with the renowned General Lee; and, grateful for his services, the people of Richmond had determined to present him… with a testimonial of their regard in the form of a flag, made by the fairest women of the South." The novel's heroine Miss de Villerie, moreover, leads the victory ceremony wearing a "military chapeau" right "in front of the President's mansion." O'Connor, *The Heroine of the Confederacy*, 401.

[621] *Virginia Sentinel*, May 18, 1861.

[622] See "Joseph Bonaparte to Charles Carter Lee," May 18, 1831, Joseph Bonaparte Papers, New Jersey Historical Society.

[623] See Henry Lee, *Observations on the Writings of Thomas Jefferson, with Particular Reference to the Attack they Contain on the Memory of the Late Gen. Henry Lee, in a Series of Letters*, 2nd ed., ed. Charles Carter Lee (1832; reprint, Philadelphia: J. Dobson; Thomas, Cowperthwait & Co.; Carey & Hart, 1839). Also see "From Henry Lee," Berkeley County Jany. 17th. 07, Thomas Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.

gradual but drastic change in Lee's politics by the early 1830s.[624] Ostracized as well from the Virginia social elite due to an affair with his wife's younger sister and spendthrift ways which brought about the sale of the Lee family's grandiose Stratford plantation, "Black Horse Harry" became a Democrat, mended fences with Jefferson to some degree before the former president passed away, and wrote speeches for Calhoun as well as Jackson.[625] And upon being denied a consular appointment due to National Republican opposition in the U.S. Senate, Lee moved to France in 1830 and dedicated the last seven years of his life to writing pro-Bonaparte histories.[626]

Lieutenant Robert E. Lee himself received his first important engineering assignment in 1835 – namely, controlling the Mississippi River's course in Missouri – from the U.S. army Chief Engineer and War of 1812 veteran Colonel Charles Chouteau Gratiot, an anti-Van Buren Catholic Democrat who was descended from Calhoun's ally the wealthy French-American trader, Indian agent, and founder of St. Louis Colonel René Auguste Chouteau.[627] Secretary of War Davis, for his part, favored the firm of Pierre Chouteau, Jr., & Co., and he also made Lee the superintendent of West Point, in which capacity the Virginian supported Davis's proposal to introduce a new five-year course of studies modeled along French lines, emphasized studying the French language to an even greater degree, and sought to acquire more French military texts through Alexandre Vattemare.[628] Superintendent Lee, moreover, was closely associated with both the Napoleon Seminar and Napoleon Club at West Point, and he befriended Jerome

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[624] See Henry Lee, *The Campaign of 1781 in the Carolinas; with Remarks Historical and Critical on Johnson's Life of Greene* (Philadelphia: E. Littlell, 1824).
[625] See "From Henry Lee," 25th May 1826, Thomas Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.
[626] See Henry Lee, *The Life of the Emperor Napoleon*, vol. 1 (Paris: A. and W. Galignani and Co., 1834); Henry Lee, *The Life of the Emperor Napoleon*, vol. 1 (London: Thomas and William Boone, 1834); Henry Lee, *The Life of Napoleon Bonaparte, Down to the Peace of Tolentino and the Close of his First Campaign in Italy* (Paris: A. and W. Galignani and Co., 1837); and Louise Littleton Davis, *Frontier Tales of Tennessee* (Gretna, LA: Pelican Publishing Company, 1976), 72-79.
[627] See "To Auguste Chouteau, [St. Louis,], 3/7 [1818]," *PJCC*, 2:177; *PJCC*, 2:lxxvi; and Mildred L. Smith, *General Charles Gratiot: Acres and Avenues Bear His Name* (Ithaca, MI: Gratiot County Historical Society, 1987).
[628] See *PJD*, 5:83, 257.

Bonaparte's Maryland son Jerome-Napoleon Bonaparte while guiding the development of Cadet Jerome-Napoleon Bonaparte, Jr.[629] Lee wanted to make the young graduate an instructor of French at West Point, but Davis let Jerome-Napoleon Bonaparte, Jr. "enter the ordnance" in emulation of both Napoleon I and Napoleon III instead, prompting Lee to inform his father that "I cannot help regretting the decision of the Secy in reference to Jeromes transfer, though think that he himself will thank him for it…. As it is decided however, we must all be reconciled, & believe that it will eventuate for the best."[630] But when Davis allowed Jerome-Napoleon Bonaparte, Jr. to resign and enter French service, Lee wrote to Jerome-Napoleon Bonaparte as follows: "I am… very glad at the pleasant & satisfactory visit you had in France & the kindness of your reception by the Emperor & Country. I hope Jerome will never have cause to regret his leaving us, & feel sure, of his adding to the lustre of his name & distinction of his family. Now that he is recognized as one of the Princes of the Empire & placed in his proper position, our regrets at his leaving us ought to be diminished…."[631] And when the Crimean War revealed that "[t]he English offrs untaught by instruction have to learn by terrible experience…," he was even more pleased to notify his friend that "[t]here is so marked a difference between the Condition of the French & English troops, that it is calculated to allay much anxiety that might otherwise be felt, & shews conclusively the superiority of the organization of the one over the other."[632]

Lee continued to keep track of Jerome-Napoleon Bonaparte, Jr.'s career in the French army, writing to his father in 1858 that "I hoped you would have heard from Jerome. I am very

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[629] See *PJD*, 6:523-29.

[630] "Robert E. Lee to Jerome-Napoleon Bonaparte," West Point, 11 May 1853, Patterson-Bonaparte Papers, Maryland Historical Society.

[631] "Robert E. Lee to Jerome-Napoleon Bonaparte," West Point, 4 Nov 1854, Patterson-Bonaparte Papers, Maryland Historical Society. Lee, though, did fear that Jerome-Napoleon Bonaparte, Jr.'s fast-rising status among the French would enhance "the probability of our also losing the father & Mother," both of whom were tempted to move to Napoleon III's France. Ibid.

[632] Ibid.; and "Robert E. Lee to Jerome-Napoleon Bonaparte," West Point, 28 Feby 1855, Patterson-Bonaparte Papers, Maryland Historical Society.

anxious to learn the official announcement of his promotion….”[633] And he remained confident into 1863 that France would, despite the machinations of Bonaparte, Jr.’s rival heir to the French throne “Plon-Plon,” at least recognize the Confederacy, for he jokingly but optimistically informed his wife in February 1863 that “[t]he [rail] cars have arrived and brought me a young French officer, full of vivacity, and ardent for service with me. I think the appearance of things will cool him. If they do not, the night will, for he brought no blankets.”[634] But his belief in impending French recognition, let alone overt military assistance, wavered in 1864 alongside that of many other pro-Davis Confederates, and so he made one last grand gesture to inspire Napoleon III’s France to save the Confederacy. General Richard Taylor had an orphaned French immigrant lieutenant on his staff named Victor Jean Baptiste Girardey, whom Davis importuned Taylor to release for field service in June 1862.[635] Having received a promotion and transfer to the Army of Northern Virginia thanks to the C.S. president, Captain Girardey fought bravely and effectively in all of the Army of Northern Virginia’s battles from the Seven Days onward despite the fact that he had no prior military training or experience. And soon after he brilliantly rallied two dazed Confederate brigades at the July 1864 Battle of the Crater even though he was still just a captain, Lee took the very unusual step of submitting his name to Davis for immediate promotion to the rank of brigadier general, thereby echoing Napoleon’s famous elevation from captain to brigadier general for his signal role in defeating the British at the 1793 Battle of Toulon. Davis, in turn, telegraphed Lee as follows: “Have directed the appointment temporary,

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[633] “Robert E. Lee to Jerome-Napoleon Bonaparte,” Arlington, 14 June ’58, Patterson-Bonaparte Papers, Maryland Historical Society.

[634] “Robert E. Lee to Mary Anna Randolph Custis Lee,” Camp Fredericksburg, February 23, 1863, in *Recollections and Letters of General Robert E. Lee*, ed. Robert E. Lee, Jr. (New York: Doubleday, Page & Company, 1904), 93.

[635] See “Jefferson Davis to General R. Taylor,” Richmond, June 19, 1862, *JDC*, 5:281. Girardey also helped Father Gache obtain his C.S. chaplaincy in 1861. See “Louis-Hippolyte Gache to Philip de Carrière,” Pensacola, May 15, 1861, in *A Frenchman, A Chaplain, A Rebel*, 28.

of Capt. Girardy as recommended."[636] Yet to the immense frustration and anger of both Davis and Lee, Radicals in the C.S. Senate managed to obstruct Girarday's confirmation until the famous French Confederate died fighting in the August 1864 Second Battle of Deep Bottom.[637]

Yet Fitzhugh Lee had been exchanged in March, by which point his uncle was beginning to think that French intervention might not actually be needed to save white supremacy in North America, nor even in the South. With the Confederacy having precious little chance of winning a Napoleonic victory in the future after losing its most powerful field army at Appomattox, Lee banked on the Republicans accepting white rule in the defeated C.S.A. in exchange for a speedy end to all fighting, repudiation of secession, and demise for slavery. Davis, however, was, as Stephen Mallory recalled, "wholly unprepared for Lee's capitulation," and when he heard that the Virginian had not only surrendered but had urged his men to go home, he, as his former aide Robert E. Lee, Jr. recalled, "silently wept bitter tears… [and] he seemed quite broken... by this tangible evidence of the loss of his army and the misfortune of its general. All of us, respecting his great grief, silently withdrew…."[638] And his grief would be compounded when John C. Breckinridge himself came to the same conclusion as Lee several weeks later in North Carolina.

Kentucky's Breckinridge had long been one of the most important Davis Democrats in the Union. A Transylvania graduate like Davis, he defied his devoutly Presbyterian and staunchly Whig family *via* his secularity and support for Polk in the 1844 election, after which he supported every Democratic presidential candidate but especially Franklin Pierce, who nominated him to replace Pierre Soulé as minister to Spain after the Ostend Manifesto debacle

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[636] "Jefferson Davis to General R. E. Lee, Petersburg, Va.," "Telegram," Richmond, August 2, 1864, *JDC*, 6:303.
[637] See Warner, *Generals in Gray*, 105-06.
[638] Quoted in Beringer and Hattaway, *Jefferson Davis, Confederate President*, 399; and *Recollections and Letters of General Robert E. Lee*, 157. See "Jefferson Davis to Mrs. Davis," "I." Danville, Va., April 6, 1865, *JDC*, 6:534; and "Jefferson Davis to General R. E. Lee, Hd. Qrs. via Clover Depot.," "Telegram (in cipher)," Danville, Va., April 9, 1865, *JDC*, 6:542.

(Breckinridge declined in order to care for his ailing wife). Like Davis and unlike the southern Radicals, he supported federal infrastructure of military value, deemed secession a measure of last resort while insisting upon its constitutionality, condemned slavery-in-the-abstract even as he worked with his friend Stephen Douglas to open the Kansas and Nebraska territories to slavery, and called for Pierce to be re-nominated in 1856.[639] He would go on to be elected vice president under Buchanan, severing his relations with Douglas by endorsing the *Dred Scott* decision, the Lecompton Constitution, and a federal slave code even as he divested himself of the few slaves whom he owned. His Virginian cousin Lucy Breckinridge, after all, was committed to white rule but would opine in 1862 that "[s]lavery is a troublesome institution and I wish for the sake of the *masters* that it could be abolished in Virginia."[640] Having concluded in the wake of John Brown's Harpers Ferry raid that the Republicans would like to impose racial equality or even black rule upon the South *via* slave rebellions, Breckinridge refused to accept Douglas as the Democracy's nominee in 1860 and, with the support of James Brown Clay, headed a rival Democratic ticket, which Davis lauded for "adhering to fundamental principles" even as he lamented the "amputation" of the Democracy. Breckinridge, however, agreed to drop his candidacy in favor of Pierce or another northern Democrat committed to the "preservation of the government in its vigor and purity" if Douglas would follow suit, prompting Davis to remark that "[t]he political sky is daily growing brighter, and permits us to look with increasing hope for the triumph of the National, that is, the Constitutional Democracy."[641] And while his hopes were dashed by Douglas's refusal, he still did his best to, in his view, save the Union by campaigning for Breckinridge, vowing to a crowd in the capital that "the democracy of Washington, of

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[639] See *PJD*, 5:67.
[640] Entry for August 31, 1862, in *Lucy Breckinridge of Grove Hill: The Journal of a Virginia Girl, 1862-1864*, ed. Mary D. Robertson (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1994), 43-44.
[641] "To William B. Sloan," Washington, D.C., July 8, 1860, *PJD*, 6:356-57. See Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 1:665.

Jefferson, of Jackson, and of Buchanan… shall be the democracy of the next four years" before leading them in procession "with flags flying and drums beating" to Breckinridge's residence.[642]

Having been depicted in an October 1861 *Harper's Weekly* political cartoon traitorously helping a Davis clad in Napoleonic garb, Breckinridge was expelled from the Senate and indicted as a traitor for urging Kentuckians and Americans more generally to support the Confederacy, after which he promptly became a C.S. brigadier general.[643] His Orphan Brigade of Kentucky Confederates rose to fame as part of Hardee's Army of Tennessee corps, but he was placed in charge of defending southwestern Virginia in 1864 after he fell out, much to Davis's chagrin, with Bragg for petty personal reasons.[644] Davis's full confidence in Major General Breckinridge, however, was restored when the Kentuckian famously routed Franz Sigel's army at the Battle of New Market with the help of over two hundred Virginia Military Institute cadets.

Davis made Breckinridge the C.S. Secretary of War in February 1865 after the Kentuckian had menaced Washington, D.C. itself in 1864 as the second-in-command of the Confederacy's Shenandoah field army. Leading a column of 1,300 C.S. cavalrymen alongside Davis through North Carolina in a display of determined defiance which induced a Goldsboro resident to "we[ep] for them and my country" when he saw "the graceful forms and dignified countenances of the two horsemen riding side by side," Breckinridge accompanied the C.S. president to Charlotte, where he and Secretary of the Navy Mallory would finally advise Davis to surrender rather than prolong the war.[645] According to Breckinridge, if the C.S. president left for the trans-Mississippi instead of surrendering, much the Confederacy would descend into an

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[642] "Speech at Washington," July 9, 1860, from the Washington, D.C. *Evening Star*, July 10, 1860, *PJD*, 6:360. See ibid., 6:529

[643] See John McLenan, "Stop Thief!" *Harper's Weekly*, October 12, 1861.

[644] "Jefferson Davis to General B. Bragg, Comdg. &c. near Chickamauga, Tenn.," Atlanta, October 29, 1863, *JDC*, 671.

[645] Quoted in Beringer and Hattaway *Jefferson Davis, Confederate President*, 410. See ibid., 409.

"irregular and secondary stage" of anarchy and guerilla warfare that would induce the Republicans to abolish not just slavery but also white supremacy, which such Confederates as his own former subordinate Felix H. Robertson were, in his opinion, doing more to jeopardize than protect by enraging relatively moderate Republicans in the course of committing atrocities against black Union troops.[646] Mallory, moreover, pointed out that "both General Beauregard and General Johnston are utterly hopeless of continuing the contest," adding that Sherman had extended terms of surrender "more favorable… than could justly have been anticipated."[647] Davis, however, rejected their advice and dispatched Breckinridge to supervise Johnston's and Beauregard's negotiation of an armistice rather than a surrender, as well as to see that Sherman's terms would "probably be rejected by the Yankee Government."[648] To the horror and anger of pro-abolitionist Republicans, the Kentuckian even induced Sherman to promise compensated emancipation, but when "[t]he hostile government reject[ed] the proposed settlement, and order[ed] active operations to be resumed forty-eight hours from noon today," he left Johnston and Beauregard to their own devices and headed for Davis in South Carolina.[649] And following a final meeting with a distraught Davis in Armistead Burt's home, Breckinridge opted to disband the C.S. War Department and disburse the Confederate treasury at Washington, Georgia, heading for sanctuary in Cuba instead of the Trans-Mississippi Department and the French in Mexico.[650]

Unlike Breckinridge, Davis still believed that no matter how Confederates behaved, a Republican victory would result in a "long night of oppression" featuring racial equality or even black dominance in the South. Yet while he would continue to refer to Republicans after the war

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[646] "J. C. Breckinridge to Jefferson Davis," Charlotte, N.C., April 23, 1865, *JDC*, 6:573.
[647] "S. R. Mallory to Jefferson Davis," Charlotte, N.C., April 24, 1865, *JDC*, 6:575.
[648] "Jefferson Davis to Mrs. Davis," Charlotte, N.C., April 23, 1865, *JDC*, 6:560. See Davis, *An Honorable Defeat*, 33-34.
[649] "Jefferson Davis to B. N. Harrison, care of A.Q.M., Chester, S.C.," "Cipher telegram," Charlotte, N.C., April 24, 1865, *JDC*, 6:563. See Beringer and Hattaway *Jefferson Davis, Confederate President*, 614.
[650] See Cooper, Jr., *Jefferson Davis, American*, 531. Also see William C. Davis, *Breckinridge: Statesman, Soldier, Symbol* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 2010).

as "the enemy" long past most of his former C.S. supporters, even he realized that Confederate guerilla resistance would result in nothing but "the suffering of the women and children, and carnage among the few brave patriots who would still oppose the invader, and who, unless the people would rise en-masse to sustain them, would struggle but to die in vain."[651] Acknowledging that the Republicans were unlikely to instigate a Yucatan-style extermination of the C.S. citizenry if all Confederate resistance were to cease, Davis informed his wife that "I have sacrificed so much for the cause of the Confederacy that I can measure my ability to make any further sacrifice required, and am assured there is but one to which I am not equal – My wife and my Children – How are they to be saved from degradation or want is now my care."[652]

Varina Davis, however, understood the Republican mindset far better than her husband, for "having strong 'free soil' proclivities'" of her own, she knew that her influential female friends among the relatively moderate Republican majority disliked the institution of slavery but were hardly British abolitionists.[653] She had thus informed her husband in 1860 that the Democratic newspaperman William D. Wallach was predicting that Lincoln "will make a strong, impartial, conservative President," and Wallach's brother Richard did indeed persuade Lincoln on several occasions to reject racially egalitarian policies favored by pro-abolitionist Republicans as Washington, D.C.'s wartime mayor.[654] John C. Breckinridge, moreover, knew full well that Lincoln was not secretly a John Brown-style abolitionist because he was a cousin and friend of the U.S. president's wife Mary Todd Lincoln.[655] Davis, however, harbored suspicions to that

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[651] "Jefferson Davis to Mrs. Davis," Charlotte, N.C., April 23, 1865, *JDC*, 6:560. See, for instance, "Jefferson Davis to Genl. W. N. R. Beall," Beauvoir, Missi 25th Oct. 1880, Private Collection of Edward and Jean George, Frostburg, Maryland.
[652] "Jefferson Davis to Mrs. Davis," Charlotte, N.C., April 23, 1865, *JDC*, 6:560. See "S. R. Mallory to Jefferson Davis," Abbeville, S.C., May 2, 1865, *JDC*, 6:586.
[653] "To Margaret Kempe Howell," Brierfield, March 28, 1859, *PJD*, 6:241.
[654] "From Varina Howell Davis," November 15, 1860, *PJD*, 6:372. See *PJD*, 6:373.
[655] See George M. Fredrickson, "A Man but Not a Brother: Abraham Lincoln and Racial Equality," *The Journal of Southern History*, vol. 41, no. 1 (February 1975), 39-58; and Phillip W. Magness and Sebastian N. Page,

effect even into April 1865, and while he expressed sorrow upon hearing from Breckinridge that Seward "was repeatedly stabbed and is probably mortally wounded," he did not, to put it mildly, grieve for the assassinated U.S. president.[656] But he understood like most Confederates and northern Democrats that Lincoln's murder played into the hands of the few pro-abolitionist Republicans who really were, Varina Davis would always maintain, traitors conspiring with "British emissaries" of abolitionism to "kindle the fires of civil war among the United States."[657] With abolitionist-friendly Republicans channeling northern anger into punishing the former Confederates by means of temporary military rule and permanent black citizenship, Robert E. Lee's second cousin the former C.S. officer Edwin Gray Lee resolved to remain in Montreal, having been sent there in late 1864 on a Confederate secret service mission soon after C.S. Senate Radicals refused to confirm his promotion to brigadier general.[658] And when John Wilkes Booth's co-conspirator the Maryland Catholic Democrat and C.S. secret service agent John H. Surratt, Jr. fled there to avoid arrest after Lincoln's assassination, Lee helped pay for passage to Europe, where Surratt joined the Papal Zouaves of Pius IX, who fumed alongside many northern Democrats and most pro-Davis Confederates when Surratt's Catholic mother Mary was executed thanks in no small part to the prosecutorial zeal of the Union general and

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Colonization After Emancipation: Lincoln and the Movement for Black Resettlement (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2011).

[656] "J. C. Breckinridge to Jefferson Davis," Stanton Papers, Copy Telegram, Greensboro, April 19, 1865, *JDC*, 6:551. Davis also reportedly wished that Lincoln's War Democrats Andrew Johnson and Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton had been killed. See Orville V. Burton, *The Age of Lincoln* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2008), 241-42.

[657] Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 1:427. See, for instance, Edward L. Gambill, *Conservative Ordeal: Northern Democrats and Reconstruction, 1865-1868* (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1981); Thomas Reed Turner, *Beware the People Weeping: Public Opinion and the Assassination of Abraham Lincoln* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1982); David B. Chesebrough *"No Sorrow like Our Sorrow": Northern Protestant Ministers and the Assassination of Lincoln* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1994); Carolyn L. Harrell, *When the Bells Tolled for Lincoln: Southern Reaction to the Assassination* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1997); and Martha Hodes, *Mourning Lincoln* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2015).

[658] Edwin Gray Lee helped capture John Brown as a Virginia militiaman and was praised by his famous second cousin for valor in combat on numerous occasions. See Terry L. Jones, *Historical Dictionary of the Civil War*, 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2011), 1:827.

Massachusetts Republican abolitionist Albion P. Howe.[659] The pope was hence pleased to grant a personal audience in 1868 to a visiting John C. Breckinridge, who had moved to France in 1866 instead of returning home for fear of retribution, doing so for reasons of health as well due to the fact that his wife's health was failing and he had himself been wounded during the war.[660]

Surging anti-Catholic sentiment among Republicans after Lincoln's death combined with news of Booth's escape for Mexico attempt to completely ruin Drouyn de Lhuys's plan to bring back most of the 100,000 or so troops stationed in Mexico, Algeria, and Rome to confront Prussia while saving France's Mexican conquests, which would end up costing the lives of over six thousand French soldiers. The French foreign minister had sought to gain Republican favor by convincing Napoleon III to induce Maximilian to cancel a meeting with Slidell in Paris *en route* to Mexico in March 1864, and A. Dudley Mann reported that same month that "I have heard from a well-informed source that Louis Napoleon has enjoined upon Maximilian to hold no official relationship" with the new Confederate commissioner to Mexico William Preston.[661] Drouyn de Lhuys's gambit, though, hardly worked, for as one former C.S. agent in Europe mused with reference to the French emperor in a February 1865 letter to Davis, "[h]is people have now become impatient at the delay, on the part of the United States, in the recognition of the New Empire. May he not then desire to join forces with the South?"[662] And whatever Republican goodwill the French foreign minister managed to cultivate wholly dissipated in the wake of Lincoln's assassination, shortly after which Sheridan informed Grant from Texas that

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[659] See Kenneth J. Zanca, *The Catholics and Mrs. Mary Surratt: How They Responded to the Trial and Execution of the Lincoln Conspirator* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2008). Also see Howard R. Marraro, "Canadian and American Zouaves in the Papal Army, 1868-1870," *Canadian Catholic Historical Association Report*, vol. 12 *(1944-45)*, 83-102.

[660] See Frank Heck, *Proud Kentuckian: John C. Breckinridge, 1821–1875* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press), 147.

[661] "A. Dudley Mann to Judah Benjamin," March 11, 1864, *ORN*, series I, 3:1057. See Hubbard, *The Burden of Confederate Diplomacy*, 163.

[662] "Geo. M. Henry [George McHenry] to Jefferson Davis," Corner of 7th and Grace Streets, Richmond, February 25, 1865, *JDC*, 6:48.

"[l]arge and small bands of rebel soldiers and some citizens, amounting to about 2,000, have crossed the Rio Grande into Mexico.... The rebels who have gone to Mexico have sympathies with the Imperialists, and this feeling is undoubtedly reciprocated."[663] Grant, in turn, convinced President Andrew Johnson to surreptitiously supply arms to Juárez, a policy which Seward had once opposed for fear of rendering France even more inclined to intervene on the Confederacy's behalf.[664] Sheridan was also authorized to ward the French away from the U.S. border by making incursions into northern Mexico with the black troops of the 25th Army Corps, for as Sherman recalled, the French conquest of Mexico was "a part of the rebellion itself, because of the encouragement that invasion had received from the Confederacy," and "our success in putting down secession would never be complete till the French and Austrian invaders were compelled to quit the territory of our sister republic."[665] As a result, such important Mexican Maximilian supporters as Adrián Woll and Juan Nepomuceno Almonte ended up in France alongside Slidell and other former pro-Davis Confederates even though they were doubly embittered by the fact that Napoleon III's forces had not only abandoned them too in the end but had often used insulting racial monikers to address white Mexicans whom they suspected of having Indian blood.[666] Even Davis, after all, had once acknowledged that many white Hispanics in what the French had taken to calling Latin America were probably not wholly white because "the Caucasian mingled with the Indian and the African" there, whereas in the Union whites had more strictly "maintained the integrity of their race and asserted its supremacy…."[667]

Yet Drouyn de Lhuys's plan did work insofar as James Watson Webb assured him that Maximilian's downfall would not result in genuine racial equality or non-white rule in Mexico.

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[663] "Philip Sheridan to Ulysses S. Grant," June 28, 1865, *OR*, series I, 48/2:1015.
[664] See Kelly, "The North American Crisis of the 1860s," *Journal of the Civil War Era*, 360-61.
[665] Quoted in ibid., 360.
[666] See Bierman, *Napoleon III and his Carnival Empire*, 295; and *PJD*, 5:53.
[667] "Speech of Jefferson Davis at the Portland Convention. August 24, 1858," *JDC*, 3:287.

A New York City Democratic newspaper editor who touched off a riot in 1834 by claiming that "Yankee" abolitionists were promoting and practicing race-mixing with blacks, Webb hosted a banquet for the visiting Louis-Napoleon Bonaparte in 1837.[668] He became a Cotton Whig, however, and instead of joining the Davis Democrats during the 1850s, he ended up as a staunchly anti-slavery but pro-white supremacy Republican who was close to Seward. As the Lincoln administration's ambassador to Brazil, Webb quietly assured Napoleon III during an 1864 visit to Paris that the Republicans certainly would not want a Yucatan-type situation to develop in Mexico if the French forces were to be withdrawn.[669] Webb and most of his fellow Republicans were appalled as a result when Juárez ordered and Juan Nepomuceno Cortina witnessed the execution of the defeated and captured Mexican emperor in 1867, and they distanced themselves from such pro-abolitionist Republicans as the U.S.C.T. veteran and distinguished historian George Washington Williams, who had become a *Juarista* volunteer soldier in 1866 and would defend Maximilian's executioners by writing in 1876 that "as far as we are able to judge of the men who shot him… we are of the opinion that they knew what they were doing."[670] According to the New York *Times*, moreover, Republicans usually wanted Maximilian's regime to fall even after the French had completely withdrawn due to its monarchial executive, not its commitment to white rule or plans to make Mexico more white *via* immigration: "From our point of view, his victory would have been a calamity – not that it would have made the condition of Mexico worse than it is – but because it would have struck a

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[668] See Dorrance and Macartney, *The Bonapartes in America*, 164.

[669] See James Watson Webb, *Slavery and its Tendencies: A Letter from General J. Watson Webb to the New York* Courier and Enquirer (Washington, D.C.: Buell & Blanchard, 1856); Richard Blaine McCornack, "James Watson Webb and French Withdrawal from Mexico," *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, vol. 31, no. 2 (May 1951), 274-86; and James L. Crouthamel, *James Watson Webb: A Biography* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1969).

[670] Quoted in Kelly, "The North American Crisis of the 1860s," *Journal of the Civil War Era*, 362. See ibid., 361.

disastrous blow at the cause of Republicanism on this Continent."[671] Such Republicans as the U.S. General Consul to Mexico from 1879-85 David Hunter "Porte Crayon" Strother therefore accepted sharp class hierarchies which were *de facto* racial castes in the nominal Mexican republic of Juárez's pliant successor Porfirio Diaz, who arrested the white champion of racial equality Cortina in 1876 and held him in a military prison until 1890 even though he was himself a mestizo.[672] Cortina's non-white followers were still raiding Texan ranches, after all, and he had lost the sympathy of many a Republican moderate when *Juarista* forces in northern Mexico murdered the Missourian C.S. brigadier general Mosby Monroe Parsons and the Cincinnati-born Democratic Missouri politician *cum* Confederate congressman Aaron H. Conrad as they made their way toward the French army, both of whose bodies were left to rot in the San Juan River.[673]

José Salazar Ilarregui, though, sought refuge not among Republicans but rather New York City Democrats after *Juarista* troops killed over a thousand civilians in 1867 taking Mérida *via* brutal house-to-house fighting, for rumors were circulating to Republican alarm that he was planning to establish a new white-ruled empire in the Yucatan that would buffer future French conquests in Central America so that Napoleon III could finally build his transoceanic canal.[674] Plenty of Republicans still held a grudge against the French emperor up into the late 1860s, although rarely to the same degree as the famous black Republican abolitionist and former fugitive slave Frederick Douglass, who denounced Napoleon III as a "[c]old and cruel" dictator who had "betrayed" the pro-abolitionist republican French Left even as he conceded that Bonapartist France was not wholly out of step with "modern civilization," for the 1867 Paris

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[671] New York *Times*, July 2, 1867.
[672] See *Porte Crayon's Mexico: David Hunter Strother's Diaries in the Early Porfirian Era, 1879-1885*, ed. John E. Stealey III (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 2006).
[673] See Warner, *Generals in Gray*, 228-29; and Warner and Yearns, *Biographical Register of the Confederate Congress*, 61-62.
[674] See Reed, *The Caste War of Yucatan*, 196, 198.

Exposition Universelle outshone even that of 1855.[675] The U.S. consul at Lyons Peter Joseph Osterhaus hence rebuffed friendly overtures from Napoleon III's officials as a former Prussian officer who had immigrated to St. Louis and become a Union general, in which capacity he had received the surrender of the Confederate Trans-Mississippi Department.[676] And while Ohio's Lewis Davis Campbell was a more or less conciliatory U.S. ambassador to France from 1866-67 and went on to become a Democrat in 1871, he was replaced by U. S. Grant's friend the Maine-born Illinois Republican Elihu B. Washburn, who still loathed Napoleon III for having been "full [of] sympathy with the Rebellion" and "desirous of giving it aid and comfort as far as he dared." Paris, after all, was still "filled with Confederates" who had been "flattered and feted not only at the Tuileries, but by the people generally of the city. The loyal men of our country were everywhere in the background."[677] Washburn would be commended by the Prussian government for using the U.S. embassy to shelter hundreds of German Parisians from mob violence during the Franco-Prussian War, on the eve of which other pro-abolitionist Republicans such as the *Harper's Weekly* political cartoonist Thomas Nast denounced Napoleon III.[678] The war's outcome, however, rent apart the fraying alliance which moderate Republicans and the international Left had forged against the C.S.A. and its Bonapartist patrons, for after Napoleon III was captured by the Prussians, Republicans cheered when the new Third Republic sent

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[675] Frederick Douglass, *The Life and Times of Frederick Douglass*, 4th ed. (1892; reprint, Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, 2003), 414. See Abbott, *The History of Napoleon III*. Also see Owen F. Aldis, "Louis Napoleon and the Southern Confederacy," *The North American Review*, vol. 129, no. 275 (October 1879), 342-60.
[676] See Mary Bobbitt Townsend, *Yankee Warhorse: A Biography of Major General Peter Osterhaus* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2010), 201-02.
[677] Elihu B. Washburn, *Recollections of a Minister to France, 1869-1877*, 2 vols. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1889), 2:24. See *PJD*, 6:99
[678] See Thomas Nast, "Who Goes There?" *Harper's Weekly*, August 27, 1870.

Marshal MacMahon's Zouaves to crush the revolutionary Left in Paris even though Victor Considerant and such former U.S. officers as Gustave Cluseret were leading the Communards.[679]

By endeavoring to abolish class hierarchies at bayonet point, the atheistic Paris Commune horrified Republicans to such an extent that many of them began to look back upon Napoleon III's Catholic France with relative affection. But they and their ancestors had never actually despised Bonapartists quite so much as Davis, his mentor Calhoun, and his followers had believed. They could even applaud them as scourges of the Jacobin Left so long as they posed no threat to Anglo-Protestant civilization. John Adams had thus once responded to his Democratic antagonist Mercy Otis Warren in an unsent 1807 letter to the effect that while he did indeed want to see Bonaparte "thrown into the fire," he still appreciated him as a kind of "Cat o' nine tails, to inflict ten thousand Lashes on the back of Europe, as divine Vengeance for the Atheism Infidelity, Fornications Adulteries Incests, and Sodomies… of her Inhabitants…."[680] And his son John Quincy Adams even privately praised the Napoleonic Code, admitting in 1811 that "I entertain some very heretical opinions upon the merits of that *Common Law*, so idolized by all the English Common Lawyers, and by all the Parrots who repeat their words in America."[681] He had, after all, confided to his brother that "[u]nder the Government of the first Consul, France is every hour growing in consideration, in substantial power, & in prosperity both external & internal. How… much of it results from good Fortune may be a subject of great

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[679] See Philip M. Katz, *From Appomattox to Montmarte: Americans and the Paris Commune* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998), 4-10. Also see Samuel Bernstein, "The Impact of the Paris Commune in the United States," *The Massachusetts Review*, vol. 12, no. 3 (Summer 1971), 435-46; and Philip M. Katz, "'Lessons from Paris': The American Clergy Responds to the Paris Commune," *Church History*, vol. 63, no. 3 (September 1994), 393-406.

[680] "Comments on Napoleon," [March 3, 1807], Adams Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.

[681] "These opinions," he added, "have not been adopted hastily or without Consideration – They are deeply rooted in my mind, and could not easily be eradicated." John Quincy Adams to John Adams," N. 6., St: Petersburg 21. July 1811, Adams Family Papers, Letterbooks, Massachusetts Historical Society. See "John Quincy Adams to Abigail Adams," Berlin 12 June 1800, Adams Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society; "John Quincy Adams to Thomas Boylston Adams, 10. July. 1800, Adams Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society; and "John Quincy Adams to Abigail Adams," N. 58. St. Petersburg 26. April 1814, Adams Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.

discussion, but those, who still refuse to see in the french Administration great abilities & address, must have the eyes of reason at least seven fold bound by the bandages of passion."[682]

When John Quincy Adams's Republican heirs no longer felt threatened by the French Bonapartists or their American admirers, they thus proved willing to welcome their former antagonists as allies against an increasingly hostile and dangerous international Left. The Jesuit priest Father Prachensky, for instance, had welcomed Catholic immigrants from various European nations to antebellum Mobile at St. Joseph's Church, where he taught them to speak "American" and vote for Davis Democrats.[683] He unsurprisingly became a C.S. chaplain who, as Father Gache observed, wore "a uniform with all of the accessories, including a moustache and little tuft of chin-whiskers in the style of Frank, the carpenter at Spring Hill; or, should you prefer, *à la Naploéon III*."[684] Yet he not only defected to the Union in the end but also drew close to the Republicans, prompting a disgusted Father Gache to report in July 1865 after running across him at Fordham that "he has grown monstrously fat."[685] The 114th Pennsylvania Infantry's famous vivandère Marie "French Mary" Tepe, moreover, became an enthusiastic member of the Grand Army of the Republic together with quite a few other veterans from her regiment ("Collis's Zouaves").[686] The 1st Mississippi Rifles trouper Beekman Du Barry, too, not only refused to change his name to "Dubarré" as Davis had recommended but remained in U.S. service as a pro-Republican regular army officer even though Secretary of War Davis had assigned him to a trans-continental railroad survey and an assistant professorship of French at

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[682] John Quincy Adams to Thomas Boylston Adams, 24. February. 1801, Adams Family Papers, Letterbooks, Massachusetts Historical Society.
[683] See "Louis-Hippolyte Gache to Father D. Yenni, S.J.," Camp Lee's Mill, November 22, 1861, in *A Frenchman, A Chaplain, A Rebel*, 61. See ibid., 185. Also see Lonn, *Foreigners in the Confederacy*, 6.
[684] "Louis-Hippolyte Gache to Father D. Yenni, S.J.," Camp Lee's Mill, November 22, 1861, in *A Frenchman, A Chaplain, A Rebel*, 61.
[685] "Louis-Hippolyte Gache to Philip de Carrière," Charleston, July 18, 1865, in ibid., 226. See ibid., 77.
[686] See Anita Silvey, *I'll Pass for Your Comrade: Women Soldiers in the Civil War* (New York: Clarion Books, 2008), 13.

West Point. The Republican-friendly University of Notre Dame president and former Union chaplain Father William Corby also picked up where his college's antebellum founder the French-born friend of Napoleon III Father Edward F. Sorin left off, receiving all kinds of lavish gifts from the French emperor as a goodwill gesture to celebrate the 1867 Exposition Universelle.[687] Having been alienated by Davis Democrats who excoriated him for securing less Mexican territory than they desired during the negotiations which ended the Mexican War, Thomas Jefferson's old protégé Nicholas Trist, who had enraged British and U.S. abolitionists alike by attempting to strengthen both slavery and white supremacy in Cuba as President Jackson's consul there, moved toward the Republicans as well in 1860 hoping to obtain a patronage post, which he eventually received in the form of a postmaster position under President Grant. And Jerome-Napoleon Bonaparte, Jr.'s younger brother Charles Joseph Bonaparte would eventually serve as President Theodore Roosevelt's Secretary of the Navy and Attorney General, in which latter capacity he established the Federal Bureau of Investigation.[688]

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[687] See "Magnificent Present to Notre Dame University," *St. Joseph Valley Register*, June 6, 1867.
[688] See Joseph Bucklin Bishop, *Charles Joseph Bonaparte: His Life and Public Services* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1922).

Epilogue

"Our northern *brethren*, as you call them[,]... know no more of the feelings of our slaves, than their fathers could comprehend of the loyalty of the gallant cavaliers from whom we spring…."[1]

Nathaniel Beverley Tucker

In 1802, John Adams privately mused with reference to anti-Bonaparte rhetoric among both New England Federalists and southern Radical Democrats that "[t]his Language is as remote from any tendency to preserve the Friendship between this Country and France, as it is from the Truth. The Government of France is at least as Republican, now as it ever has been Since the death of the King…," and "[i]t answers the Ends of Government in preserving personal Liberty, private property, and the Peace, order Tranquility and Happiness of Society, better than any republican Constitution that nation ever has enjoyed, and as well as any it will probably ever have."[2] His Republican heirs, however, definitely preferred the Third Republic to the Bonapartist Second Empire. Secretary of War Davis had hoped that Charles Sumner's brother George Sumner would follow Caleb Cushing into the Democracy. Paris was "like a home" to Sumner, who insisted that for "the helping hand which she [*i.e.* France] gave to us in our hour of extreme peril she must always be regarded with feelings of gratitude and sympathy by every true American."[3] He was present there during the 1848 revolution, and he celebrated the Orleanist downfall because "[u]nder the monarchy of Louis Philippe the masses had been shut out from political privileges, and their education left uncared for. – Thirty-five millions of people had no power to vote; all appeals for the extension of the franchise were resisted. This could be endured no longer."[4]

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[1] Nathaniel Beverley Tucker, *The Partisan Leader: A Key to the Disunion Conspiracy* (1836, 1861; reprint, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1971), 206.
[2] John Adams, "Minutes occasioned by Remarks in the national Intelligencer of August 4. 1802," American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts.
[3] Robert Cassie Waterson, *Memoir of George Sumner* (Cambridge, MA: John Wilson & Son, 1880), 15.
[4] Ibid., 17-18.

Sumner deprecated Louis-Napoleon's coup and favored moderate republicans like Alexis de Tocqueville, to be sure, but he was still intrigued by the pronounced equality and fraternity of Napoleon III's new empire, which was "looking forward to the future" and would, he believed, gradually allow more liberty as well.[5] Sumner also chortled in an 1854 letter to Davis from Britain regarding British military humiliations in the Crimea that the "old Conservatives here are quaking with the difficulties of Russia."[6] Asserting in an 1855 letter to Davis that Britain was "no longer an equal" of France in the war effort but rather a "subordinate," he still cautioned the Secretary of War that while "L. Napoleon… has uttered things in regard to the U. States which were intended to cajole England," the prospects for a future anti-British alliance between the U.S. and France were not encouraging, for the "Ultra-Catholic[s]" of "the clerical party" loathed the Union, and Napoleon III himself had "no extra love for us," still fearing rather than scorning Britain too: "he is intelligent and knows where true force lies."[7] Sumner became a moderate Republican instead of a Democrat, and he died in 1863 a few years after de Tocqueville, who had not been willing to cease his opposition to Napoleon III's regime by endorsing the imperial white supremacism of Arthur de Gobineau in exchange for more civil liberties in France.[8] But Charles Sumner and most other Republicans were content to see the French republicans who had done so carry Napoleon III's imperial projects in the eastern hemisphere forward through the *mission civilisatrice*, which

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[5] "George Sumner to Jefferson Davis," Paris, March 1, 1855, *JDC*, 2:444. See Waterson, *Memoir of George Sumner*, 16-21. Also see Annie Lawrence Lamb, "A New Englander Looks at Louis Napoleon," *The New England Quarterly*, vol. 6, no. 3 (September 1933), 513-24. Interestingly, even Goodrich conceded that "[s]ince his acquisition of a throne Louis Napoleon has conducted the government with ability…. He has greatly improved and embellished the capital, and made Paris the most charming city in the world…. The people of France, at the present time, appear to be satisfied with the government, and, no doubt, a large majority… would vote for its continuance." Goodrich, *Peter Parley's Own Story*, 311.

[6] "George Sumner to Jefferson Davis," London, October 6, 1854, *JDC*, 2:380.

[7] "George Sumner to Jefferson Davis," Paris, March 1, 1855, *JDC*, 2:444-45. Davis was also let down when Sumner declined Pierce's 1853 offer to become the Assistant Secretary of State. See Waterson, *op. cit.*, 21, 26.

[8] See "Arthur de Gobineau to Alexis de Tocqueville," December 20, 1853, in *Alexis De Tocqueville, Selected Letters on Politics and Society*, ed. Roger Boesche, trans. Roger Boesche and James Toupin (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), 303.

stood for the eventual inclusion of conquered non-whites as French citizens pending cultural assimilation.[9] And the Communards who avidly supported the Republicans during the Civil War would censure the *mission civilisatrice* in solidarity with non-whites to little avail, thus confirming Lafayette's 1820 prediction to Jefferson that the French of the future would be "Republicans" viewing not only the Right but also "Jacobinism and Bonapartism" as "objects of disgust. Some traces of the former You find among Revolutionary Veterans; the other Still lives in the Heart of Military or administrative Companions of Napoleon. Both might be found in the ignorant Mass."[10]

Davis, however, despised the Third Republic even though he loathed the French Left far more, for when in 1869 he and his wife went to visit the Musée de Napoléon, they had been appalled by the "treason" of the soon-to-be Communards, who "hissed out between their teeth abuse of the army officers as they passed."[11] Davis was pleased as a result to see the Zouaves slaughter "the communists," but the Third Republic still expelled his old 1850s collaborator the former French War Minister Jean-Baptiste Philibert Vaillant, a Battle of Waterloo veteran who had led the French army which crushed Garibaldi's Roman Republic.[12] And because Marshal MacMahon did not topple the racially egalitarian Third Republic upon becoming the president thereof in 1873 *à la* Louis-Napoleon, Davis declared in 1874 that he would not become a "resident of France" under the Third Republic, which had "no rightful claim to more than an ad interim existence" and was neglecting Bonapartist "veterans in many stages of decay and disability," veterans who most "painfully remind me of our neglected braves and their unprovided orphans."[13]

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[9] Agnes Murphy, *The Ideology of French Imperialism, 1871-1881* (1948; reprint New York: H. Fertig, 1968), 140.
[10] "Lafayette to Thomas Jefferson," La grange July 20h 1820, Thomas Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress. See Schivelbusch, *The Culture of Defeat*, 178, 184.
[11] Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 2:809-10.
[12] "To Varina Davis," Paris, March 29th, 1874, in *Jefferson Davis: Private Letters*, 393-94. See "To Alexandre Vattemare," War Department, Washington, D.C., May 5, 1855, *PJD*, 5:103; and *The Encyclopedia of Nineteenth-Century Land Warfare: An Illustrated World View*, ed. Byron Farwell (New York: W. W. Norton, 2001), 840.
[13] "To Varina Davis," *op. cit.*, 393. See "Jefferson Davis to Mrs. S. A. Ayres," Memphis, Tenn. 19th Aug. 1874, in ibid., 399.

Even though "[t]he Orléans Princes" rather than the Bonapartists now constituted the principal internal threat to the Third Republic, Davis still visited France several more times during the 1870s to visit such old friends as Mann and Judah P. Benjamin, although he and the former Davis Democrat *cum* Confederate congressman John Perkins, Jr. of Louisiana avoided one another, for while Perkins had fled to Paris *via* Mexico alongside pro-Davis ex-Confederates, he had spitefully joined the congressional Radicals when Davis chose not to appoint him as the C.S. Secretary of the Navy.[14] Benjamin, for his part, was the only antebellum Jewish U.S. senator other than Davis's friend David Levy Yulee. A Louisianan whose parents had moved to the U.S. from the British West Indies during the War of 1812, Benjamin studied French, mastered the Napoleonic Code, married into a wealthy Catholic French Creole sugar planter family, and befriended Yulee, but he joined the Whigs in the early 1840s as a result of his anti-Radical internal improvements agenda.[15] The collapse of the Whig Party and rise of the Know-Nothings, however, drove him toward the Davis Democrats, and his hitherto hostile relations with Davis gradually improved to the point that the C.S. president would implement equality among whites by making him successively the initial Confederate Attorney General, interim Secretary of War, and Secretary of State, in which last capacity Benjamin would, as Robert M. Rosen has put it, "press the French connection because it appeared to have a greater potential for success than the British."[16] He

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[14] "To Varina Davis," Paris, March 29th, 1874 in *Jefferson Davis: Private Letters*, 393. See "To John Perkins, Jr.," Washington, D.C., January 14, 1856, *PJD*, 6:5; and ibid., 6:6. When Davis died in 1889, moreover, his daughter Varina Anne "Winnie" Davis was living in Paris. See Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 2:930.

[15] See Winston De Ville, "The Marriage Contract of Judah P. Benjamin and Natalie St. Martin, 1833," *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association*, vol. 37, no. 1 (Winter 1996), 81-84.

[16] Rosen, *The Jewish Confederates*, 79. See "J. P. Benjamin to Henry Hotze," Department of State, Richmond, April 22, 1864, *ORN*, series II, 3:1098-99. See "Remarks on the Adoption of Breech-loading Arms," Washington, June 8, 1858, *PJD*, 6:191; "Personal Explanation," Washington, June 9, 1858, *PJD*, 6:199; "Address to the National Democracy," May [7], 1860, *PJD*, 6:294; Robert Douthat Meade, "The Relations Between Judah P. Benjamin and Jefferson Davis: Some New Light on the Working of the Confederate Machine," *The Journal of Southern History*, vol. 5, no. 4 (November 1939), 468-78; Hudson Strode, "Judah P. Benjamin's Loyalty to Jefferson Davis," *The Georgia Review*, vol. 20, no. 3 (Fall 1966), 251-60; *PJD*, 6:196, 422-23, 464; Gordon, "'To Comfort, To Counsel, To Cure," in *Jefferson Davis's Generals*, 110; and Cooper, Jr., *Jefferson Davis, American*, 526.

accordingly stressed to both foreign and domestic audiences that the Davis administration was in favor of sacrificing slavery to save white supremacy, having already divested himself of his own slave property.[17] And partly because his wife Natalie Bauché de St. Martin and Catholic daughter Ninette had charmed the Erlanger and Rothschild families upon moving to Paris in the late 1840s, Secretary of State Benjamin was able to obtain the Erlanger loan on so very favorable terms.[18]

Benjamin, however, spent more time after the war in London as a Queen's Counsel than he did visiting his family in Paris, for he had realized by the time Sherman extended his surrender terms to Johnston that not just the Republicans but even the British themselves were less committed to abolitionism than Davis had assumed.[19] Many British aristocrats were actually quite sympathetic to the C.S. cause when presented along Radical lines. Confederate Radicals were therefore immensely frustrated by how Davis and his supporters continued to alienate potential friends among the British ruling class by cultivating pro-Bonaparte fringe elements within Britain and deliberately antagonizing Her Majesty's government so as to win French favor even after Napoleon III began to signal that he would not support or even recognize the C.S.A. in 1864. Indeed, Davis's scathing critic the newspaper editor and former Radical Democrat Edward A. Pollard nearly fought a duel over the matter and other administration policies in 1864 with his personal and ideological enemy Daniel C. De Jarnette, who was a pro-Davis Virginian C.S. congressman.[20] An anti-Douglas and anti-Radical Democratic congressman for Virginia during the 1850s, De Jarnette was descended from French immigrants, and his family was closely associated with those of John B. Magruder and "the immortal Maury, who, to use a figure of

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[17] See Lonn, *Foreigners in the Confederacy*, 65; and Levine, *Confederate Emancipation*, 86.
[18] See Eli N. Evans, *Judah P. Benjamin: The Jewish Confederate* (New York: The Free Press, 1998).
[19] See "J. P. Benjamin to Jefferson Davis," Charlotte, N.C., April 22, 1865, *JDC*, 6:569-72.
[20] See Richmond *Examiner*, January 21, 28, 1864.

speech, has blazed the trees on the ocean…."[21] Reiterating the fundamentals of the Davis administration's interpretation of the war in a January 1865 congressional speech, he claimed that "[t]his war, sir, if not created, was instigated by England to destroy her most formidable rival for the trade of the Pacific." Because the British had been unable to accomplish the Union's "destruction by the brute force of arms," they had sought to thwart U.S. "manifest destiny," as when, thanks to Secretary of War Davis, "[t]he Congress of the United States order[ed] a survey for a railroad from the Mississippi to the Pacific" and "England immediately order[ed] the construction of a continuous railroad from New Foundland to Puget's Sound; and to-day that railroad has crossed the Mississippi, and soon – perhaps, during this war – it will be finished to the Pacific." And when the Democratic administrations of the 1850s began to challenge British power in the Pacific by "the construction of dock-yards, foundries, &c" in California and Oregon, "England saw that the moment had come to check her [*i.e*. the Union's] progress, and hence this war." Having already used the abolitionist pretext of protecting "a tribe of Indians consisting of several hundred miserable, half-starved wretches, who were known as the Musquito Indians," to hinder U.S. expansion in Nicaragua, Britain tragically forced all true Americans to recapitulate "[t]he first war of independence" when their abolitionist agents and dupes among the "Teutonic Anglo-Saxon" Republicans managed to capture the U.S. government in 1860, for the "intrusive spirit" of the North's abolitionists was, he stressed, originally "instigated by England."[22]

De Jarnette accordingly reviled the Radicals, thanks to whom many Confederates had erroneously "convinced themselves that cotton was king." Confederate Radicals, he noted, believed that Britain might come to favor the Confederacy, but that could only happen if the C.S.A.

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[21] Daniel C. De Jarnette, *The Monroe Doctrine: Speech of Hon. D. C. De Jarnette, of Virginia, in the Confederate House of Representatives, January 30th, 1865, Pending Negotiations for Peace* (Richmond, n.p., 1865), 19. See Warner and Yearns, *Biographical Register of the Confederate Congress*, 76-77.
[22] De Jarnette, *The Monroe Doctrine*, 4-5, 20, 15, 14, 5, 17.

were to repudiate its very *raison d'être* by embracing inequality among whites, for Britain's ruling abolitionists were such hypocritical race-traitors as to countenance the abomination of white slavery in the Ottoman Empire, where "white men and women, the hapless but beautiful maids of Circassia, and the wretched captives torn from their homes in the razzias of the Turcoman, were exposed for sale daily in the markets." President Davis had thus been entirely correct to rile the British in pursuit of an alliance with the Bonapartists of "the Celtic race of France," with whom all true Americans had strong cultural, ideological, and even biological affinities together with a common enemy in Britain. After all, "[w]hen Napoleon Bonaparte sold Louisiana and all the country west of the Mississippi, held by the United States prior to the war with Mexico, he gave as his reason for selling the whole, (when we only offered to buy Louisiana) that he could not hold it as England had driven him from the seas; but that he desired the young giant America to possess it, because he knew that, at no distant day, America would break England's power…." Everything, moreover, had seemed to be working for the Confederacy as expected when the French had been on the verge of moving up from Mexico to directly support the C.S.A. and wrest California from the Union in 1863, obtaining naval dominance in the process such that "England would lose her commercial supremacy, and would fall never to rise again; the memories of Waterloo and St. Helena would be avenged… and the inscrutable man who to-day directs the destinies of France, panoplied in the cloak of a stern seclusiveness, would become the founder of a dynasty." A victorious Confederacy would then complete the ruin of the Anglo-abolitionist Republicans by absorbing and purging many of the northern states even as white immigrants in Mexico displaced "a mongrel race," *viz*., "an unhappy fusion of the Americo-Celtic race with the Indians, which has, as in all cases of fusion between a superior and an inferior race, resulted disastrously to both."[23]

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[23] De Jarnette, *The Monroe Doctrine*, 9-10, 16, 12, 13, 9, 19.

Napoleon III, however, had catastrophically changed course in 1864. If the C.S.A. fell, De Jarnette warned, Maximilian's Mexico would soon follow, and that would cost the French emperor Austria's support, for France "has, with great sagacity, taken a prince of the house of Austria and placed him upon the throne of Mexico – Austria being the balance power which has always been used to restore the equilibrium when the map of Europe has undergone the process of reconstruction." De Jarnette therefore urged Napoleon III to finally intervene against the Republican-ruled Union because "France is now reduced to a great extremity. The taxes on her people have been doubled, whilst not a sou has been added to their wealth. The present Emperor, having determined to profit by the example of his uncle, and in order to secure the succession for his son, must endear himself to his people. He is devoted to France, and he seeks her prosperity in order to earn the gratitude of the French nation." Yet he threatened the emperor at the same time by suggesting that if he failed to come through for the Confederates in the end, the C.S.A. might well offer a white supremacist gradual emancipation to the Republicans in exchange for U.S. recognition of C.S. independence, which Confederates had "solemnly pledged their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor" to achieve. It might then be possible to "secure a union of their arms with ours for the expulsion of England and France from the continent of North America." And so De Jarnette conceded that pro-Davis Confederates like himself had misjudged not only the French, "the perfidy, ill-disguised malice and unseemly self-congratulations" of which rivaled the British attitude "exhibited during the course of this war," but also the Republicans, who were, he acknowledged, hardly British abolitionist puppets given "the current popular sentiment at the North for her [*i.e.* Britain's] expulsion from this continent…." To the chagrin of Pollard and his implacably pro-slavery fellow Radicals, De Jarnette thus recommended pursuing an alliance by which the Union would conquer "the opulent English province of Canada…, a result at this

time more satisfactory to the Northern mind than would be even the subjugation of the South," while the Confederacy would accomplish "the expulsion of the French power from Mexico," which would eventually "be absorbed, by contact and association, with us, and the African will resume his march to the Equator, there to work out his destiny on the Amazon and the La Plata."[24]

The Republicans, however, rejected De Jarnette's overture because preserving the Union was more important to them than the abolition of slavery *per se*, let alone the elimination of white supremacy.[25] Appalled by the fact that De Jarnette and other pro-Davis Confederates would prefer anti-slavery though not anti-white supremacy Republicans to Radical-friendly British aristocrats, the exasperated C.S. Radicals blamed Davis and his supporters for ruining what they believed had been the Confederacy's best chance for survival, which was to have turned Britain against the Republicans in favor of a pro-British Radical Confederacy. But they crowed after the war that they had at least been more correct with their predictions as to British sympathy for a nation of southron cavaliers than were the pro-Davis Confederates in assuming that Napoleon III would support a new American Revolution together with much of the northern Democracy, for quite a few pro-abolitionist Republicans had bitterly complained during and after the Civil War about abolitionist Britain's unwillingness to do even more to help the Union and harm the Confederacy.[26]

With many of the leading pro-Davis Confederates having also been slain, imprisoned, discredited by the war's outcome, or self-exiled, such Whig *cum* Radical Democrat *cum* anti-Davis Confederates as John Randolph Tucker took over the southern Democracy for the first time, and they portrayed the C.S.A. not as the rapidly industrializing power dedicated to Davis-style state's rights, equality among whites, white supremacy over and above slavery, Napoleonic warfare, and

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[24] De Jarnette, *The Monroe Doctrine*, 9, 2-3, 7, 3-4.
[25] See Gallagher, *The Union War*.
[26] See Wendy F. Hamand, "'No Voice from England': Mrs. Stowe, Mr. Lincoln, and the British in the Civil War," *The New England Quarterly*, vol. 61, no. 1 (March 1988), 3-24.

alliance-building with Bonapartist France that it had actually been but rather in the reactionary terms of the Radical "Lost Cause," which term Pollard popularized.[27] Tucker was a nephew of the well-known antebellum Radical theorist and agitator N. Beverley Tucker, and he took his revenge upon Davis for antebellum slights by fiercely objecting to C.S. government policies – especially slave impressment and slave soldier manumission – in defense of Radical state's rights and slavery-in-the-abstract as Virginia's Attorney General.[28] Rising by the mid-1870s to become an influential lawyer, professor, and Democratic congressman, Tucker and his fellow Radicals insisted that the Confederacy had fought for Radical state's rights even as they continued to maintain that slavery was a benevolent institution which might have rescued the poor of all races from penury. They also took advantage of the desire on the part of Davis's old supporters to disenfranchise as many blacks as possible to deny a plethora of poor whites the vote *via* such ostensibly race-neutral obstacles to the ballot as literacy tests. And they increased inequality among whites as well by treating white sharecroppers and black tenant farmers in similarly "paternalistic" terms; by re-establishing strict patriarchy to the disappointment of the former C.S. women who revered the memory of Davis's Confederacy in large part for opening the public sphere to white women; and by transforming white supremacy into Anglo-Protestant dominance, for they discouraged European immigration to the South and ostracized the pro-Davis ethnic or non-Protestant white southerners whom the Confederate government had so very much favored.[29]

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[27] See Edward A. Pollard, *The Lost Cause: A New Southern History of the War of the Confederates* (New York: E. B. Treat & Co., 1866).

[28] See John Randolph Tucker, *The Southern Church Justified in its Support of the South in the Present War, delivered before the Young Men's Christian Association, of Richmond, on the 21st May, 1863* (Richmond: Wm. H. Clemmitt, 1863); Jordan, *Black Confederates and Afro-Yankees in Civil War Virginia*, 146; and *PJD*, 5:200-01.

[29] See Gary W. Gallagher, *Jubal A. Early, the Lost Cause, and Civil War History: A Persistent Legacy* (Milwaukee, WI: Marquette University Press, 1995); and *A Woman's War: Southern Women, Civil War, and the Confederate Legacy*, eds. Edward D. C. Campbell, Jr. and Kym S. Rice (Richmond: Museum of the Confederacy, 1996). The German-American U.S. prisoner-of-war Bernhard Domschcke, after all, noticed that "the South's population of poor whites stood lower than Negroes in the eyes of the slaveholding aristocracy...." Bernhard Domschcke, *Twenty Months in Captivity: Memoirs of a Union Officer in Confederate Prisons*, ed. and trans. Frederic Trautmann (1865; reprint,

In the Radical postwar South, prominent Confederates who were inextricably associated with Davis's version of the C.S.A. often faded into obscurity. Raleigh E. Colston, for instance, was born in Paris to the ex-wife of Napoleon I's devoted general François Étienne de Kellerman and raised there. His father Dr. Raleigh E. Colston had scandalized his fellow Virginia Presbyterians by marrying a Frenchwoman who was a Catholic, divorcee, and Bonapartist to boot, and the young Colston ignored the advice of his Virginia relatives by becoming not a Presbyterian minister but rather a Virginia Military Institute professor of French, in which capacity he led a squad of cadet guards at John Brown's execution. Benefiting from being a "Frenchman" with Bonapartist credentials, he quickly rose in C.S. service to brigadier general by the end of 1861, but his Army of Northern Virginia career was marred by poor health and questionable decisions, inducing a reluctant Lee to reassign him in May 1863. Having fought under Beauregard at Petersburg in 1864 and facilitated Davis's egress from Virginia in '65, Colston became an officer for Ismail Pasha in 1873, and he served in Egypt under the controversial Catholic Massachusetts Democrat Charles P. Stone of Ball's Bluff notoriety. Upon falling ill leading an 1875 railroad surveying expedition, he returned home after narrowly escaping with his life thanks to the care of an informal black vivandière who was married to one of his non-white soldiers. And he died a penniless cripple in Richmond's Confederate Soldiers' Home, a fate which also befell the French-Confederate hero Bartholomew Fohrer, who would pass away unnoticed in a Mobile poorhouse.[30]

Other C.S. heroes, however, could be and were re-conceived in the postwar South as quintessential cavaliers. The resplendent saber and plumed hat of Robert E. Lee's famous cavalry commander J. E. B. Stuart hence passed into legend as chivalric British Romantic regalia even

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Rutherford, NJ: Farleigh Dickinson University Press, 1987), 109-10. Also see Glenda Gilmore, *Gender and Jim Crow: Women and the Politics of White Supremacy in North Carolina, 1896-1920* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996).

[30] See "Bartholmew Fohrer – Gallant Frenchman," *Confederate Veteran*; and Warner, *Generals in Gray*, 58-59, 370.

though they were made in France.[31] And it was also forgotten that Stuart's Democratic father had once received a biography of Ignatius Loyola while living in St. Louis from the head of the Sacred Heart convent Mère Philippine Duchesne, who founded St. Louis University alongside Jesuit corporate-collective slaveholders.[32] The Stuarts, after all, proudly proclaimed themselves to be "*High Church Episcopalian*[s]" in their family Bible, and when Father Gache met Stuart's mother in 1862 at Danville, he was pleased to report that while he had "never… seen a place where Protestantism reigned with such absolute sway," the Protestants there were religiously tolerant for the most part. Indeed, Elizabeth Letcher Stuart had informed him "that she had always had the highest esteem and the utmost respect for Catholic priests.... 'Right now,' she went on to assure me, 'I believe most of the doctrines that Catholics hold and the Protestants reject.'"[33] Lee himself was remembered not as the mentor of a potential successor to Napoleon III in Jerome-Napoleon Bonaparte, Jr. but rather as, in the 1863 words of the visiting pro-Radical British officer Garnet Joseph Wolseley, "a splendid specimen of an English gentleman."[34] The ultra-Tory, anti-Catholic, and anti-Irish independence Member of Parliament Thomas Connolly even volunteered for C.S. service in 1865 under the impression that the stately Lee was an Anglophile cavalier aristocrat, but he would be disappointed to end up as a mere staff officer, as well as to learn that Lee never received the expensive saddle and stirrups he had brought over as gifts.[35] Jefferson Davis, however, was, as the future chief commander of the British army Wolseley put it, "a third-rate man and a most unfortunate selection for the office of President" whose pro-Bonaparte and anti-British

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[31] See Davis, *Rebels and Yankees*, 224-25.
[32] See *A Frenchman, A Chaplain, and A Rebel*, 152-53.
[33] "Louis-Hippolyte Gache to André Cornette, S.J.," Lynchburg, November 18, 1862, in ibid., 143-45. Father Gache, in turn, urged Stuart's mother to formally convert, telling her that "'you're more of a Catholic than any other Protestant I've ever met.'" Ibid., 145. See ibid., 153.
[34] Garnet Joseph Wolseley, "A Month's Visit to the Confederate Headquarters," *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, (January 1863), in Garnet Joseph Wolseley, *The American Civil War: An English View* (1889; reprint, Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1964), 29.
[35] See Lonn, *Foreigners in the Confederacy*, 358-59.

inclinations had played into the hands of Britain's Republican-friendly abolitionists, for it was indeed the case that "Lord Palmerston's Government is opposed to Southern independence...."[36]

The most important C.S. general in that respect, however, was Virginia's Thomas J. "Stonewall" Jackson, who acquired his nickname during the Battle of Bull Run thanks to the brother of Hamilton Prioleau Bee, a South Carolina-born Texas Democrat of partial Huguenot ancestry who served in the Mexican War under Mirabeau Bonaparte Lamar, oversaw Confederate trade with Matamoros as a C.S. brigadier general at Brownsville with his subordinate Augustus C. Buchel, served under Lieutenant General Richard Taylor in the Red River Campaign, and fled in 1865 to Mexico, where he was joined by Jackson's cousin the Confederate brigadier general William L. "Mudwall" Jackson, Jr.[37] Jackson himself was an Episcopalian U.S. army officer who admired Napoleon I and had considered converting to Catholicism during the Mexican War upon befriending the Archbishop of Mexico.[38] After voting for Breckinridge in 1860, he upheld Davis administration ideology insofar as he placed Charles J. Faulkner on his staff, declared that, "as a general rule, I do not think that a chaplain who would preach denominational sermons should be in the army…," and arrested the English reporter G. W. Clarke, whom he refused to compensate for an impressed horse upon releasing him when a British consul threatened to interpose.[39] He also excelled at making the aggressive and risky Napoleonic field maneuvers favored by Davis, although the C.S. president was less impressed by his actual performance in battle, as when he hoped during Jackson's brilliant 1862 Shenandoah campaign that the Virginian might yet achieve

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[36] Wolseley, "A Month's Visit to the Confederate Headquarters," in Wolseley, *The American Civil War*, 76, 41. See Mahin, *The Blessed Place of Freedom*, 94.
[37] See Fredericka Meiners, "Hamilton P. Bee in the Red River Campaign," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, vol. 78, no. 1 (July 1974), 21-44. Warner, *Generals in Gray*, 24-25, 367.
[38] See Donald Davis and Wesley K. Clark, *Stonewall Jackson* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 29-30.
[39] Quoted in James W. Silver, *Confederate Morale and Church Propaganda* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1967), 55. See Louis M. Starr, *Bohemian Brigade: Civil War Newsmen in Action* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1954), 120-21.

"a complete victory over all the enemy in the Valley of Va…."[40] Mary Chesnut put "Napoleon, Caesar, Stonewall, [and] Lee" together in the same exalted category all the same, and Randolph H. McKim would declare of Jackson before a 1904 meeting of the United Confederate Veterans in Nashville that "[i]f any American general is like Napoleon, he is," for he had promoted the career of his fellow Army of Northern Virginia general and Virginia Military Institute instructor Raleigh Colston and used both a Le Mat and Lefaucheaux Brevete revolver, which was a favorite weapon of the French cavalry in Mexico and given to him as a gift from his subordinate officers.[41]

Even though Davis was irritated by the fact that Jackson was, like J. E. B. Stuart, cavalier as to consulting or at least updating him with regard to command decisions, he personally presided over the funeral of "that lamented Chief" when "the gallant Jackson" was killed by friendly fire shortly after the 1863 Battle of Chancellorsville.[42] Yet he was disturbed by the fact that Jackson had been showing signs of becoming the kind of hero who would appeal to a C.S. Radical thanks to the influence of the North Carolina Military Institute superintendent Daniel H. Hill, an ex-Whig who contributed to the *North Carolina Presbyterian* and had turned his brother-in-law Jackson into what Father Gache would later call an "austere Presbyterian" in 1851.[43] Davis hence thought that Hill was behind Jackson's calls in 1862 for Judah B. Benjamin to be removed as C.S. Secretary

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[40] "Jefferson Davis to Mrs. Davis," Executive Department, Richmond, June 11, 1862, *JDC*, 5:273. See "Jefferson Davis to Mrs. Davis," Richmond, May 31, 1862, *JDC*, 5:264; "Jefferson Davis to Genl. T. J. Jackson, Comdg. in Valley of Va.," Richmond, June 4, 1862, *JDC*, 5:267-68; "Jefferson Davis to Mrs. Davis," Richmond, June 13, 1862, *JDC*, 5:278; and Robert K. Krick, "Sleepless in the Saddle: Stonewall Jackson in the Seven Days," in *The Richmond Campaign of 1862*, 85.

[41] Entry for October 27, 1863, in *Mary Chesnut's Civil War*, 482; and McKim, *A Soldier's Recollections*, 119. See Davis, *Rebels and Yankees*, 14. Florence J. O'Connor's pantheon of Confederate heroes, moreover, was "Davis, Semmes, Lee, Jackson, and Beauregard." O'Connor, *The Heroine of the Confederacy*, 369-70.

[42] "Jefferson Davis to Genl. R. E. Lee, Comdg. Army of N. Va.," Richmond, June 19, 1863, *JDC*, 5:527. See "Jefferson Davis to Genl. J. E. Johnston, Centerville, Va.," Richmond, March 6, 1862, *JDC*, 5:212; and Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 2:382.

[43] "Louis-Hippolyte Gache to Philip de Carrière," Lynchburg General Hospital, May 19, 1863, in *A Frenchman, A Chaplain, A Rebel*, 176. Gache, though, could at least report that the deceased Jackson "was a very good Christian" who usually "was not a bigot" toward Catholics. Ibid., 176. See Bernath, *Confederate Minds*, 21.

of War on grounds not just of merit but also of ethnicity and faith.[44] Hill, after all, had already angered Davis as the commander of the Northern District of North Carolina when he had relieved Colonel George B. Singletary in 1861 for defying his order to keep C.S. naval vessels safe by leaving the sailors of the stranded French warship *Prony* to their fate, after which the C.S. president blamed him for ruining Lee's 1862 invasion of Maryland by losing critical campaign maps.[45] Davis transferred Hill to the western theater as a result, although Varina Davis recalled that quite a few of his supporters thought that he and Lee had been altogether "too magnanimous" by doing so.[46] The C.S. president, however, authorized Bragg to relieve him of command in October 1863, insulting him even further in February 1864 by withdrawing his nomination to the Confederate Senate for elevation to the rank of lieutenant general in favor of John B. Hood.[47] And when in early 1865 he ordered "General Hill… to report to General Beauregard for duty at, or near Charleston, So. Carolina" rather than North Carolina, he did so in part to rebuke the North Carolina governor and former Know-Nothing Zebulon B. Vance for what he took to be presumptuousness.[48]

Thanks to Hill and other Radical-minded former Confederates, Jackson would be romanticized after the war as a true "Lost Cause" hero – as a quintessential Anglo-Protestant cavalier who would have never flirted with Catholicism, Bonapartism, and the Davis Democrats of the 1850s.[49] The name "Stonewall" thus proved doubly disappointing for Davis, whose hopes

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[44] See Davis and Clark, *Stonewall Jackson*, 29-30.

[45] Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 2:363. Colonel Singletary resigned but returned to service in early 1862 only to perish in the June 1862 Battle of Tranter's Creek. See Earl J. Hess, *Lee's Tar Heels: The Pettigrew-Kirkland-MacRae Brigade* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), 47-48; and John G. Barrett, *The Civil War in North Carolina* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995), 125-26.

[46] Varina Davis, *op. cit.*, 2:363.

[47] See "Jefferson Davis to Genl. B. Bragg, near Chattanooga, Tenn.," near Chattanooga, Tenn., October 13, 1863, *JDC*, 6:60; "Jefferson Davis to General D. H. Hill, Richmond, Va.," Richmond, November 17, 1863, *JDC*, 6:81; and Hattaway, "The General Whom the President Elevated Too High," in *Jefferson Davis's Generals*, 89.

[48] "Jefferson Davis to Z. B. Vance, Governor of North Carolina," Richmond, January 6, 1865, *JDC*, 6:438.

[49] See John Esten Cooke, Moses D. Hoge, and J. William Jones, *Stonewall Jackson: A Military Biography* (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1876); and Wallace Hettle, "A Romantic's Civil War: John Esten Cooke, Stonewall Jackson, and the Ideal of Individual 'Genius,'" *Historian*, vol. 67, no. 3 (Fall 2005), 434-53. Also see *Inventing Stonewall Jackson: A Civil War Hero in History and Memory*, ed. Wallace Hettle (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2011).

were briefly rekindled in 1865 by Napoleon III's decision to finally lift France's ban on the sale of *Gloire*-class ironclads to the Confederates.[50] The C.S.S. *Stonewall*, however, was purchased indirectly and transferred circuitously, and it not only failed to arrive in time to aid the C.S.A. but also helped make Japan a British rather than French client, for after John M. Brooke convinced the U.S. government to sell what had been the *Stonewall* to "[m]y old friends the Japs" in 1867, it played a key role in the victory of the pro-British emperor Meiji over the pro-French shogunate.[51]

Yet when Davis toured the South by rail in 1886 and was met everywhere by cheering crowds, D. H. Hill conceded that while "I have no reason to like Mr. Davis... he has suffered for us and is our representative man."[52] Having hoped like his mentor Calhoun that a Union dedicated to equality among whites and white supremacy would ally with likeminded French Bonapartists to finally crush the Anglo-abolitionists standing for racial equality and hierarchy among whites on both sides of the Atlantic, Davis ended up residing in a Union featuring *de jure* black citizenship and *de facto* Anglo-Protestant dominance, a Union which was, on the whole, more pro-British than ever before – a Union in which the Anglophile factions that he blamed for subverting the Democracy and causing the Civil War were now dominant in their respective sections. Bereft as well of any hope or inspiration from France because discredited and despondent Bonapartists were standing by watching as the Left and Right clashed within the Third Republic, he had no choice but to adapt to the new "Lost Cause" Radical South in order to remain relevant, let alone popular.

The former C.S. president, to be sure, held his ground insofar as he made Jefferson Davis, Jr. study French at Beauvoir.[53] He also maintained close connections with Anglophobic non-

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[50] See "Jefferson Davis to Hon. Samuel J. Person, Raleigh, N.C.," Richmond, December 15, 1864, *JDC*, 6:419.
[51] Quoted in Brooke, Jr., *John M. Brooke*, 305. See ibid., 306; and Edwin Strong, Thomas Buckley, and Annetta St. Clair, "The Odyssey of the CSS *Stonewall*," *Civil War History*, vol. 30, no. 4 (December 1984), 306-23.
[52] Quoted in Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 267. "There never has been anything at the South," Hill added, "equal to the ovation Mr. Davis has received." Quoted in ibid., 267.
[53] See *PJD*, 6:110.

Protestant ethnic white northern Democrats, who had ever-less in common with the Radical-dominated southern Democracy besides a mutual electoral enemy in the Republicans. John Mitchel, for instance, had become disenchanted on a personal though not ideological level with Davis's leadership during the war, defecting from the pro-administration Richmond *Enquirer* to the more Radical-minded Richmond *Examiner* as a result. Yet he still bade farewell to Davis "through the grates" upon his own 1865 release from Fort Monroe, and when he died in 1875, Davis sent his family a telegram of condolence, condemning once more the "oppression" and "bad... treatment" of Irish Catholics by Anglo-Protestants in Britain, the North, and, increasingly, the South.[54] Indeed, Davis even informed a Catholic publication in 1878 upon hearing of Pius IX's passing that "I grieve with you over the decease of the great and nobly good Pio Nono," a "sublime man" who had wanted to know, as A. Dudley Mann reported in November 1863, if "President Davis were a Catholic."[55] Pius IX, moreover, still sent gifts to the imprisoned former C.S. president after learning from Mann that Davis was just a "high church" Episcopalian, for he came closer than even Napoleon III to recognizing the Confederates, whom he had advised Mann to tell that "it might perhaps be judicious in us to consent to gradual emancipation" even as he "shuddered at the liberation of the slave in the manner attempted by Lincoln and Company…."[56]

Davis, however, ultimately bowed to the Radical reality of the postwar South even though he had told "the eleves" of the University of Mississippi in 1852 that while many descendants of the New England Puritans had indeed become traitorous British-style abolitionists who were undermining the "glory and the strength of our Union," their Indian-slaying ancestors deserved to

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[54] Quoted in Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 2:725.
[55] "Jefferson Davis to the Editor of *The Catholic Universe*," Beauvoir, Mississippi March 1878, in *Jefferson Davis: Private Letters*, 473.
[56] "A. Dudley Mann to Judah P. Benjamin," Rome, November 14, 1863, in *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Confederacy, Including the Diplomatic Correspondence*, ed. James D. Richardson, 2 vols. (Nashville: U.S. Publishing Company, 1905), 2:572-74.

be praised because it was Puritan New England "from which our Revolution sprung…," as well as because Puritan Roundheads had fought the Cavaliers during the English Civil War in opposition to the "usurpations of the crown."[57] With the Democracy having little hope of wresting the U.S. government from Republican hands, Davis eventually followed the example of John M. Brooke, who assured John Randolph Tucker in 1876 that he was now "a good Constitutional patriot" dedicated to Radical state's rights, for the Mississippian boasted in the end that he had always been "an earnest advocate of the strict construction State-rights theory of Mr. Jefferson" even as he identified "the creed of Democracy" as Radical state's rights: "I adhere to the maxim that 'the world is governed too much."[58] Had he not endorsed the "Lost Cause" version of the Confederacy's nature and purpose, after all, he might have become a figure of ridicule like the French general Georges Ernest Jean-Marie Boulanger, who committed suicide after his 1889 attempt to overthrow the Third Republic in the name of his Boulangist version of Bonapartism fizzled. Boulanger, however, might have been more successful had his *aide-to-camp* Captain St. George Tucker Mason not perished in 1884 fighting Chinese forces in Vietnam. Cherishing fond memories of Mason's father the Pierce administration's minister to France John Y. Mason, Napoleon III commissioned the former Virginia Military Institute cadet and Confederate cavalryman a French Foreign Legion lieutenant, in which capacity the Paris-educated and French-

[57] "Speech at Oxford," [July 15, 1852], *PJD*, 4:279, 282.
[58] Quoted in Brooke, Jr., *John M. Brooke*, 144; and "To Colonel F. R. Lubbock," Beauvoir, Mississippi, June 20, 1887, in Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, 2:883-84.

fluent Mason fought Prussians, killed Communards, and accompanied Boulanger on a visit to Yorktown in order to commemorate the centennial of Britain's defeat in the Revolutionary War.[59]

[59] St. George Tucker Mason's older brother Simon Blount Mason also fought under John C. Breckinridge at New Market as a Virginia Military Institute Cadet. See Jennings Cropper Wise, *The Military History of the Virginia Military Institute from 1839 to 1865, With Appendix, Maps, and Illustrations* (Lynchburg, VA: J. P. Bell Company, 1915), 493-94; and *The Corps Forward: The Biographical Sketches of the VMI Cadets who Fought in the Battle of New Market*, ed. William Couper (Lexington, VA: Virginia Military Institute Museum, 2005), 132. Nathaniel Beverley Tucker, moreover, had championed Radical state's rights and pioneered slavery-in-the-abstract theories partly as a form of personal rebellion against the more regular Jeffersonian Democratic values of his estranged father St. George Tucker, who was one of Thomas Jefferson's friends. See Brugger, *Beverley Tucker*.

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